

Ports and British Raj: Governmentalisation of Maritime Malabar, 1800-1947

*Thesis Submitted to the University of Hyderabad in Partial Fulfilment of
the Requirement for the Award of the degree of*

**DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN
HISTORY**

By

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DECLARATION

I, **SHAMEER T.A**, hereby declare that the work embodied in this thesis entitled **“Ports and British Raj: Governmentalisation of Maritime Malabar, 1800-1947”** is submitted by me under the supervision of Professor Bhangya Bhukya, is a bonafide research work for the award of Doctor of Philosophy in History from the University of Hyderabad. I also declare that it has not been submitted previously in part or full to this University or any other University or Institution for the award of any degree or diploma. I hereby agree that my thesis can be deposited in Shodhganga/ INFLIBNET. A report on plagiarism statistics from the University Library (IGML) is enclosed.

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1. Modernity and Reformist Rhetoric among the Muslims of Malabar, *Journal of Islamic and Muslim Studies*, Indiana University Press, vol. 5 no. 2, 2020, p. 65-79. <https://doi.org/10.2979/jims.5.2.04>
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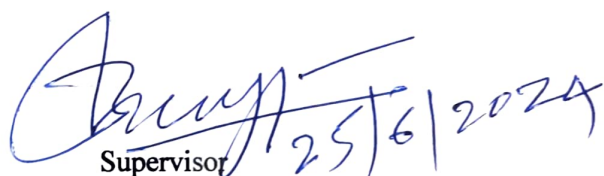
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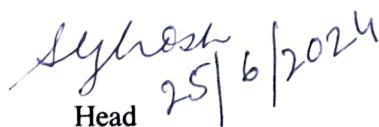
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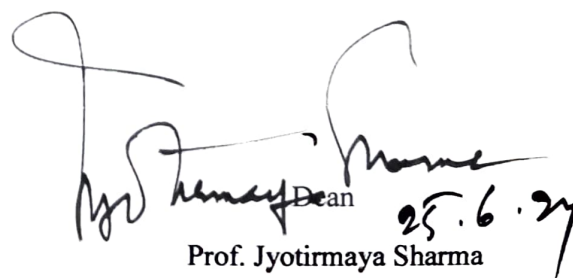

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ABBREVIATIONS

CRA	Calicut Regional Archives
VOC	Dutch East India Company
ILA	Mackerel (Fish)
ICHR	Indian Council of Historical Research
MANF	Moulana Azad National Fellowship
KCHR	Kerala Council for Historical Research
IOE	Institute of Eminence
FCY	Fish-Curing Yards

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Introduction

‘Let everyone look at the space around them. What do they see? Do see time’¹

Throughout history, ports have played a significant role in human civilization, serving as crucial facilitators for transporting goods and people. Essentially an economic concept, a port functions as a meeting point where individuals, goods, and cultures exchange and interact across maritime and land spaces. It stands as a juncture where oceanic and inland transportation routes converge.² A port is not an isolated entity within society; rather, it embodies physical spaces intricately entwined with political, economic, and societal dimensions, bearing witness to numerous socio-cultural exchanges since ancient times. Ports, defined as coastal locations with one or more harbors, facilitate the docking of ships and the transfer of people or cargo between sea and land. As pivotal centers of maritime activity, ports play a vital role in global trade and transportation. They are utilised by vessels transporting goods and passengers worldwide and are typically located near major urban centers or transportation hubs. In addition to docking facilities, ports often provide infrastructure for cargo handling and storage, ship repairs, and a range of services supporting the shipping industry.

Upon the arrival of colonial powers in India, ports took on symbolic significance as representations of colonial administrative strategies and crucial strategic locations for the control and management of indigenous resources within specific regions.³ They

¹Henry Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, translated by Donald Nicholson and Smith, Oxford: Blackwell Publication, 1991, p, 95.

²Guido G Weigend, ‘Some Elements in the Study of Port Geography,’ *Geographical Review*, vol. 48, 2, 1958, pp, 185–200.

³Partha Mitter, ‘The Early British Port Cities of India: Their Planning and Architecture circa 1640-1757’ *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 45, 1986, p 95-114. Meera Kosambi, John, Brush ‘Three Colonial Port Cities in India’, *Geographical Review*, 78, 32.1988, pp, 32-47. Indu Banga, ed, *Ports and Their Hinterlands in India 1700-1950*, Delhi: Manohar Publications, 1992.

transformed significant economic spaces, providing colonial forces with a platform to accelerate revenue generation and implement maritime policies. Consequently, colonial authorities defined ports as regulated spaces for controlling the maritime resources of the region. The colonial interventions in the maritime societies opened up various discourses in the Indian Ocean studies, looking at the political and economic aspects of colonial dominance in the sea and ports.

The Malabar Coast, the focal area of this research, has been a hub of diverse mercantile activities since ancient times due to its proximity to the sea. Numerous ports along the Malabar Coast, including Calicut, Cannanore, Tellicherry, Beypore, Quilon, and Ponnani, were instrumental in integrating the region into the wider Indian Ocean network. These ports exerted substantial economic and political influence, with local rulers actively managing and adapting to the intricacies of the port-based economy since early historical periods. The economic development of North Malabar, dating back to ancient times, was profoundly influenced by the strategic role of ports. Historical evidence confirms the arrival of foreigners at various Malabar ports for trade purposes. Concurrently, local rulers exhibited a keen interest in promoting the growth of port-based economies, as evidenced by the prosperity of the Muzris port in ancient times.⁴ Several other ports facilitated the trade of valuable commodities, with pepper emerging as the most sought-after product in the Indian Ocean. Notably, ports evolved into central nodes of networks in Malabar from the twelfth century onwards. Diverse merchant classes

⁴K.P. Shajan et al., 'Locating the Ancient Port of Muzris: Fresh Findings from Pattanam', *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 17, 2004, 351– 359; P.J. Cherian et al., *Interim Report of Pattanam Excavations 2012*, Thiruvananthapuram: Kerala Council for Historical Research, 2012, P. Malekandathil, Muzris and the Trajectories of Maritime Trade in the Indian Ocean, in K.S. Mathew (ed.), *Imperial Rome, Indian Ocean and Muzris: New Perspectives on Maritime Trade*, New Delhi: Manohar, 2015, 339– 368. Glenis Lambert, *Looking for Muziris: A Tour Through the History of South India*, Create Space Independent Publishing Platform, 2014. Federico De Romanis, *The Indo-Roman Pepper Trade and the Muziris Papyrus*, UK: Oxford University Press, 2020.

converged on Malabar ports, with some establishing settlements in the vicinity, giving rise to emerging port towns.⁵

Several historians of the early modern period often overlook the strategic importance of ports as critical maritime spaces during the British era. While scholars have extensively analysed the colonial impact on various aspects of society and economy,⁶ the utilization of ports as instruments of control over the regional economy and polity has often been neglected. This is particularly evident in the case of major Malabar ports like Calicut, Cannanore, and Tellicherry, where the British implemented maritime regulations to monopolise resources like salt and timber and enforce fishery policies, thereby asserting their dominance over the region. The introduction of various maritime regulations by the British in Malabar had significant repercussions on various coastal communities, including native merchants and *Mukkuvans*, who are a prominent fishing community in the region.⁷ However, existing scholarly research on Malabar has largely overlooked the profound impact of British interventions on these maritime communities and port spaces. Therefore, there is a need for historical scholarship to thoroughly examine how the British deliberately regulated port spaces in Malabar, with

⁵M.G.S Narayanan, *Calicut, the city of Truth Revisited*(Malayalam), Calicut: Mathrubhumi, 2018

⁶Morris D Morris, 'Towards a Reinterpretation of Nineteenth Century Indian Economic History', *Journal of Economic History*, Vol. XXIII, No. 4, 1963. Irfan Habib, 'Colonisation of the Indian Economy 1757-1900', *Social Scientist*, Vol. 3, No. 8, March 1975. Bipan Chandra, *Colonialism and Modernisation, in Nationalism and Colonialism in Modern India*, New Delhi, Orient Longmans, 1979. Irfan Habib, 'Studying a Colonial Economy Without Perceiving Colonialism', *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 19, 3, 1985. C.A, Bayly, *Indian Society and the Making of British Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988. Thomas R Metcalf, *Ideologies of the Raj*. New Delhi: Cambridge University Press, 1995. Thomas R Metcalf, *Imperial Connections, India in the Indian Ocean Arena, 1860-1920*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 2007. Tirthankar Roy, *Economic History of India 1857– 1947*, New Delhi: OUP, 2011. Tapan Raychaudhuri, *Jan Company in Coromandel 1605–1690: A Study in the Interrelations of European Commerce and Traditional Economies*, Hague: M Nijhoff publisher, 1962. Andrew Pope, 'British steamshipping and the Indian Coastal trade, 1870-1915', *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 32,1,1995, pp 1-21.

⁷Edgar Thurston refers that *Mukkuvans* are the sea fisherman of Malabar Coast. See, Edgar Thurston, *The Sea fisheries of Malabar and South Canara; with seven plates*, Bulletin no 3, No 2, Madras Government Museum, Madras: Supprent Government press. 1900, p 106.

particular attention to the administration of ports and governing the various communities engaged in the port spaces of Malabar.

In the twentieth century, historians recognised maritime space as a critical theme for historical research, focusing on the social dynamics of ports and their surrounding areas within the broader context of maritime transformations.⁸ David Williams has observed a significant growth in the field of port history during the latter half of the twentieth century.⁹ Sarah Palmer noted a limited academic focus on the development of ports in the 20th century.¹⁰ Historians have predominantly focused on the economic aspects of ports, with comparatively less scholarly attention devoted to comprehending how ports can serve as pivotal focal points in shaping power dynamics within society. In the introduction to *Making Global and Local History Connections: Historical Perspectives on Ports*, the editors highlight the central role of ports as vital hubs in the competitive landscape of global maritime activities, emphasising intricate connections to political, social, industrial, and transportation contexts.¹¹ The editors acknowledge that studying port history often faces a challenging position situated at the intersection of international, national, and even local historical perspectives. This intersectionality introduces complexity to the examination of port history, necessitating a nuanced approach that navigates the multifaceted influences shaping these crucial maritime nodes.¹² Rila Mukherjee highlighted a shift in emphasis within maritime studies, moving

⁸Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Portuguese Empire in Asia 1500-1700: A Political and Economic History*. London: Longman, 1993. M.N. Pearson, *Port Cities and Intruders: The Swahili Coast, India, and Portugal in the Early Modern Era*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1998. M.N. Pearson, *The Indian Ocean*. New York: Routledge, 2003. M.N. Pearson, 'Littoral Society: The Concept and the Problems,' *Journal of World History*, vol. 17, no. 4, 2006, pp. 353–73.

⁹David M Williams, Recent trends in Maritime and Port History, in Loyen, R., Buyst, E. Devos, G. ed, *Struggling for Leadership: Antwerp-Rotterdam Port Competition between 1870 –2000, Contributions to Economics. Physica*, Heidelberg: Springer, 2003, p, 16.

¹⁰Sarah Palmer, 'History of the Ports', *International Journal of Maritime History*, vol. 32, 2, 2020, p, 1.

¹¹Tapio Bergholm, Lewis R. Fischer, M. Elisabetta Tonizzi, ed, *Making Global and Local Connections: Historical Perspectives on Ports*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2007.

¹²Sarah Palmer, 'History of the Ports,' *International Journal of Maritime History*, 32(2), 2020, p 432.

from a purely political focus to an exploration of economic aspects. This shift also transitioned from highlighting the centrality of human agency to recognising the leading role played by the geographical category of the sea. There was a shift from considering water-based archives as marginal to acknowledging their significance and from a focus on local history to a broader perspective encompassing world history and vice versa.¹³

Historians have extensively discussed the history of colonial impacts on Indian society, covering various themes such as economic exploitation and other aspects of the colonial economy.¹⁴ The economic dimension of maritime history gained prominence as historians began to investigate the effects of colonialism on coastal communities, leading to a more nuanced and comprehensive understanding within maritime historical scholarship. Colonisation presented formidable challenges to traditional livelihoods, precipitating the imposition of administrative strategies by the colonial state. This necessitated the deployment of diverse governance practices aimed at asserting control over both the populace and territories. The colonial state utilised a range of approaches to manage a diverse population through governance techniques that greatly influenced communities and their ways of sustaining themselves. Colonialism transcended mere political or economic control to encompass intentional knowledge construction and dissemination.¹⁵ Colonial powers systematically moulded various forms of knowledge to

¹³Rila Mukherjee, 'Indian Ocean: Historians writings History', *Asian Review of World Histories*, 1:2, 2013, p. 306.

¹⁴Morris D Morris, 'Towards a Reinterpretation of Nineteenth Century Indian Economic History', *Journal of Economic History*, Vol. XXIII, No. 4, 1963. Irfan Habib, 'Colonisation of the Indian Economy 1757-1900', *Social Scientist*, Vol. 3, No. 8, March 1975. Bipan Chandra, *Colonialism and Modernisation, in Nationalism and Colonialism in Modern India*, New Delhi, Orient Longmans, 1979. Irfan Habib, 'Studying a Colonial Economy Without Perceiving Colonialism', *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 19, 3, 1985. Irfan Habib, *Colonisation of the Indian Economy, in Essays in Indian History: Towards a Marxist Perception*, New Delhi: Tulika, 1995. Tirthankar Roy, *Economic History of India 1857–1947*, New Delhi: OUP, 2011.

¹⁵Bernard S. Cohn 'Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India', Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997. Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *Can the Subaltern Speak?*, Revised Edition, from the *History Chapter of Critique of Postcolonial Reason*, *Can the Subaltern*

sustain their dominance, often portraying Indian society as backward and requiring Western intervention, thereby legitimising colonial rule. Despite the prevailing narrative propagated by colonial authorities, there were instances of indigenous resistance that contested colonial representations and underscored the contested nature of colonial knowledge. The colonial state made traditional communities to not only seek alternative livelihoods but also adopt different cultural values.¹⁶ Thomas Metcalf states that British concerns were the implementation of the rule of law, in which they introduced various regulations in the Indian Ocean.¹⁷ By doing this, the British wanted to create a maritime authority in the colonies through controlling political and economic resources. M.N. Pearson defined the British interventions in the Indian Ocean into two periods. The first spanned from 1750 to 1850, characterised as the era of sailing ships. During this time, local communities played a significant role in maritime activities. The second period, from 1850 to 1945, noted that locals were gradually marginalised and excluded from meaningful participation in maritime endeavors.¹⁸

Simultaneously, David Washbrook delineated colonial expansion in the Indian Ocean into distinct epochs: from 1498 to 1800, characterised as the era of mercantilism, from 1800 to 1850, marked by narco-militarism, from 1850 to 1914, defined as the age of colonial capitalism, and from 1914 to 1947 identified as the era of nationalism. The inaugural period witnessed the advent of the Portuguese in India and their consequential political and economic transformations. Washbrook pointed out that the Portuguese initiative in fortifying their presence in the Indian Ocean introducing novel strategies of

Speak?: Reflections on the History of an Idea, edited by Rosalind C. Morris, Columbia University Press, 2010, pp. 21–78.

¹⁶Bhangya Bhukya, *Subjugated Nomads: The Lambadas under the rule of Nizams*, Hyderabad: Orient Blackswan, 2010, p. 2.

¹⁷Thomas R Metcalf, *Imperial Connections: India in the Indian Ocean Arena, 1860–1920*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 2007, p 17.

¹⁸M. N Pearson, *The Indian Ocean*, New York: Routledge, 2003, p 194.

maritime control that departed from the hitherto prevalent ethos of free trade. This entailed the imposition of stringent licensing regulations, the fortification of their ports, and the initiation of naval interventions against perceived pirate adversaries.¹⁹In the era of colonial capitalism, a spectrum of colonial administrative measures wielded significant influence over Indian communities and the economy. This epoch was characterised by several interventions and initiatives undertaken by the colonial government. Notably, the British introduction of railways in 1853 served as a pivotal catalyst in enhancing connectivity between inland regions and Indian ports, thereby facilitating the implementation of governance policies and maritime regulations. The advent of the transportation revolution and industrialisation prompted colonial historians to romanticise and underscore their endeavours and policies. It is posited that during the latter half of the 19th century, India became profoundly enmeshed in a prototypical paradigm of colonial reliance on Britain. Functioning primarily as an agricultural colony, India predominantly exported raw materials while importing manufactured goods and remitting various service charges. Nonetheless, the merits and drawbacks of these arrangements became subjects of vigorous debate, igniting discussions that persist into the contemporary era.²⁰

The colonial powers exerted substantial control over maritime domains in India, including coastlines, ports, trade and shipping. British implemented maritime regulations to advance their economic interests, maintain supremacy, and establish colonial hegemony in their territories.²¹ Overseas territories, epitomised by colonies or trading

¹⁹David Washbrook, The Political Economy of Colonialism in India in *Routledge Handbook of the History of Colonialism in South Asia* edited by Harald Fischer, Tine and Maria Framke, UK: Routledge, p 24. Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Portuguese Empire in Asia 1500– 1700: A Political and Economic History*, 2nd edn, Oxford: Wiley- Blackwell, 2012.

²⁰David Washbrook, The Political Economy of Colonialism in India in *Routledge Handbook of the History of Colonialism in South Asia* edited by Harald Fischer, Tine and Maria Framke, UK: Routledge, p. 29.

²¹Antonio Gramsci introduced concept of hegemony as ideological supremacy as a means by which dominant classes sustain their authority and influence over a society. Gramsci's concept of hegemony

posts, were meticulously crafted by colonial powers as discrete entities boasting distinctive legal and regulatory frameworks and governance structures. These regulatory measures often manifested in restrictions imposed on maritime navigation, stringent controls over trade activities, and the imposition of levies or tariffs on maritime commerce.²² The implementation of governmentalisation by colonial powers extended to the littoral world, subjecting coastal societies to various colonial governing practices.²³

Foucault's idea of governmentality suggests that specific modalities of the colonial state resulted in a power dynamic among the subjects, shaped by diverse colonial practices and modalities. The concept of governmentality in the transformation of the maritime realm in India involves examining how colonial powers, particularly the British, exerted control over maritime spaces through various surveillance techniques, regulations, and discipline. In the colonial context, governmentality extends beyond

extends beyond mere coercion and physical control; it encompasses the methods through which ruling classes solidify and perpetuate their ascendancy by obtaining consent, employing persuasion, and molding the convictions and principles held by the general populace. Also, Frantz Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth*,²⁴ explored the psychological and cultural effects of colonialism on colonised peoples. He discussed the dehumanising impact of colonialism and how it contributed to the internalisation of inferiority by the colonised populations. Later subaltern studies groups, Ranajit Guha, Partha Chatterjee, and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, focused on the histories and experiences of marginalised and subaltern groups within colonial and postcolonial societies. Their work has contributed to a deeper understanding of the complex dynamics of colonial hegemony and its impact on various social and cultural spheres. The subaltern perspective underscores how subaltern groups navigate the terrain of colonial domination by engaging in negotiation and adopting hybrid identities. See, James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*, New Haven, CT: Yale University, 1992. Bernard S. Cohn 'Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India', Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997. Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, Can the Subaltern Speak?, Revised Edition, from the *History Chapter of Critique of Postcolonial Reason, Can the Subaltern Speak?: Reflections on the History of an Idea*, edited by Rosalind C. Morris, Columbia University Press, 2010, pp, 21–78. Antonio Gramsci, *Selection from the Prison Notebooks*, edited by Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell, Hyderabad: Orient Blackswan, 2020.

²²Sugata Bose, *Hundred Horizons: the Indian Ocean in the Age of Global Empire*, London: Harvard University Press, 2006, p, 24.

²³Schneck and Stephen Frederick, 'Michel Foucault on Power/Discourse, Theory and Practice', *Human Studies*, Vol. 10, No. 1, 1987, pp, 15–33. Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality, Vol. 1: An Introduction* New York: Vintage Books, 1990. Miller, Seumas, 'Foucault on Discourse and Power', *Theoria: A Journal of Social and Political Theory*, no. 76, 1990, pp, 115–25. Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: the Birth of the Prison*, New York: Vintage books, 1995.

traditional forms of sovereignty, encompassing the systematic management of populations and territories. The colonial governmentality was not limited to the economic centralisation of the region but extended to maritime spaces, whether it was ports, ships, and other subjects in the maritime spaces. The regulatory framework governing sea and coastal communities was influenced by colonial economic objectives aimed at enhancing revenue. The colonial state initiated the implementation of its policies, necessitating the adaptation of local communities to these new governing practices without their formal authorisation. When applied to India's maritime domain, this framework unveils a complex array of policies and practices designed to assert colonial dominance and safeguard imperial interests. These measures included the implementation of maritime laws, port regulations, customs duties, and naval patrols aimed at regulating maritime trade routes and coastal communities.

The impact of colonial governmentality on maritime communities was profound, shaping their livelihoods, social structures, economic dependence, and cultural practices. Despite colonial impositions, coastal populations demonstrated resilience through acts of resistance and agency, challenging colonial regulations and asserting alternative forms of governance. Washbrook contends that the British were primarily concerned with preventing structural economic growth rather than solely draining wealth.²⁴U. Kalpagam argues that colonial governmentality in India sought to effect a new relationship between resources, population, and discipline.²⁵Colonial governmentality was not merely governance from a distance but was fundamentally one in which governance by the modern state sought to supplant earlier forms of pre-modern rule through the autonomous

²⁴David Washbrook, The Political Economy of Colonialism in India in *Routledge Handbook of the History of Colonialism in South Asia* edited by Harald Fischer, Tine and Maria Framke, UK: Routledge, p 30.

²⁵ U. Kalpagam, "Colonial Governmentality and the 'Economy'", *Economy and Society* 29, no. 3, 2000, 418–38.

rationality of the government.²⁶ Colonial governmentality, with its singular aim of augmenting the economic strength of the state, performed its extractive and regulatory functions on individual and mass bodies not directly with force but through modern forms of regulatory discipline.²⁷ These practices created a procedure of accountability, which helped colonialism to control the resources and led to Bureaucratic centralisation. Kalpagam argues that Colonial governmentality had created a calculating rationality in India.²⁸ Sugata Bose states that colonial intrusion into the Indian Ocean must be looked at in a more nuanced and complex way.²⁹ The colonial legal system played a dual role, serving not only as a mechanism for dispensing justice but also as a crucial element in structuring administration, control, and societal change. These changes were not confined to the hinterland alone; the littorals, particularly the ports, underwent significant administrative reforms.³⁰ This emphasises the legal system's role as a tool of power, influencing social interactions and altering concepts of authority and order during the colonial era.³¹

Scholarly investigations into maritime developments during colonial India have shed light on the crucial role of port-hinterland relationships, emphasising their integral role in maritime history. This approach points to the interdependence between the port and its surrounding region in shaping the development of both entities.³² The port relies

²⁶U Kalpagam, 'Colonial Governmentality and Public Sphere in India', *Journal of Historical Sociology*, vol 15, No 1. Kalpagam, 'Colonial Governmentality and the 'Economy'', *Economy and Society* 29, no. 3, 2000, p 419.

²⁷Kalpagam, 'Colonial Governmentality and the 'Economy'', *Economy and Society* 29, no.3, 2000, p 420.

²⁸Kalpagam, 'Colonial Governmentality and the 'Economy'', *Economy and Society* 29, no. 3, 2000, p 421.

²⁹Sugata Bose, *Hundred Horizons: the Indian Ocean in the Age of Global Empire*, London: Harvard University Press, 2006, p 21.

³⁰Fahad Bishara, *A Sea of Debt: Law and Economic Life in the Western India, 1780-1950*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017.

³¹Radhika Singha, *A Despotism of Law: Crime and Justice in Early Colonial India*, Delhi: Oxford University press, 1997. Anandita Mukhopadhyay, *Behind Mask; Cultural Definition of the Legal Subjects in Colonial Bengal, 1715-1911*, New Delhi: Oxford University press, 2006.

³²Tapan Raychaudhuri, *Jan Company in Coromandel 1605–1690: A Study in the Interrelations of European Commerce and Traditional Economies*, Hague: M Nijhoff publisher, 1962. Satish Chandra, *The*

on the hinterland for the production and supply of goods, while the hinterland depends on the port as a gateway to global markets, facilitating the exchange of goods and ideas with other parts of the world. This perspective suggests that a port's development is not solely influenced by the availability of natural resources and local demand but is also shaped by the economic and social activities of the hinterland. Consequently, the hinterland theory provides a nuanced understanding of the factors influencing the location and function of ports, emphasising the intricate interactions within the port and city as a unique social, economic, and engineering structure.³³ K.N. Chaudhuri contends that ports play a crucial role in facilitating cross-cultural trade, considering them vital in exchanging goods and ideas between different societies. Conversely, Ashin Das Gupta approaches the port-hinterland relationship differently, presenting a three-phase framework for its evolution. In the initial phase, commencing around 1500 CE with European dominance at specific ports, there was limited port influence beyond maritime trade, and hinterland connections were lacking, a condition that persisted until the 1700s. The subsequent phase witnessed the establishment of links between ports and their hinterlands. The third phase emerged, characterised by distinct political dominance, resulting in a profound alteration in hinterland attributes. Aligned with these perspectives, M.N. Pearson underscores the shared characteristics among coastal communities and acknowledges that ports serve not only as economic and political centers but also as social and cultural spaces significantly influencing society. This

Indian Ocean: Explorations in History, Commerce and Politics, New Delhi, Sage, 1987, Andrew Pope, British steamshipping and the Indian Coastal trade, 1870-1915, *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 32,1,1995, pp 1-21. Anthony Webster, Jaime de Melo, Ulbe Bosma (ed.), *Commodities, Ports and Asian Maritime Trade Since 1750*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.

³³Indu Banga, *Ports and Their Hinterlands in India, 1700-1950*, Delhi: Manohar, 1991, p, 17.

conceptualisation embraces the intricate and diverse nature of port communities, recognising the various approaches that can be employed to understand them.³⁴

Scholars like Frank Broeze, Ravi Ahuja, Ankita Singh, and Debjani Battacharya have studied how colonialism affected maritime activities.³⁵ Frank Broeze conducted studies on lascars during the British period and its economic exploitation.³⁶ Broeze's examination of maritime governance highlighted the underdevelopment and dependency within India's shipbuilding, shipping, and seafaring industries from the late 18th century to 1939. His study discussed the gradual transfer of technology, discriminatory measures against Indian sailors (lascars) through the Registry Act of 1815, and the impact on British rule and Indian responses. The article is divided into two periods, with the first encompassing the time from the onset of British rule in India to 1850. During this period, wooden sailing ships were predominant, and British private enterprise was expanding in

³⁴M.N. Pearson, 'Littoral Society: The Concept and the Problems.' *Journal of World History*, vol. 17, no. 4, 2006, pp, 353–73.

³⁵Frank Broeze, 'Underdevelopment and Dependency: Maritime India during the Raj', *Modern Asian Studies*, vol. 18, no. 3, 1984, pp, 429–57. U Kalpagam, 'Colonial governmentality and the economy,' *Economy and Society*, 29, 2000, pp, 418-438. K.N.Chaudhuri, *The Trading World of Asia and the English East India Company: 1660-1760*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006. Ravi Ahuja, Networks of subordination – networks of the subordinated: The ordered spaces of South Asian maritime labour in an age of imperialism (c. 1890–1947) in *The Limits of British Colonial Control in South Asia: Spaces of Disorder in the Indian Ocean Region*, ed, Harald Fischer, Ashwini Tambe, London: Routledge, 2008. Debjani Bhattacharyya, *Empire and Ecology in the Bengal Delta: The Making of Calcutta*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018. Ankita Singh, 'Creation of a port authority in nineteenth century British India: Organisational structure and administrative procedures in the Port of Calcutta', *International Maritime History Journal*, Vol 34, 3, 2022, pp, 395-417.

³⁶In the 17th century, the East India Company enlisted Asian seamen, known as "Lascars," who dutifully served aboard European vessels. The term "*Lascar*" finds its roots in the early 1500s when Portuguese maritime ventures first engaged Asian seafarers. These individuals were recruited to fulfill roles on European ships and were compensated through intermediaries known as "*Ghat Sarhangs*." Derived from the Hindi word '*ghat*,' signifying a landing place or a set of bathing steps, and the Persian '*sarhang*,' meaning overseer or commander, this arrangement facilitated payment and oversight for these seafaring personnel. See, Aaron Jaffer, "Introduction." *Lascars and Indian Ocean Seafaring, 1780-1860: Shipboard Life, Unrest and Mutiny*, NED-New edition, Boydell & Brewer, 2015, pp. 1–32. Ravi Ahuja, Networks of subordination – networks of the subordinated: The ordered spaces of South Asian maritime labour in an age of imperialism (c. 1890–1947) in *The Limits of British Colonial Control in South Asia: Spaces of Disorder in the Indian Ocean Region*, ed, Harald Fischer, Ashwini Tambe, London: Routledge, 2008. Frank Broeze, 'Underdevelopment and Dependency: Maritime India during the Raj', *Modern Asian Studies*, vol. 18, no. 3, 1984, pp, 429–57.

the Indian Ocean. At this juncture, there was minimal disparity in the technology and organisation of Indian and British ship-owners, and the transfer of technology was a gradual and uncomplicated process. However, the Registry Act of 1815 imposed restrictions on lascars (Indian sailors) serving on British ships, limiting the number of foreigners to a maximum of one-quarter of the total crew. These acts were discriminatory towards Indian seamen and were aimed at reducing the number of Indian sailors travelling to Britain. John Forbes, a partner in the Bombay agency house Forbes & Co., believed that the real motive behind the exclusion of lascars was to maintain the monopoly held by the British metropolitan merchant fleet and to effectively prevent Indian ship owners from participating in trade with Britain. Although there was no legal discrimination against lascars, the ship owners and masters restricted the movement of Asiatic lascars. The second period discussed in the article covers the time from 1850 to 1914, which saw the rise of metal and steam engine ships. During this period, Indian shipbuilding and shipping industries lost their significance, and Indians were forced to seek employment outside of European enterprise. Meanwhile, lascars were increasingly employed on steamers owned by the very companies that had replaced and displaced the shipping of their own country.³⁷

Ravi Ahuja explored how Indian maritime workers, particularly lascars, faced various forms of exploitation during the colonial period. Ahuja argued that British regulations in 1814 aimed to stabilise the lascar workforce but inadvertently reinforced their perception as inferior workers. Despite this, the British continued to employ lascars due to their cost-effectiveness and easier control, serving their political and economic interests. Ahuja examines the rural backgrounds of lascars and studies their household

³⁷Frank Broze, 'Underdevelopment and Dependency: Maritime India during the Raj', *Modern Asian Studies*, vol. 18, no. 3, 1984, pp. 429–57.

strategies, which combined agriculture and seafaring. He argues that these networks were not only shaped by the colonial state and the capitalist economy but were also produced and reproduced by the workers through their interactions. Ahuja's work focuses on how Indian maritime workers were subjected to various forms of exploitation, including low wages, poor working conditions, and racial discrimination. Ahuja argues that the British government passed laws to regulate the status of lascars in 1814, with the aim of providing greater stability to their workforce.³⁸ However, these regulations actually contributed to the perception of lascars as inferior workers by white officers. Despite this, the British continued to employ lascars because they were relatively inexpensive and easier to control, which allowed them to pursue their political and economic interests. Ahuja suggests that the colonial law that defined lascars was part of a broader international maritime labour market created and maintained by historical actors over a long period. This infrastructure of differential integration allowed for the exploitation of certain groups of workers, including lascars, while benefiting others, such as their employers. Moreover, Ahuja highlights that lascars were often more devoted to their employers in terms of service, which made them a desirable workforce for British colonial interests.³⁹ The networks of steamship labor that were based on kinship and ethnicity cannot be simply understood as remaining elements of pre-capitalist societies and cultures, nor can they be viewed solely as forms of resistance against the capitalist world economy and imperialism. Instead, Ahuja suggests that these networks were complex and multifaceted, shaped by a variety of historical, economic, and cultural

³⁸Ravi Ahuja, Networks of subordination – networks of the subordinated: The ordered spaces of South Asian maritime labour in an age of imperialism (c. 1890–1947) in *The Limits of British Colonial Control in South Asia: Spaces of Disorder in the Indian Ocean Region*, ed, Harald Fischer, Ashwini Tambe, London: Routledge, 2008

³⁹Harald Fischer, Tine and Ashwini Tambe. 'The Limits of British Colonial Control in South Asia: Spaces of Disorder in the Indian Ocean Region', P 19.

factors. While they did serve as sites of resistance for subordinated workers, they were also part of the larger infrastructure of global capitalism and were shaped by the economic and political interests of powerful actors.⁴⁰ Ahuja's focus was on examining the broader maritime context, lacking an in-depth exploration of the decision-making process for selecting ports as sites for exploitation and extraction.

The studies conducted by Ahuja and Broeze have been criticised for their narrow focus solely on the experiences of lascars, overlooking the broader implications of colonial maritime policies on indigenous populations and local resources within port regions. While their research provides valuable insights, it fails to adequately address the comprehensive impact of British policies on port spaces and native merchant activities. Consequently, their analyses offer limited insight into the governance dynamics surrounding British-controlled ports, especially in the Malabar region. In contrast, this research endeavors to address this gap by conducting a detailed micro-analysis of colonial interventions in various ports in Malabar. Through this approach, the study aims to offer a more nuanced understanding of the complex interplay between port dynamics and colonial effects on maritime communities.

Ankita Singh's scholarly investigation centers on the establishment of a port authority in nineteenth-century India, scrutinising the organisational structure and administrative procedures within the port of Calcutta.⁴¹ Singh highlights the profound implications of establishing a port authority during this era, particularly in its impact on port management, maritime trade dynamics, entrepreneurial ventures, and labour organisation within the region. This thorough examination offers a historical narrative

⁴⁰Harald Fischer, Tine and Ashwini Tambe. '*The Limits of British Colonial Control in South Asia: Spaces of Disorder in the Indian Ocean Region*', p 33.

⁴¹Ankita Singh, 'Creation of a port authority in nineteenth century British India: Organisational structure and administrative procedures in the Port of Calcutta', *International Maritime History Journal*, Vol 34, 3, 2022, pp. 395-417.

that traces the origins and evolution of bureaucratic procedures and organisational structures within the esteemed confines of the Calcutta port. Nevertheless, while Singh's research effectively underscores the enduring influence of the administrative system over port practices throughout the nineteenth century, it leaves a critical gap by failing to explore how British maritime regulations intersected with and shaped the political economy of the ports. This omission limits the comprehensive understanding of the broader socio-economic dynamics within the maritime domain during this period.

Similarly, Debajani Bhattacharya also explores the construction of colonial Calcutta, emphasising river networks and the role of water resources in the urbanisation process.⁴² From the 18th century, colonial law, bureaucracy, and technology replaced the traditional knowledge of land making and unmaking in Bengal's sea-facing region. The book argues that property law and hydraulic technologies were used to transform the dynamic and fluid landscape of the Bengal delta into a propertied geography. Yet, neither of these works thoroughly investigated how colonial governance shaped port administration or maritime spaces in India. Bhattacharya's work lacks emphasis on port administration or the role of ports in developing littoral societies in terms of economic growth and social changes.

The scholarly examination of colonialism's imprint on Indian society has transcended its traditional focus on economic paradigms, with contemporary historians increasingly focusing on micro-level analyses. A particularly noteworthy domain of scholarly inquiry revolves around pilgrimage, where researchers endeavor to elucidate the colonial impact on the institutionalisation of pilgrims and pilgrimage practices in India. The historiographical landscape surrounding pilgrimage and the role of colonial

⁴²Debajani Bhattacharyya, *Empire and Ecology in the Bengal Delta: The Making of Calcutta*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018.

medicine has been significantly enriched by the works of scholars such as M. Harrison, Biswamoy Pati, David Arnold, John Slight, William Roff, Saurabh Mishra, and Radhika Singha. Their extensive research has carefully explored the historical evolution of pilgrimage practices and the complex interplay with colonial medical interventions, thus providing invaluable insights into this multifaceted aspect of colonial health policies.⁴³ M. Harrison contends that the British government's motivations were a blend of humanitarian concerns and self-interest in public health, with a focus on how quarantine regulated colonial trade and prevented infectious diseases. David Arnold takes a medical approach to analyse the intersection of pilgrimage and colonialism, asserting that medicine played a crucial role linked to the goals of colonial rule. He also investigates how colonised communities responded to and resisted colonial medical practices while preserving their own medical traditions. M. Christopher highlights the impact of technological advancements on the increase in maritime and pilgrim traffic, becoming a significant factor in the global spread of epidemic diseases.⁴⁴ F. E Peters observes the politicisation of sanitarians due to the threat of a cholera epidemic reaching Europe, aiming to regulate the life of western Arabia and the Hajj ritual.⁴⁵ William Roff emphasises the importance of contextualising the role of Hajj in Pan-Islamic and anti-

⁴³Mark Harrison, Quarantine, pilgrimage, and colonial trade: India 1866-1900. *The Indian Economic & Social History Review*, Vol 29, 2, 1992, pp, 117-144. David Arnold, *Colonizing the Body: State Medicine and Epidemic Disease in Nineteenth-Century India*, London: University of California Press, 1993. Mark Harrison, *Public Health in British India: Anglo-Indian Preventive Medicine, 1859-1914*, Delhi: Cambridge University press, 1994. Radhika Singha, Passport, ticket, and india-rubber stamp: The problem of the pauper pilgrim in colonial India c. 1882–1925, in *The Limits of British Colonial Control in South Asia*, ed, Harald Fischer, Ashwini Tambe, London: Routledge, 2008. pp, 49-83. Mark Harrison, Biswamoy Pati, ed, *The Social History of Health and Medicine in Colonial India*, New York: Routledge Publication, 2009. Saurabh Mishra, Beyond the bounds of time? : The Haj pilgrimage from the Indian subcontinent, 1865–1920, in *The Social History of Health and Medicine in Colonial India*, ed, Mark Harrison, Biswamoy Pati, New York: Routledge, 2009. John Slight, *The British Empire and the Hajj: 1865–1956*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015.

⁴⁴Michael Christopher Low, 'Empire and the Hajj: Pilgrims, Plagues, and Pan-Islam under British Surveillance, 1865-1908,' *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, vol. 40, 2, 2008, pp, 269–90.

⁴⁵M.C Low, 'Empire and the Hajj: Pilgrims, Plagues, and Pan-Islam under British Surveillance, 1865-1908,' *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, vol. 40, no. 2, 2008, p, 270.

colonial ties between India and the Ottoman Empire to understand British responses to the international sanitary crisis.

John Slight explores how information was received and interpreted by the British consulate in Jeddah, shaping the British Empire's understanding of the Hajj.⁴⁶ This process involved consolidating colonial knowledge on Hajj pilgrims and exploring the methods used to gather information. These inquiries provide valuable insights into the colonial state's engagement with Hajj pilgrims in India. The mentioned works primarily focus on conducting a comprehensive analysis of pilgrims in a macro-historical context. They lack precise information regarding pilgrims originating from the Malabar region, which is crucial for understanding colonial institutionalisation in the ports of Malabar. These studies did not specifically investigate Hajj pilgrims from Malabar, and instead of concentrating on particular ports or specific regions, they provide a broader perspective on colonial interventions in pilgrim subjects. In contrast, this study aims to explore the role of colonial port administration in the Hajj pilgrimage of Malabar Muslims.

M.N. Pearson and K.M. Panikkar have conducted thorough examinations of the Portuguese role in the Indian Ocean world, with a notable emphasis on the trade perspective within the maritime history of India.⁴⁷ Similarly, K.N. Chaudhuri examines the trade aspects of the Indian Ocean, employing Braudel's concept of time and space to comprehend the evolution of the ocean and the littoral world. Chaudhuri's scholarly inquiry encountered criticism, notably pertaining to its scope, encompassing concerns regarding the temporal and spatial continuity of the Indian Ocean, considering the heterogeneity across various regions. Despite these critiques, Chaudhuri's seminal contributions established the foundational framework for historians to acknowledge

⁴⁶John Slight, British Colonial Knowledge and the Hajj in the Age of Empire, in *The Hajj and Europe in the Age of Empire*, edited by Umar Ryad, Leiden: Brill, 2017, pp, 81–111.

⁴⁷K.M.Panikkar, *Asia and Western Dominance*, London: George Allen and Unwin, 1959.

lacunae within littoral studies, thereby catalysing a more discerning scrutiny of this epoch.⁴⁸ Drawing inspiration from K.N. Chaudhuri, historians such as Ashin Das Gupta and M.N. Pearson have proffered illuminating perspectives on the Indian Ocean, conceptualising it as a cohesive entity across its expansive historical trajectory.⁴⁹ These studies were directed towards comprehending the human interactions with the sea and the littoral environment, thereby illuminating the political and economic import of the oceanic realm.⁵⁰

Existing studies on Malabar have predominantly focused on the interventions of Portuguese and Dutch powers in port spaces rather than adequately addressing the British interventions in port spaces in Malabar. KM Panikkar's examination of Portuguese expansion in Malabar states that the Portuguese disrupted the socio-economic fabric of maritime spaces, particularly impacting merchant activities in the ports of Malabar. This phenomenon was further explained by various historians such as Sebastian Prange, Ashin Das Gupta, M.N Pearson, Mahmood Kooria, Pious Malekandathil, and K.S Mathew, where they explained the Portuguese impacts in the Malabar littorals.⁵¹ Prange's work

⁴⁸K.N.Chaudhuri, *The English East India Company: The Study of an Early Joint-Stock Company, 1600-1640*, London: F. Cass, 1965. K. N. Chaudhuri, *The Trading World of Asia and the English East India Company, 1660-1760*, Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1978. K.N.Chaudhuri, *Trade and Civilization in Indian Ocean*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

⁴⁹Ashin Das Gupta, M.N. Pearson, *Indian and Indian Ocean; 1500-1800*, Calcutta: Oxford University Press, 1987.

⁵⁰Kenneth McPherson, The History of the Indian Ocean Region: A Conceptual Framework, *The Great Circle*, vol. 3, no. 1, 1981, pp. 10–19. Michael Pearson, *Indian Ocean*, London: Routledge Publication, 2003. Karen Wigen, Oceans in History: Introduction, *American Historical Review*, 111, 2006. Prasannan, Parthasarathi, and Giorgio Riello, 'The Indian Ocean in the Long Eighteenth Century', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, vol. 48, no. 1, 2014, pp. 1–19. Alpers. A. Ward, *The Indian Ocean in World History*, New York: Oxford University press, 2014.

⁵¹Ashin Das Gupta, *Malabar in Asian Trade, 1740-1800*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967, Ashin Das Gupta, *Indian Merchants and the Decline of Surat, 1700-1750*, Wiesbaden: South Asian Institute, 1979, Ashin Das Gupta, *Merchants and Maritime India, 1500-1800*, Aldershot, Varorium Press, 1994. KS Mathew, *Maritime Malabar and the Europeans*, New Delhi: Hope India Publication, 2003. MN Pearson, *The Indian Ocean*. New York: Routledge, 2003. MN Pearson, *Port Cities and Intruders: The Swahili Coast, India, and Portugal in the Early Modern Era*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1998. Sebastain.R.Prange, *Monsoon Islam; Trade and Faith on the Medieval Malabar Coast*, London, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2018. Mahmood Kooria, M.N.Pearson, ed, *Malabar in the Indian Ocean*

primarily examines Malabar as a region shaped by "Monsoon Islam," emphasising the role of Arab and Mappila traders in the various ports. He argues that the arrival of Arab traders during the monsoon season not only propagated Islam but also fostered a unique Malabar Islamic tradition that integrated local cultural and religious practices. He explores the significant role played by monsoon winds in shaping the religious and cultural practices of the region, emphasising the characteristics. Prange's analysis provides a new dimension to the port study, as he sees ports not only as centres of economic transactions but also as means for spreading the faith of Islam in Malabar. He highlights the influential role of Muslim merchants in shaping Indian Ocean trade and networks during this period, particularly emphasising Calicut as a major port. The strength of Muslim merchant networks at the port and sea, as outlined by Prange, highlights the significance of the port as a crucial locus for business transactions and provides valuable insights into the relationships and institutional arrangements that facilitated the regular exchange of goods across vast oceanic distances.⁵² Prange's work does not provide insight into the port itself in terms of its administration or governance. On the other hand, Monsoon Islam confines its scope of study to the medieval period, whereas the current study endeavours to look at the development of the ports after the 1800s.

Mahmood Kooria and M.N. Pearson have critically analysed the Portuguese arrival in Malabar ports, arguing that it significantly disrupted the political economy by challenging established trade and merchant practices.⁵³ Kooria emphasised the

Cosmopolitanism in a Maritime Historical Region, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2018. Pious Melekandathil, *Maritime Malabar: Trade, Religion and Culture*, New Delhi: Primus, 2022.

⁵²Sebastain.R.Prange, *Monsoon Islam; Trade and Faith on the Medieval Malabar Coast*, London, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2018, p, 23.

⁵³Mahmood Kooria, M.N.Pearson, ed, *Malabar in the Indian Ocean Cosmopolitanism in a Maritime Historical Region*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2018.

Portuguese's specific targeting of Hajj pilgrims travelling on various ships departing from Malabar ports.⁵⁴ In contrast, Ashin Das Gupta analysed Malabar's role in Indian Ocean trade and commerce networks.⁵⁵ K.S. Mathew and Pious Malekandathil emphasised Malabar's significance in the early sixteenth-century Indian Ocean networks, focusing on the role of Calicut port in Malabar's economic development during the Portuguese period. Pious Melekandathil extensively explores the intricate development and advancement of port towns in pre-modern India, with a particular emphasis on the transformative era of the eighteenth century.⁵⁶ This period witnessed the ascendancy of Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta as pivotal centers for maritime trade and urban activities in India, attracting a diverse array of individuals, including merchants, artisans, and financiers. This perspective contrasts the approach of some historians who are striving to comprehend the ramifications of colonialism on maritime spaces. Despite acknowledging the Portuguese impact on Malabar's maritime activities, these works fall short of exploring this subject beyond the Portuguese period.

Binu John Mapilaprambil's study on Cannanore offers a unique perspective on colonial intervention in Malabar. Focusing on the interactions between local rulers, specifically the Arakkal Ali Rajas, and the Dutch invasion of Cannanore, the research illuminates the rulers' active involvement in maritime trade at the Cannanore port.⁵⁷ The study is confined to the Dutch period and offers insights into how Dutch forces engaged with the native polity and economy in early colonial Malabar. It does not examine the

⁵⁴Mahmood Kooria, *Killed the Pilgrims and Persecuted Them: Portuguese Estado Da India's encounters with the Hajj in the Sixteenth Century*, in *The Hajj and Europe in the Age of Empire*, edited by Umar Ryad, Brill, 2017, pp, 14–46.

⁵⁵Ashin Das Gupta, *Malabar in Asian Trade, 1740-1800*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1967

⁵⁶Pious Malekandathil, 'Maritime Histories, Indian Ocean and Port-Towns: Changing Dynamics of Urban Spaces in Pre-Modern India', *Atma, Journal of Tourism studies*, 2020, 15, p, 121.

⁵⁷Binu John Mapilaprambil, *Lords of the Sea: The Ali Rajas of Cannanore and the Political Economy of Malabar, 1663-1723*, Vol, 14 of TANAP Monographs on the History of Asian-European Interaction, Leiden, Netherland: Brill Publications, 2011.

strategic utilization of Cannanore port by the British during their colonial rule, nor does it explore the subsequent developments in Malabar's ports following the British arrival.

The scholarly discourse of British influence in Malabar has predominantly espoused a land-centric approach, with particular attention directed towards peasant uprisings throughout the British period. Noteworthy among these discussions is the scholarly contribution of K.N. Panikkar, who discerningly contends that the genesis of agrarian unrest in Malabar during British dominion can be attributed to the economic strategies pursued by the colonial administration, consequently characterising such movements as inherently anti-colonial. Panikkar elucidates the colonial regime's prioritisation of onerous taxation measures and the perpetuation of a surplus-oriented economic model tailored to serve imperial interests, coupled with policies that conferred preferential treatment upon landlords, thereby fostering an environment conducive to subjugation and disenfranchisement.⁵⁸ Panikkar describes rural Malabar society as a perpetual ferment marked by sporadic revolts driven by the grievances of poor peasants against oppression and exploitation. Stephen Dale had given religious dimensions to the peasant protests in Malabar.⁵⁹ However, David Arnold criticised Dale for oversimplifying the revolts as expressions of religious fanaticism, arguing that they were more complex manifestations of peasantry's aspirations for a better future and the adoption of legitimising ideologies, often with religious undertones.⁶⁰ Conversely, Ronald E. Miller emphasised the alienation and exclusion of Muslims in Malabar from British society, attributing outbreaks of unrest to resentment towards colonial rule.⁶¹ He suggests that

⁵⁸K.N Panikkar, *Against the Lord and State; Religion and Peasant Uprising in Malabar*, Delhi: Oxford University press, 1989 , p1,

⁵⁹Stephen Frederic Dale, *Islamic Society on the South Asian Frontier: The Mappilas of Malabar, 1498-1922*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980, pp 120-125.

⁶⁰David Arnold, Islam, the Mappilas and Peasant Revolt in Malabar, *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, 9:4, 1992, p 258.

⁶¹Roland E Miller, *Mappila Muslims of Kerala: A Study in Islamic Trends*, Madras: Orient Longman, 1992, pp, 108-118.

poverty and religious elements played crucial roles in driving these uprisings. Both Arnold and Miller agreed that the outbreaks were not solely motivated by religious factors but were deeply rooted in socio-economic grievances, particularly the exploitation by landlords under British colonial policies. They argue that the interactions between marginalised Mappilas and British colonial rule fuelled a widespread pattern of unrest.⁶² These scholarly discourses often overlook the maritime impacts of British involvement in Malabar, with a predominant emphasis on the analysis of colonial economic policies and their effects on the agrarian communities of the region.

Margret Frenz examined the British expansion in Malabar from 1796 to 1805, with a particular emphasis on the case study of British interactions with the Payassi Raja of Kottayam in Malabar.⁶³ This study highlights the disruption caused by the imposition of British officials, courts, legal concepts, and taxes on the finely balanced society of Malabar. However, the author overlooks the administrative responses in the ports or maritime activities in Malabar during this transformative period. In a similar vein, William Logan's work provides an explicit discussion of the Malabar region, focusing on various treaties and engagements between the British administration and local rulers and chiefs.⁶⁴ While offering a catalogue of various ports in Malabar during the British colonial era, the analysis lacks a detailed exploration of the complexities within these port spaces. The study falls short of examining the nuanced dynamics and factors that

⁶²David Arnold, 'Islam, the Mappilas and peasant revolt in Malabar', *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, 9:4, 1992, 255-265. Stephen Frederic Dale, *Islamic Society on the South Asian Frontier: The Mappilas of Malabar, 1498-1922*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980. David Hardiman, ed, *Peasant resistance in India*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1992. Roland E Miller, *Mappila Muslims of Kerala: A Study in Islamic trends*, Madras: Orient Longman, 1992. K.N Panikkar, *Against the Lord and State; Religion and Peasant Uprising in Malabar*, Delhi: Oxford University press, 1989, K.N Panikkar, *Peasant Protests and Revolts in Malabar*, Delhi: Indian Council for Historical Research and Peoples Publishing House. 1990. Conard Wood, *The Moplah Rebellion and its Genesis*, Delhi: People Publishing House, 1987.

⁶³Margret Frenz, *From Contact to Conquest: Transition to British Rule in Malabar, 1790-1805*, London: Oxford University Press, 2003.

⁶⁴William Logan, *Malabar Manual* (Vol, 1 and 2), Calicut: Mathrubhumi Books, 2014.

made these ports strategically significant during the colonial period. The author misses the opportunity to thoroughly investigate how these port spaces were integral elements in the broader colonial strategy, leaving unexplored the multifaceted dimensions of their importance in shaping regional dynamics, trade networks, and political control.

Santhosh Abraham examines the colonial legal transformations in Malabar, emphasising that following the Treaty of Srirangapatnam in 1792, the colonial government established multiple courts in the region. Despite their outward appearance of transparency and formality, these courts served as tools for enforcing colonial policies and exerting control over the native population.⁶⁵ He further discussed the Keyi Muslim merchants in Malabar, positioning this group within the broader theoretical framework of Indian Ocean cosmopolitanism. Abraham contends that the Keyis cultivated a distinctive and substantial form of coastal cosmopolitanism in the context of the Indian Ocean.⁶⁶ The work explicitly focused on a particular group—the Keyi merchants of Malabar. In contrast, this thesis aims to understand the impact of colonial administrative strategies among various merchant and fishing communities of the Malabar littoral.

Existing scholarship on the colonial influences in Malabar has failed to address the critical aspect of colonial governance within port spaces. Instead, these studies have focused exclusively on the socio-economic dimensions of British administration and its impacts in Malabar. The detailed and complex nature of colonial governance, including the various administrative, legal, and economic mechanisms used by the British in the ports and port spaces, has been mostly overlooked in these investigations. Consequently, the comprehensive understanding of the British influence on Malabar's port spaces and

⁶⁵Santhosh Abraham. 'Colonial Law in Early British Malabar: Transparent Colonial State and Formality of Practices', *South Asia Research*, 31, 3, 2011, pp, 249-264.

⁶⁶Santhosh Abraham, 'The Keyi Mappila Muslim Merchants of Tellicherry and the Making of Coastal Cosmopolitanism on the Malabar Coast', *Asian Review of World Histories*, Vol 5, 2, 2017, pp, 145-162.

its impacts on coastal communities remains incomplete and limited. Therefore, it is crucial to explore in greater detail the nuanced workings of colonial governing practices within the ports to fully comprehend the extent of the British impact on this region. The primary emphasis of the aforementioned studies revolves around scrutinising the maritime history of Malabar or port history within a confined timeframe, typically extending only to the early nineteenth century. The existing studies generally assert that the involvement of Malabar in maritime affairs underwent a significant transformation upon the arrival of the Portuguese, or they concentrate on analysing the decline of ports during this period. However, the current body of research on colonialism in Malabar encounters a limitation as scholars have not thoroughly delved into comprehending the economic hegemony and resource control stemming from the strategic designation of ports as regulated spaces, which colonial powers could exploit for their economic interests.

Implementing colonial governmentality in Malabar port spaces encountered resistance and complexities among the various communities and groups engaged in maritime activities during the British period. This governance in maritime Malabar involved a multifaceted array of administrative strategies, including appointing officials in ports and establishing comprehensive surveillance systems. The overarching objective of colonial governmentality in Malabar was the consolidation of authority across various spheres of colonial life, spanning economic activities, merchant regulations, boat and shipping protocols, health mandates, fisheries management, salt policies, and timber monopolies. These regulatory frameworks primarily functioned as mechanisms for colonial authorities to exercise surveillance and oversight, often aimed at maximising revenue through taxation, tariffs, and trade monopolies. For example, salt regulations were introduced to exploit natural salt resources for colonial profit, while timber

regulations aimed to control access to valuable timber resources. Health regulations and fisheries policies also served as tools for social control and disciplinary measures, contributing to the imposition of colonial governmentality and the incorporation of indigenous populations into colonial governance structures. Through the imposition of merchant regulations and other regulatory measures, colonial powers endeavored to enforce Western norms and values while undermining traditional governance systems and economic arrangements, thus reinforcing colonial dominance over cultural and societal domains. Despite concerted colonial efforts to enforce compliance, indigenous populations frequently mounted resistance and subversion against oppressive regulations. Local communities devised strategies to navigate and circumvent colonial control, asserting their agency and contesting colonial authority through acts of resistance, evasion, and adaptation. This resistance underscores the resilience of indigenous populations and highlights the limitations of colonial governmentality in fully subjugating and controlling colonial subjects.

Therefore, this study argues that the British formed a distinctive domain within Malabar's port space, characterised by its regulatory framework, operational dynamics, and interpretive paradigms. In this context, the British-designated ports assumed the role of regulated space, serving as strategic arenas that facilitated the transformative process. The ports of Malabar played a crucial role in the institutionalisation of the region's diverse maritime activities, including merchant and shipping enterprises, pilgrimage, and artisanal fisheries. Therefore, this study raises several questions in order to understand the British interventions on port spaces in Malabar.

1. To What extent did the British use Ports as regulated spaces in Malabar?
2. What were the significant maritime interventions by colonial powers in Maritime Malabar between 1800 and 1947? How did it impact the indigenous merchants and vessels/ships engaged in maritime activities within the ports of Malabar?

3. In what ways did the British institutionalise pilgrimage and pilgrims in Malabar? What were the major interventions on pilgrims from Malabar, and how did it impact the movements of pilgrims?
4. How did the British implement various fishery policies in Malabar, and how did these policies impact the *Mukkuvans*? And how did the *Mukkuvans* respond to the colonial interventions and experiments?

Following the Treaty of Srirangapatanam in 1792, Malabar experienced a significant shift towards colonial administration, compelling provincial rulers to accept colonial dominance, particularly in revenue collection. British interventions in Malabar not only transformed the economic activities of the ports but also asserted control over various trading groups and vessels in the region. There are some studies attempted to grasp the essence of ports in the colonial era, but their analyses often inadequately acknowledge the profound significance of these locations as the primary maritime domain where the British sought to assert their supreme authority and power.⁶⁷

The primary objective of this study is to identify administrative changes in the major ports of Malabar, such as Calicut, Cannanore, and Tellicherry, during the British period and analyse their contributions to the establishment of colonial maritime authority in Malabar. The choice of these specific ports for examination is grounded in various factors, including substantial trade volume, the availability of archival materials, and the predominant presence of merchants. Calicut, Cannanore, and Tellicherry stand out due to their considerable trade and the diverse array of materials exported. While acknowledging the importance of these major ports, the research recognises the vital role played by certain minor ports, such as Ponnani and Beypore, in the making of the political economy of Malabar.

⁶⁷Ashin Das Gupta, *Malabar in Asian Trade, 1740-1800*, Delhi: Cambridge University Press, 1967. Sugata Bose, *Hundred Horizons: the Indian Ocean in the Age of Global Empire*, London: Harvard University Press, 2006. Ankita Singh, 'Creation of a port authority in nineteenth century British India: Organisational structure and administrative procedures in the Port of Calcutta', *International Maritime History Journal*, Vol 34, (3), 2022, pp, 395-417.

This research is organised around four principal themes. Firstly, it explores how the establishment of ports in the early modern period gave rise to power dynamics and triggered competition among European companies vying for control over Malabar. The second theme is legal changes within the maritime spaces, encompassing regulations related to ports, ships, merchants, and communities involved in maritime activities. This includes acts like the Native Passengers Ships Act, Merchant Shipping Act, Health regulations, Salt regulations, and timber regulations. The third theme of the study would be the study of institutionalisation of Hajj pilgrimage during the British period and assess the implementation of health regulations, particularly among the pilgrims in Malabar. Lastly, the study analyse institutional changes in the structure of *mukkuvans* in colonial Malabar, including colonial experiments with fish curing yards in coastal areas and the responses of fishing communities to these transformations. Through a series of maritime regulations, the British exerted control over indigenous merchants, native trade, and other resources in the region. The implementation of these regulations not only influenced activities within the ports of Malabar but also had repercussions on other related endeavors. This transformative process set the British actions apart from those of other colonial powers in Malabar, mainly the Portuguese. Unlike the Portuguese, who struggled to establish the port as an institution for power control, the British successfully regulated the port space, exercising authority over native resources and other elements associated with the ports.

Methodology

The proposed research is predominantly historical and heavily relies on archival materials, including Customs records, Revenue records, Malabar collectorate files, correspondence files, letters, pilgrimage files, Fisheries Bulletin, and Public Department Files. This study's primary sources are housed in the Calicut Regional Archives (CRA).

Additionally, certain printed primary sources like Maclean's Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency: An Illustration of the Records of Government and Early Administration Reports, The Joint Commissioner's Report on Malabar, Malabar Manual, etc., have been consulted in the research. This research extensively utilised various online source repositories, including the British Library, Hathi Trust, South Asian archives and Archive.org.

The chosen temporal scope of this study spans from 1800 to 1947, a crucial period marked by British intervention in the provincial administration of Malabar. Before 1800, Malabar fell under the jurisdiction of the Bombay presidency but was later transferred to the Madras presidency as a district. This transition brought about a significant change as the British assumed control over revenue and provincial administration in Malabar. The commencement of British dominance in provincial administration can be traced back to the Joint Commissioner's report of Malabar in 1792-1793. This marked the initiation of British influence over provincial administration, with a subsequent focus on asserting control over maritime spaces to enhance economic gains.

The limitation of this study is that other components of colonial interventions on maritime Malabar need to be examined further. Due to material constraints and the vast nature of the area, further research is necessary to analyse several key aspects, including the impact of British policies on the shipbuilding industry in Malabar. These areas require deeper exploration to understand the comprehensive impact of British in Malabar.

Chapterisation

This thesis comprises six chapters, including the introduction and conclusion. Introduction chapter outlines the literature review, research methodology, and research objectives and questions. The first chapter examines the historical background of colonial expansion in Malabar and scrutinises colonial powers political and economic

interventions in the region's maritime spaces. This chapter thoroughly explores the influences of the Portuguese, Dutch, and British on the socio-economic structure of the Malabar region. The Portuguese arrival in the Indian Ocean initiated a significant shift towards a political landscape marked by dominance rivalry along the Malabar Coast. Their approach, primarily centered on political and economic interests, neglected administrative development, resulting in the exclusion and displacement of merchant groups, particularly the Mappila and Arab traders. The introduction of the Cartaz system exacerbated economic challenges for these merchants, leading to resistance against Portuguese expansion due to its adverse impact on the local economy and religious beliefs. The Dutch interventions that began in the early seventeenth century also had a substantial impact on the political economy of Maritime Malabar. Their agreements with the Zamorin (provincial rulers of Calicut), particularly restricting pepper and ginger trade solely to the Dutch, were aimed at monopolising these commodities. Despite their presence, both the Portuguese and Dutch struggled to control the maritime spaces of Malabar, primarily focusing on extracting pepper and underscoring the limitations of their colonial forces in the region. Furthermore, in their persistent efforts to establish a robust economic foothold, the British obtained permission from the Zamorin to construct a warehouse in Chetava in 1715. This marked a crucial moment in their strategic partnerships and trade initiatives in the region. It led to the establishment of a British representative tasked with managing pepper procurement and trade activities, showcasing their commitment to strengthening their presence. Subsequently, this initiative resulted in the formation of the Malabar Commission by Lord Cornwallis and Abercromby. The commission aimed to investigate district matters and develop an appropriate administrative framework, laying the groundwork for the future governance of the coastal regions in Malabar.

The second chapter examines the impact of colonial maritime regulations on indigenous merchant communities and native coasting vessels. The chapter scrutinises the responses and petitions from native merchants and native coasting vessels regarding the implementation of merchant shipping acts and other maritime regulations. This chapter analyses the distinctive features of ports in the Malabar region, categorising the prominent ports that existed during the colonial period. This chapter underscores the significance of three primary ports - Calicut, Cannanore, and Tellicherry - as essential maritime hubs during this era. It details the adverse impact of increased pilotage fees on the merchant class and delves into the implications of the Merchant Shipping Act, encompassing regulations for ship registration, safety measures, pollution prevention, crew obligations, and dispute resolution. The chapter discusses the requirements for native ships to report detailed information and passenger lists to the port officer, highlighting recent governmental regulations that have provoked unrest among local merchants by placing strict controls over shipping and sea trade. The chapter further outlines the discontent and petitions from native merchants regarding new coasting fees for vessels, citing Act XXII of 1855, which mandated pilot fees for larger vessels and effectively restricted access to certain ports for native coastal vessels. It unveils the resulting disruptions in commerce between Malabar and Bombay, causing financial distress and unemployment among industrious individuals and their families. Moreover, it explores incidents involving specific ports and vessels, such as Calicut, and the implications of regulations on cargo discharge, vessel lighting requirements, and entry procedures for various types of vessels. It scrutinises the implementation of the salt monopoly in Malabar, its impact on salt prices, and the resulting native unrest. The chapter details the reactions and recommendations made by officials such as Thomas Harvey Baber and HW Bliss regarding the salt monopoly's financial implications and the

establishment of a salt preventative force in Malabar to oversee salt production. Furthermore, the chapter examines the colonial administration's recognition of the significance of Malabar timber, particularly Teak, for shipbuilding. It discusses the classifications of Teak based on durability and the government intervention in forest management, aiming to maximise timber exports to Bombay dockyards. It also explores agreements that granted exclusive timber cutting privileges to designated individuals and the implications of these arrangements on the timber industry in Malabar. The chapter concludes by scrutinising the trade volumes at the principal ports—Calicut, Tellicherry, and Cannanore—emphasising their pivotal roles in shaping the political economy of these colonial-era ports.

The third chapter explores the British policies that influenced the Hajj pilgrimage in the Malabar region. The chapter particularly focuses on how colonial pilgrimage policies affected the movement of pilgrims and the health measures imposed on the pilgrimage, considering the immense religious significance of Hajj in the Muslim world. The British Empire intervened in Hajj due to internal concerns about infectious diseases spreading in their territories. The chapter details how, with the inception of trade passage through the Suez Canal in 1861, the Egyptian government was pressured to establish maritime laws, significantly altering the region's political economy. From 1860 onwards, the British introduced strict quarantine measures in ports and on ships to prevent diseases from spreading among pilgrims journeying from India to Mecca. These measures included mandates for ships carrying over 100 pilgrims to have a certified medical officer on board. Furthermore, an Indian vice-consul was appointed in Jeddah to ensure the well-being of the pilgrims, emphasising the British focus on health and safety measures. The chapter details the British emphasis on managing quarantine regulations and pilgrimage rules and the concerns about the spread of diseases, particularly smallpox, among Indian

pilgrims. It discusses measures taken to quarantine pilgrims with smallpox, disinfect their belongings, and restrict their voyage until they recovered. It also delves into the various health issues encountered on pilgrim ships and the subsequent measures taken to isolate and treat the infected individuals, even if it meant the pilgrims forfeiting their passage fees. The British policies and regulations significantly influenced the arrival and departure procedures at various ports, particularly affecting ships with infected passengers.

The shift in British policy in the late 1850s, influenced by Turkish passport requirements in Jeddah, led to the British government issuing passports to Indian subjects embarking on Hajj. It details the subsequent increase in passport applications from Malabar and the challenges faced by the Muslim community in adapting to the administrative changes compelled by political alliances between the British and Turkish governments. Furthermore, the chapter highlights the concerns of interior regions in Malabar regarding the comprehension of new passport regulations, the need for publicising these rules in vernacular languages, and the uncertainty regarding the supervision of Indian pilgrims following the introduction of passports. This chapter also addresses the British government's engagement with Thomas Cook and Company in overseeing the pilgrimage, introducing regulations for pilgrim movements, and granting freedom to the company in ticket issuance. It underscores the British government's limited attention to regulations aimed at safeguarding Muslim pilgrims and the eventual involvement of Thomas Cook and Company in managing the movement of pilgrims from India to Jeddah and back. This chapter emphasises the transformation of pilgrim traffic into a significant aspect of state affairs, documenting the evolving policies that affected the Hajj pilgrimage in the Malabar region during colonial rule.

The fourth chapter scrutinises how the British colonial policies significantly influenced the lives of the fishing communities along the Malabar Coast, challenging their traditional practices and questioning their means of survival. The chapter primarily focuses on the policies initiated by Francis Day and H.S. Thomas, emphasising the intent to modernise Indian fisheries. It highlights efforts by British officials to introduce new methods and technologies to the fishing communities, emphasising modernisation and capital investment while disregarding the traditional lifestyle and economic principles of the fishermen. This approach conflicted with the community's principle of '*Kudumbam Pularthi*' centered on family care and short-term fishing trips due to boat limitations. The discussion revolves around the creation of fish curing yards, highlighting the emergence of capitalist ventures and the imposition of authority on fishing communities. The colonial approach is dissected into experimental, observational, compilation, and clerical aspects, pinpointing the significant influence of experiments in the fisheries, potentially leading to dependency on capitalists, which threatens the individual freedom of the fishermen. The Indian Fisheries Act of 1897 imposed substantial changes, with the British taking control of public rivers and seas, affecting the fishermen's fishing rights in certain rivers and private water bodies. Several grievances were noted, particularly regarding fishing yards, which disrupted the fishermen's daily activities and businesses. There were reports of unfavourable fishing conditions in Ponnani and conflicts between *Mukkuvans* and Mappilas over fishing territories and practices. Changes in fishing nets also led to significant reductions in the sardine population, affecting fishing communities, particularly in Badagara and Cannanore. This chapter contextualises the socio-economic conditions of the *Mukkuvans* during colonial times and their responses to the interventions in the fisheries sector. The study concludes with a final chapter encompassing the research findings.

Chapter 1

Maritime Encounters: Early Colonial Interventions in Malabar

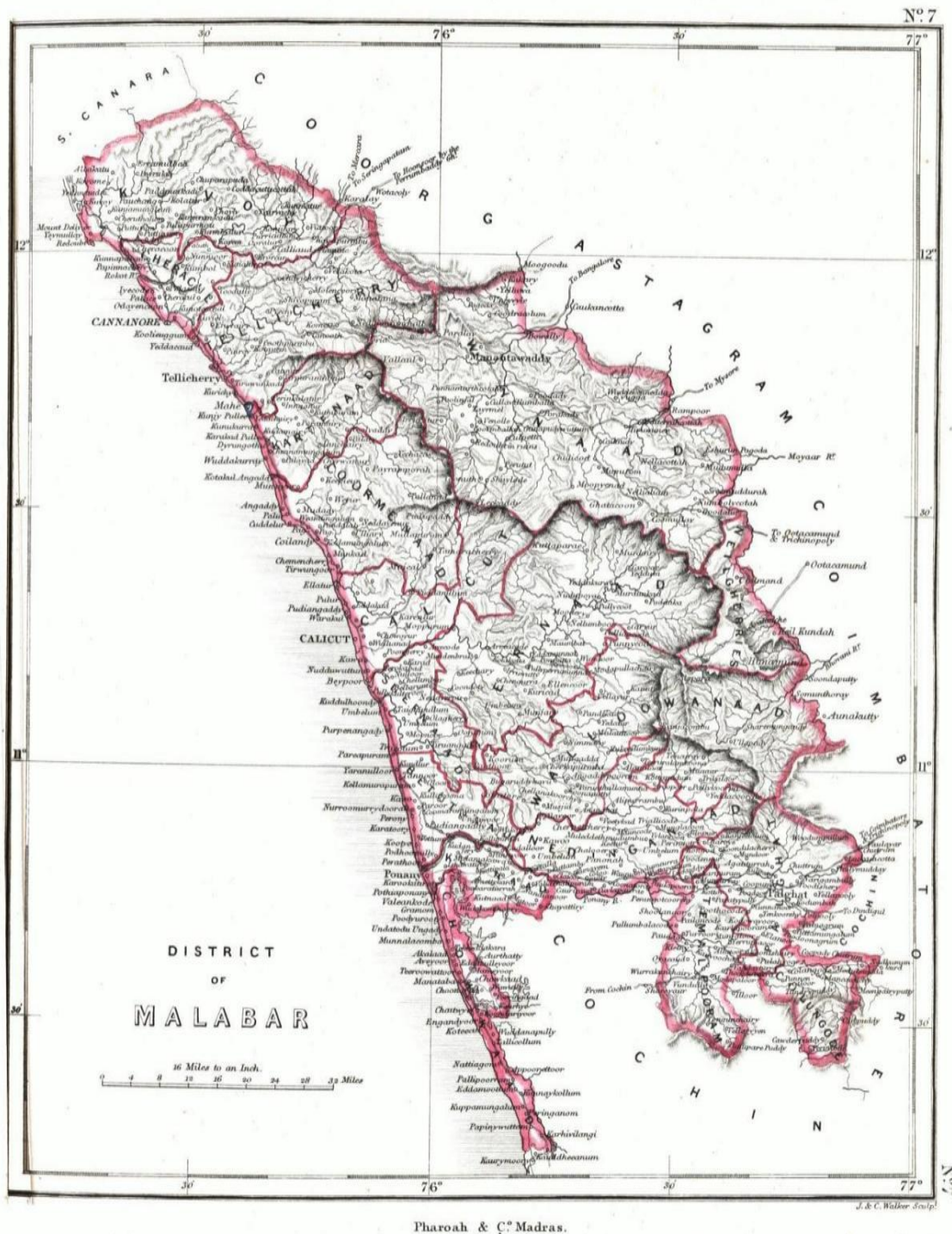
The presence of Portuguese, Dutch, and British powers had a subtle impact on Malabar, influencing its political and economic aspects, maritime aspects, provincial administrations, trade regulations. The intervention by colonial powers in Malabar was central to the larger imperial ambitions and the arrival of British marked an important political turning point, sparking socio-economic and political transformations led by dominance and control over native resources. This chapter raises three important questions: What were the major impacts of Portuguese on the Malabar littorals? How the Dutch interventions did shaped the political economy of Malabar, and what were the early British interventions in Malabar prior to the 1800s. In order to understand these questions, it is important to examine the multifaceted impacts of colonialism on the political and economic spaces, as well as to identify the indigenous responses to the expansion of colonial interventions in the region.

This chapter begins with political and economic policies of Vasco da Gama in maritime Malabar, it then proceeds to investigate Dutch influences in the region, and ultimately scrutinise early British interventions, ranging from the era of Robert Abercomby to that of William Farmer, and their policies in Malabar.⁶⁸ The examination encompasses an analysis of the political transformations that occurred in Malabar prior to and during the transition from Portuguese to British, including the mechanisms through which British governance was established in Malabar. As stated in the introduction chapter, there has been a significant amount of scholarly attention given to Malabar. However, there has been a striking lack of research aimed at understanding the

⁶⁸CRA, *Reports of Joint Commission from Bengal and Bombay*, appointed to inspect into the state and condition of the Province of Malabar, in the years 1792 and 1793, Madras: Government Press, 1863

fundamental influence of colonialism on the maritime changes that occurred in the region.

Figure 1. District of Malabar



Source: by J. & C. Walker; Pharoah and Co. Madras

<https://searchworks.stanford.edu/view/12089476>

Portuguese Interventions in the Maritime Malabar

The Portuguese interventions in the Malabar brought about significant alterations to the socio-economic landscape of the maritime regions.⁶⁹ The arrival of Vasco Da Gama represented not merely a historical event, but also symbolized the onset of modernity in India, encompassing elements of cruelty, exploitation, prosperity, communal conflict, and cultural revival.⁷⁰ K.N Panikkar pointed out that Gama arrival in Malabar can be considered as the Gama Epoch in Asian history.⁷¹

“The project of voyage to India round the cape did in no sense originate with Vasco da Gama. He had in fact nothing to do with the conception or planning the project, he was not sailing in uncharted seas like Columbus or Magellan, but sailing along recognised routes to a country which was situated at a known distance from the African Coast”⁷²

Malabar, governed by the various native rulers such as Zamorins of Calicut, Kolathiris, and Arakkal kingdom in Cannanore, witnessed a significant shift in power dynamics during the arrival of Portuguese. The Zamorins, particularly influential in Calicut, exercised control over both the geopolitical and economic aspects of the region. The ports in Malabar was under the control of these native rulers. The introduction of

⁶⁹K.M.Panikkar, *Asia and Western Dominance*, London: George Allen and Unwin, 1959, Ashin Das Gupta, *Malabar in Asian Trade, 1740-1800*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967, Ashin Das Gupta, *Merchants and Maritime India, 1500-1800*, Aldershot, Varorium Press, 1994. K.S Mathew, *Maritime Malabar and the Europeans*, New Delhi: Hope India Publication, 2003.M.N Pearson, *The Indian Ocean*. New York: Routledge, 2003. M.N Pearson, *Port Cities and Intruders: The Swahili Coast, India, and Portugal in the Early Modern Era*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1998. Sebastian. Prange, *Monsoon Islam; Trade and Faith on the Medieval Malabar Coast*, London, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2018. M Kooria, M.N.Pearson, ed, *Malabar in the Indian Ocean Cosmopolitanism in a Maritime Historical Region*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2018. Pious Melekandathil, *Maritime Malabar: Trade, Religion and Culture*, New Delhi: Primus, 2022.

⁷⁰K.S. Mathew, *Maritime Malabar and Europeans*, Delhi: Hope India Publications, 2003.

⁷¹K.M. Panikkar, *Asia and Western Dominance*, London: George Allen and Unwin, 1953, p, 13.

⁷²K.M. Panikkar, *A History of Kerala; 1498-1801*, Annamalai: Annanmali University, 1960, pp, 32-33.

Portuguese presence was not universally embraced by the local populace, leading to conflicts with indigenous rulers and allegations of mistreatment. Despite encountering these challenges, the Portuguese established a lasting foothold in the region spanning several centuries. Their primary focus centered on trade, involving the exchange of commodities like spices, textiles, precious stones, and various luxury goods. In order to facilitate their trade endeavors, the Portuguese implemented measures such as taxation, establishment of monopolies, and the encouragement of local industry development. They strategically established factories and warehouses for production, introducing innovative technologies that contributed significantly to the economic advancement of the region. Despite initial resistance and conflicts, the Portuguese presence left a lasting imprint on the economic landscape of the Malabar Coast.

While Portuguese economic policies exerted a considerable influence on the region, they also gave rise to adverse consequences, notably conflicts with the local population stemming from imposed taxes and monopolies. The Portuguese entry into the Indian Ocean ushered in a transformative political era, characterised by heightened competition between the Portuguese and indigenous rulers for dominance over the Malabar.⁷³ The administration of the coastal regions by the Portuguese placed a higher emphasis on political and economic considerations rather than the enhancement of administrative structures. The modernisation initiatives undertaken for the ports included the implementation of more effective administrative procedures and regulations, leading to the exclusion of specific groups from engaging in port activities. The fragmented unity among Portuguese rulers, coupled with their concentrated focus on pepper trade, necessitated a dependence on provincial rulers, impeding their ability to enact significant

⁷³Fernando Rosa, *The Portuguese in the Creole Indian Ocean: Essays in Historical Cosmopolitanism*, Hampshire and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.

modifications in port-related operations. M.N Pearson observed that, it is wrong to say that Portuguese arrival as the beginning of new period; instead it was an impression of remarkable continuity.⁷⁴ For the Portuguese, the voyage of Gama bought several economic and commercial gains, in which he tried to extract the pepper and other resources from the region.⁷⁵ With the influx of the Portuguese and other foreign powers, the region transformed into a contested arena, characterised by conflict and warfare. Their objective was to dominate the sea and exploit the resources of the indigenous population. In the fifteenth century, the Portuguese took the lead, creating numerous trading posts along the Malabar while concurrently undertaking missionary endeavors. Ports such as Cochin, Calicut, and Cannanore fell under Portuguese control, and they established their central command in Goa. The Portuguese arrival at the Calicut port refers as,

‘The next morning, no sooner was the sun fairly up than a number of boats surrounded the two ships, in them were natives, with dusky skins, naked, except that they wore cloths of various colors about their loins. They were curious to know who were the Portuguese were, where they came, the shore was also crowded with multitude of people.’⁷⁶

Among the gathered individuals were fishermen aboard their boats who expressed curiosity about the arrival of the Portuguese in Calicut port. Gama, intrigued by their interest, summoned the fishermen and requested them to provide some fish. In return for their offerings, they were compensated with silver coins. Subsequently, the narrative of the Portuguese arrival was disseminated by certain merchants and eventually reached the Zamorins. During the initial three days, Gama focused on establishing

⁷⁴M.N. Pearson, *India and Indian Ocean*, New York: Routledge Publication, 2003.

⁷⁵M.G.S Narayanan, *Calicut: The city of Truth Revisited*, Calicut: Mathrubhumi Books, 2008, pp, 167-168.

⁷⁶George, D, *The Voyages and Adventures of Vasco Da Gama*, Edinburg: T Nelson, 1895, p, 111.

connections with the local fishermen. Following this period, diwane and a merchant endeavored to engage with the Zamorins to discuss political treaty. Nevertheless, Gama's primary objective was to procure a substantial quantity of pepper from Malabar in exchange for a considerable amount of gold and silver. This proposition left an impression on the Zamorins, who responded to Gama accordingly.

“I will fill his ships with as much pepper and as many drugs he can carry away with him”.⁷⁷

The Zamorins had favoured Arab traders in Malabar, providing comprehensive trade privileges to the local residents along the coast. This preferential treatment caused apprehension among Arab merchants, who were concerned that the arrival of Europeans might jeopardise their existing trade monopoly in the Malabar region.⁷⁸ In their pursuit of forming an alliance with the Zamorins, an Arab spy named Monsayde was tasked with engaging the Portuguese to gather information. Contrary to expectations, Gama welcomed Monsayde warmly aboard the ship.

“how the Arab merchants, jealous of the Portuguese, and fearful lest the arrival of the ships boded no good to their trade, had conspired to have the ships sent away; that they had bribed the Gozil and treasurer to aid them by setting the Zamorins against the Portuguese; and that they had promised Monsayde himself handsome gifts if he would come and pretend friendship for the strangers, make himself acquainted with their affairs, and betray them to the Arabs.”⁷⁹

The Arab traders were deeply concerned when they witnessed the Zamorins favourable reception of the Portuguese, despite their own persistent efforts to maintain their trade in the city. The Arabs dreaded the possibility of losing their established business entirely, prompting them to intensify their endeavors to sow discord and

⁷⁷George, D, *The Voyages and Adventures of Vasco Da Gama*, 1895, p, 113.

⁷⁸George, D, *The Voyages and Adventures of Vasco Da Gama*, 1895, p, 120.

⁷⁹George, D, *The Voyages and Adventures of Vasco Da Gama*, 1895, p, 127.

animosity against the newcomers. Zamorin had made up his mind that all the merchandise on the ships should be sent ashore to the factory; and that then, in four days, he would allow Gama to take in his cargo of spices and drugs, after which the ships should sail without delay.⁸⁰ Raphael's pilot suggested to Gama the potential of Cannanore, emphasising its abundant resources and water. The recommendation was to explore Cannanore further.⁸¹ Portuguese identified piracy as a significant challenge, experiencing a multitude of pirate attacks in Malabar, specifically directed towards their operations.⁸² The Portuguese intrusion triggered a naval conflict on the Malabar Coast, with Zamorin admirals known as Kunjalis (Kunjali Marakkars) initiating naval warfare at sea.

The Mappila merchants of Calicut, considering Gama a rival since he began advocating for the monopoly of pepper trade at the Zamorin palace, advised the Zamorins against granting any privileges to Gama. They argued that such concessions would lead to economic unrest within the merchant class in Calicut.⁸³ Gama's second arrival in Malabar created significant upheaval along the Coast, leading to adverse consequences for Muslim traders who lost their trade privileges. Gama arriving with a substantial force, sought to assert control over the sea and establish dominance in the pepper trade within the region. It indicates that,

“As we were masters of its seas, whoever wished to navigate, whether gentile or Moor, in order to do so secularly and peacefully asked for a safe conduct from our captains out there, which they commonly called Cartaz, and if thus infidel found, not proceeding from places where we had fortress which are in our friendship, with just title we may capture him as a fair price of war for although by common right the seas are common and open to all navigators.”⁸⁴

⁸⁰George, D, *The Voyages and Adventures of Vasco Da Gama*, 1895, p, 150.

⁸¹George, D, *The Voyages and Adventures of Vasco Da Gama*, 1895. P, 158

⁸²K.K.N Kurup, *India's Naval Traditions; The Role of Kunjali Marakkars*, New Delhi: Northern Book Center, 1997.

⁸³MGS Narayanan, *Calicut: The city of truth revisited*, Calicut: Mathrubhumi, 2008, p, 172.

⁸⁴O.K Nambiar, *The Kunjali, he Admirals of Calicut*, New Delhi: Asia publishing House, 1963, p, 36.

The Portuguese aimed to dominate not just the ports but also the valuable pepper trade to the West, in order to increase their profits. Other colonial powers were also determined to do the same, in order to align with their colonial mindset and policies. The abundance of resources in the region caused power struggles and political conflicts, with regional powers like the Zamorins of Calicut, the Kolathiris, and the Arakkal family of Cannanore making personal treaties to maintain their control. Portuguese attacked a pilgrim ships from Malabar as their response to show their power and dominance on the sea which led to unrest among the Muslims of Malabar and Zamorins.⁸⁵ The trade activities in the ports were managed by various merchant classes, with the Mappila merchants being a prominent participant in the trade and farming industries in Malabar.⁸⁶ They saw Portuguese expansion in the region as a threat to their religious beliefs, as the Portuguese aimed to propagate Christianity through their trade activities.⁸⁷

The Portuguese utilised the Cartaz system in the Malabar, which was a permit system, to regulate trade in their colonies and maintain control over the Indian Ocean trade.⁸⁸ Traders had to obtain a Cartaz and comply with rules and regulations, which often involved paying taxes and duties. Although criticised for being overly restrictive and hindering local economies, the Cartaz system remained in place for centuries until it was eventually abolished in the late 18th century as the Portuguese began to lose control of their colonies to other European powers. The intervention of the Zamorins was

⁸⁵Mahmood Kooria, Killed the Pilgrims and Persecuted Them; Portuguese Estado da India's Encounters with the Hajj in the Sixteenth Century in 'The Hajj and Europe in the Age of Empire. Leiden: Brill, 2017. S. Muhammad Husayn Nainar(Ed) *Tuhfat Al-mujahidin A Historical Epic of the Sixteenth Century* by Sheik Zainudheen Makhdoom, Calicut: Islamic Book Trust, 2006.

⁸⁶Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Portuguese in the East: A Cultural History of a Maritime Trading Empire,* KS Mathew, *Maritime Malabar and Europeans; 1500-1962*, Delhi: Hope India, 2003. K.M Panikkar, *Malabar and the Portuguese Being a History of the Relations of the Portuguese with Malabar from 1500 to 1663*, Bombay: D.B. Taraporevala Sons, 1929.

⁸⁷S. Muhammad Husayn Nainar (Ed) *Tuhfat Al-mujahidin A Historical Epic of the Sixteenth Century* by Sheik Zainudheen Makhdoom, Calicut: Islamic Book Trust, 2006.

⁸⁸ KM Mathew, *History of the Portuguese Navigation in India, 1497-1600*, New Delhi: Mittal Publication, 1988, p 135.

necessitated by political and economic pressure from the merchant classes, resulting in resistance from the natives against Portuguese rule. The Portuguese were followed by the Dutch, who also attempted to extract pepper from the Malabar region.

Dutch Influences in Maritime Malabar

The Dutch were a European colonial power that had a significant presence in the Indian Ocean region, including in the Malabar.⁸⁹ The Dutch East India Company (VOC) was established in 1602, and the Dutch were initially interested in the Malabar region for its spice trade, particularly pepper. The Dutch established trading posts in several ports in the region, including Cochin, Quilon, and Cannanore, and they engaged in a series of wars with the Portuguese, who were also vying for control of the region. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Dutch had a strong economic presence in the Malabar region, had a significant impact on the region's social, cultural, and political landscape.⁹⁰ The Dutch also hoped to persuade the Zamorin to send a fleet of frigates for lending help in an attack on the Portuguese. The desire to secure the monopoly of the pepper trade for themselves resulted in a race of the Western nations to the Asiatic regions with the result that pepper became available in abundance and actually laid the foundation of the direct trade between India and Western Europe.⁹¹ In 1625, Herman Van Speult, Councillor of India instructed to touch Malabar coast, as soon as he reached Calicut, Zamorins asked him to accompany in the fight against raja of Cochin. He granted to establish a settlement in the Malabar. The Zamorin was to prevent the sale of pepper or ginger to other nations than the Dutch and even to his own subjects. Therefore, none of his subjects were allowed

⁸⁹Mahmood Kooria, 'Politics, Economy and Islam in Dutch Ponnani- Malabar Coast', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, vol. 62, no. 1, 2019, pp, 1–34.

⁹⁰KM Panikkar, *Malabar and the Dutch Being the History of the fall of the Naval Power in Malabar*, Bombay: D.B.Taraporevala, 1931.

⁹¹Selection from the Record of Madras Government, Dutch Records No 13, *The Dutch in Malabar; A Translation of selections No 1 and 2 with Introduction and Notes*, A Galletti, Van Der Burg, P Groot, Madras: Supredendent Madras Government press, 1911. pp, 1-5.

to keep the ripe pepper with him, strict supervision was to be exercised to ensure that no pepper was conveyed in an underhand manner out of the land. At Ponnani the Zamorin offered to the Company for an annual rent a good large fire-proof stone dwelling situated close to the river for storing the pepper. In this settlement the Zamorin subjects should deliver the pepper, ginger and other wares and weigh them at their own cost. The Company's servants in the lodge stood under the protection of the Zamorin. Finally, the treaty ended with the express stipulation that deserters and malefactors should be handed over by the Zamorin to the Dutch chief. Van Speult realised that Malabar pepper is cheaper than Surat pepper, it will be more profitable to make trade with Malabar Coast, therefore, Speult tried to make political affiliations with Zamorin. He asked his superiors to establish a factory at Calicut. Unfortunately, Speult could not complete his ambitions in Malabar.

Dr. Pieter Vlack, commander of Dutch visited Malabar for the acquisition of pepper trade in 1634. The Indian merchants who brought the pepper on board the ships had the advantage of being the first to select from the available goods, which encouraged their continued partnership. To conduct business simultaneously at three locations, the fleet was divided, but the ships remained within each other's view. Three merchants were designated for trading in the Malabar ports. Each pepper location was assigned to one ship and one yacht, with the other three ships maintaining contact. Together, the six ships and three yachts covered a coastal stretch of around ten miles. The company had extended an offer of friendship to the king of Cannanore and other influential individuals of the region. Mr. John Robinson translated all the treaties between Zamorin and Dutch East India Company. On February 1665, the Zamorin agreed with Dutch company on certain matters. The important treaties regarding on Maritime economy of Malabar as follows,

“That no cinnamon should be peeled in his territory. He would deliver the article to the company and would deliver 500 candies of pepper to the company. That all pepper produced in the Zamorin’s country should be given to the company according to the market price, The Dutch company might freely purchase all merchandise produced in the Zamorin territory particularly timber, pepper and cardamoms. The major change was the appointment of senior merchant in the Zamorin country to protect the Zamorin’s interests from the enemies of Dutch”.⁹²

The Dutch exerted minimal impact on the Malabar economy, attributed to deficiencies in their administration and internal political instability within their company. Similar to other colonial powers, their primary emphasis was on obtaining pepper rather than on effective governance and management of the region. Dutch interventions in Malabar confined to the political aspirations rather than controlling the ports or maritime spaces, however, they tried to infiltrate the regional economy through various political adjustments. This political rivalries in the Malabar was succeeded by the British which they controlled the provincial administration of Malabar.

British Expansion in Malabar: Early interventions

As previously discussed in the introduction, the advent of colonial governmentalisation wielded a substantial influence upon the political and economic dynamics of the Indian Ocean region, leading to a profound restructuring of its socio-political structure.⁹³ The British East India Company strategically harnessed its naval

⁹²Calicut Regional Archives (hereafter CRA) Guide to the Records of Malabar District, 1714 to 1835, Vol 2139, pp, 2096- 2142.

⁹³C.A, Bayly, *Indian Society and the Making of British Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988. Thomas R Metcalf, *Ideologies of the Raj*. New Delhi: Cambridge University Press, 1995. Thomas R Metcalf, *Imperial Connections, India in the Indian Ocean Arena, 1860-1920*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 2007. Tirthankar Roy, *Economic History of India 1857–1947*, New Delhi: OUP, 2011. Tapan Raychaudhuri, *Jan Company in Coromandel 1605–1690: A Study in the Interrelations of European Commerce and Traditional Economies*, Hague: M Nijhoff publisher, 1962. Andrew Pope, British steamshipping and the Indian Coastal trade, 1870-1915, *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 32,1,1995, pp 1-21. Sugata Bose, *A Hundred Horizons: The Indian Ocean in the Age of Global Empire*, Cambridge and London: Harvard University press, 2006. Prasannan, Parthasarathi.

supremacy to assert an exclusive hegemony over the trade in Indian commodities like cotton, silk, and spices. Company deployed its naval might to quell domestic uprisings and insurgencies, and to safeguard pivotal trade routes. British established an intricate nexus of trading posts and harbors along India's coastal expanse, subsequently becoming the fulcrum of India's global trade.⁹⁴ This maritime dominion was reinforced by the establishment of a formidable naval fleet aimed at safeguarding these enclaves and trade conduits. The resultant maritime supremacy facilitated significant regional influence for the British, thereby enabling them to harness their control over India's trade for the accrual of wealth and resources. This led to form maritime authority across the Indian Ocean. Initiating in the early 1600s, with the Mughal Emperor's concession, the British East India Company embarked on a trajectory of establishing trading enclaves within India. Initially focusing on textiles, spices, and sundry commodities, the Company fostered a network of ports and repositories along India's coastline.

In the late 1800s, the British government took direct control of India from the East India Company, marking a significant shift in how the country was governed.⁹⁵ This change included the establishment of a powerful naval fleet to protect British trade routes and interests in the region. Alongside military might, the British introduced new technologies and models of governance, leading to significant transformations in Indian society and its economy. However, the benefits of these changes were unevenly distributed. The primary beneficiaries were the British colonial rulers and a small group

Giorgio, Riello, 'The Indian Ocean in the Long Eighteenth Century,' *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 48, 2014, pp. 1-19. Thomas R Metcalf, *Imperial Connections: India in the Indian Ocean Arena, 1860–1920*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 2007, David Washbrook, The Political Economy of Colonialism in India in *Routledge Handbook of the History of Colonialism in South Asia* edited by Harald Fischer, Tine and Maria Framke, UK: Routledge,

⁹⁴ Dharma Kumar, Irfan Habib, Tapan Raychaudhuri, *The Cambridge Economic History of India: Volume I, C.1200-c.1750*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.

⁹⁵ Ishita Banerjee-Dube, *A History of Modern India*, Delhi: Cambridge University press, 2014. Sir Percival Griffiths, *The British Impacts on India*, New York: Routledge, 2018.

of wealthy Indians, while much of the Indian population remained impoverished and marginalised. Additionally, political changes in Britain influenced trade patterns in India. Utilitarian's began to invest in the economy of the colonies, attempting to alter existing trade practices.⁹⁶

The British East India Company played a central role in managing trade and investing heavily in trade infrastructure, such as roads, bridges, and ports. Unlike the Portuguese, the British adopted a more diplomatic approach by collaborating with local rulers and elites to establish and maintain their rule. They used strategies like imposing trade tariffs and securing a monopoly on key commodities, particularly pepper, to strengthen their maritime authority in Malabar. The British employed an indirect rule strategy, working with local leaders to ensure lasting control. They invested significantly in infrastructure development to bolster trade and transportation networks. By instituting trade-related taxes and controls, the British aimed to dominate critical commodities. They reinforced their maritime interests through treaties with local rulers, which gave them exclusive trading rights in specific ports and allowed them to set customs duties and tariffs. Administrative and legal measures, such as establishing courts and customs houses, were also crucial in asserting British control over maritime trade. These actions helped solidify British sovereignty in the region and maintain their economic dominance.

The arrival of the British in Malabar transformed the political, social, and economic lives of people.⁹⁷ The British implemented various regulations and treaties to

⁹⁶Acemoglu, Daron, S. Johnson, James A. Robinson. 'The Colonial Origins of Comparative Development: An Empirical Investigation', *The American Economic Review* 91, no. 5, 2001, pp, 1369–1401.

⁹⁷ David Arnold, 'Islam, the Mappilas and peasant revolt in Malabar', *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, 9:4, 1992, 255-265. Stephen Frederic Dale, *Islamic Society on the South Asian Frontier: The Mappilas of Malabar, 1498-1922*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980. Roland E Miller, *Mappila Muslims of Kerala: A Study in Islamic trends*, Madras: Orient Longman, 1992. K.N Panikkar, *Against the Lord and State; Religion and Peasant Uprising in Malabar*, Delhi: Oxford University press, 1989, K.N Panikkar, *Peasant Protests and Revolts in Malabar*, Delhi: Indian Council for Historical Research and Peoples Publishing House. 1990. Conard Wood, *The Moplah Rebellion and its Genesis*, Delhi: People Publishing House, 1987. K.K.N. Kurup, *Malabarile British Adinivesham* (Malayalam), Calicut: Mathrubhumi, 2009.

gain political power in Malabar, which was considered a key area due to its abundant resources and wealth, the region was predominantly inhabited by peasants and merchants, and the land was fertile with various resources. One of the major changes was the implementation of a comprehensive surveillance system, through which colonial authorities sought to dominate maritime activities in the region.⁹⁸ To what extent did the British achieve political dominance in Malabar? This inquiry prompts an exploration of the diverse political and economic arrangements made with local rulers in Malabar, emphasising the pivotal role of maritime affairs in these negotiations. It is crucial to scrutinise the alterations in ports and the consequential economic shifts, alongside assessing the adaptability of networks across the region. Colonialism not only modified prevailing political tactics in Malabar but also established maritime authority by enforcing distinct rules, regulations, and surveillance measures in ports.

The extension of colonial influence in the Malabar region during the early eighteenth century was exemplified by the arrival of Ralph Fitch, who holds the distinction of being the inaugural English visitor to the area. Fitch's expedition was motivated by political objectives, indicative of the prevailing context. In the earlier phase of the early modern epoch, the year 1615 witnessed the entry of Captain Keeling into the Calicut port, commanding a fleet of three English vessels. This maritime venture facilitated the introduction of Thomas Row, who embarked on negotiations aimed at establishing commercial agreements with both Jahangir, the reigning monarch, and the inhabitants of Calicut, particularly the Zamorins.⁹⁹ As a result, the Zamorins accorded their acceptance to the terms of his agreement, which encompassed the expulsion of

William Logan, *Malabar Manual* (Vol 1, and 2), Madras: Government press, 1887. MGS Narayanan, *Calicut the City of Truth Revisited*, Calicut: Mathrubhumi Press, 2018.

⁹⁸Bernard S Cohen, *Colonialism and Its forms of Knowledge; the British in India*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996

⁹⁹A Sreedhara Menon, *Kerala District Gazetteers*, Trivanduram: Kerala Gazetteers, 1962, p, 143.

Portuguese forces from Cannanore and Cochin. In return for this collaborative effort, the British secured unrestricted rights to engage in trade activities within the Malabar region. This landmark accord marked the initial phase of diplomatic interaction between the British and the Zamorins, representing a series of pivotal political shifts along the Malabar. But, the British proved unable to effectively assist the Zamorins in fending off foreign incursions, particularly from the Portuguese, ultimately resulting in the forfeiture of their trade privileges in the Malabar area. This setback prompted the British to withdraw from the coastal region. During this period, both Portuguese and Dutch maritime strategies held sway over the Malabar Coast, asserting dominance well into the latter half of the 18th century.

The British, in their endeavors, encountered formidable challenges posed by various foreign powers such as the Portuguese, French, and Dutch, which prolonged their engagement in the maritime domain of the Malabar region. A primary catalyst behind the collaborative accord forged between the Zamorins and the British stemmed from the pressing issue of recurrent hostile assaults initiated by the Portuguese. In response to this shared concern, the Zamorins extended their cooperation by facilitating the establishment of a British trading post in Calicut. This endeavor was realised with the active support of the Zamorins, signifying a pivotal convergence of interests. Subsequently, in the year 1684, the British successfully procured trading authorisation from the Rani of Attingal, enabling them to erect a trading facility at Anjengo. This strategic move further exemplified the diplomatic engagement between the British and local entities, solidifying their presence and economic pursuits within the region.¹⁰⁰ Subsequently, the British pursued diplomatic entanglements with indigenous authorities, seeking strategic partnerships that would facilitate the construction of fortifications and trading posts

¹⁰⁰A Sreedhara Menon, *Kerala District Gazetteers*, Trivanduram: Kerala Gazetteers, 1962, p, 144.

across the Malabar region. These establishments would grant the British a significant degree of authority over the region's resources. Concurrently, the British encountered formidable competition from Portuguese and French forces, both vying for supremacy and control over the lucrative pepper trade originating from the area.

In the year 1715, a political development transpired when the Zamorin accorded Mr. Adams the privilege of erecting a warehouse in Chetava. This concession also entailed the appointment of a British representative at the site, entrusted with the responsibility of procuring pepper and facilitating trade operations. This landmark event emphasised the ongoing efforts of the British to solidify their economic and strategic presence in the region through calculated partnerships and trade endeavors.¹⁰¹ Simultaneously, the Kolathiris extended distinct authorisations and prerogatives to British envoys, granting them the opportunity to partake in commerce within their territories. This allocation of privileges spurred the colonial powers to further augment their political aspirations within the Malabar domain.

“All the traders and farms within our and our predecessors territory from Canharotte down to the river Padupatanam are all given to the English company, save that granted to the Dutch company, and we authorise the English company to carry on their commerce. If any other European or any other strangers come to this our country, the English company can, in our name, punish, prevent and drive away”.¹⁰²

In 1700, a collaborative understanding emerged between the British and local powers, aimed at safeguarding their respective domains against external aggressions. Mr. Adams, assumed a pivotal role in shaping the economic blueprint of colonial presence in

¹⁰¹William Logan, *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and other Papers of Importance- Relating to British affairs in Malabar*, Second edition, New Delhi: Asian Publication services, 1989, p, 3.

¹⁰²William Logan, *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and other Papers of Importance- Relating to British affairs in Malabar*, 1989, p, 6.

Malabar. His endeavors was to establish interactions with various regional kingdoms, seeking to secure favourable trade concessions within the Malabar region. Bavnore of Badagara, acknowledging Mr. Adams as the principal authority of the Malabar Coast, executed a significant gesture. This involved furnishing exclusive trade privileges to Mr. Adams on behalf of the English East India Company, specifically for operations in Tellicherry. The regional ruler of Badagara adhered to a policy of non-interference, granting these privileges to the British while underscoring a commitment to non-involvement by the colonial entity.

“From January 1726 and forward, I will not retain, nor give shelter at cattuvaynattu to any other Europeans. I will not give nor permit toe given to any other Europeans, save the English company, the cardamom and pepper of cattuvaynattu”¹⁰³

An instrumental moment was the agreement reached with the Arakkal Bebee, a pivotal regional figure, who consented to facilitate unimpeded trade for the company within her port and territory. Furthermore, she pledged to furnish the company with a favourable supply of commodities, particularly a stipulated annual quantity of pepper or other merchandise. Robert Taylor, vested with authority over the company's affairs in Tellicherry, authorised individuals of stature like Earl Cornwallis and Robert Abercomby. Their mandate pertained to establishing and consolidating the company's influence within the region. This collaborative effort culminated on the 8th of August in the year 1790, when the Bebee formalised the arrangement by signing pertinent documents alongside company representatives stationed at Tellicherry.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰³William Logan, *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and other Papers of importance- Relating to British affairs in Malabar*, 1989, p, 13.

¹⁰⁴CRA, Diary Records, Tellicherry Factory, 9th a\August 1790, p, 87.

In 1793, a significant pact was formalised between the British and the Zamorins of Calicut, dictating the terms of trade operations within the region. The agreement entailed the complete cessation of internal duties, tolls, and customs, with the provision that tariffs on goods would solely be imposed upon their export by sea or land. These levies were to be exclusively applicable to trade with foreign nations, particularly those nations with whom a connection was exclusively cultivated and maintained by the company. Furthermore, the accord granted the company the prerogative to adjust, regulate, and augment the tax rates within the province. Also, the company was endowed with the authority to station its representatives, referred to as ‘company gentlemen’ in Calicut, entrusted with the management and oversight of all affairs within the Malabar region. Notably, the profits generated were to be divided jointly between the company and the Zamorins, establishing a framework for mutual economic collaboration.¹⁰⁵

William Gamul Farmer, holding the position of supervisor over the Malabar province, issued a decree affirming the unrestricted nature of trade activities. This pronouncement encompassed a wide array of commodities, ranging from pepper and cardamoms to various other goods, with the notable exceptions of slaves and weapons. The proclamation emphasised the principle of free enterprise, allowing any individual the liberty to determine the selling price of their merchandise. Moreover, it stipulated that individuals, regardless of their association with the company or the local ruler (Raja), were prohibited from coercing the subjects of the company—whether they were cultivators or others—to part with their pepper, sandalwood, or cardamoms against their own interests. Such actions were to be considered as acts akin to theft and were subject to reporting at designated locations, namely Tellicherry or Chueruplassery. The directive

¹⁰⁵William Logan, *Collection of Treaties, Engagements and other Papers of importance- Relating to British affairs in Malabar*, Second edition, New Delhi: Asian Publication services, 1989, p, 192.

also asserted the unrestricted right of both men and women to bring their pepper and other goods to market without hindrance. In essence, the proclamation championed the principles of open trade, individual autonomy, and protection against exploitative practices.¹⁰⁶ The indigenous merchants exerted substantial influence over the economy of Malabar. A pivotal juncture in this trajectory was marked by Mr. Rickard's proposition concerning the administration of Malabar, which catalysed the commencement of colonial expansion within the region. Mr. Rickard's perspective posited that the colonial administrative framework in Malabar did not inherently align with the objective of establishing a lasting and enduring influence over the region. He contended that the current arrangement, wherein commissioners maintained overarching oversight over both revenue and judicial affairs, should persist without substantial alteration.¹⁰⁷

The prevailing political equilibrium in Malabar encountered a heightened sense of vulnerability subsequent to Hyder Ali's ascendancy to power as the ruler of the Mysore kingdom in 1766.¹⁰⁸ He asked the Zamorins to pay the war indemnity of RS 12 lakh due to Mysore by the treaty of 1756-1757. But, Zamorin was unable to pay this amount and refused his request; this action intimidated the Hyder and started to invade Calicut as a part of expansion of his empire. The major motives of British after the Hyder invasion in Malabar was to survey the people and resources of the region.¹⁰⁹ The maritime affairs were not under the major policy of British until 1850. Indeed, the large number of Timber export and other resources from the Malabar has revised their maritime policy. The Governor General of British India, Lord Cornwallis, and Abercromby therefore

¹⁰⁶William Logan, *Collection of Treaties, Engagements and other Papers of importance- Relating to British affairs in Malabar*, Dated 13th September 1793, p, 203.

¹⁰⁷CRA, Diary of the Government committee, Guide to the Records of Malabar District, Vol 2150, 23-10-1797, pp, 7252-7885(Abstract).

¹⁰⁸William Logan, *Collection of Treaties, Engagements and other Papers of importance- Relating to British affairs in Malabar*, Dated 13th September 1793, p, 145.

¹⁰⁹Bernard S Cohen, *Colonialism and Its forms of Knowledge: the British in India*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996, p, 7.

appointed a Commission of four which they called the Malabar Commission to look into the affairs of the district and establish such an administration. Governor Robert Abercomby had a plan to arrange future government of the coast; he prepared a plan for the consideration to plan a strong base for coasts. Outlines of the plan for the administration of ceded countries on the Malabar Coasts were,

1. The districts of the ceded countries of Malabar from the cavy to Cochin inclusive to be classed into two general divisions, to be placed in charge of two superintends, under one supervisor, or one general magistrate for the coast with the following powers each
2. The immediate charge of two divisions thus constituted to be in superintends under the direction and control of supervisors: except that the latter is hold exclusive management of the district which is the ordinary seat of supervisor.¹¹⁰

The British assumed direct control over the administration of Malabar. As an interim measure, two commissioners, namely Mr. Farmer and Major Dow were appointed to oversee the political and administrative reorganisation of the region. These commissioners engaged in negotiations with local authorities to establish revenue collection arrangements and formulated a novel administrative structure for Malabar. This restructured framework involved the division of Malabar into two administrative sections, each overseen by a superintendent. A chief magistrate, headquartered in Calicut provided supervision over these divisions. Subsequently, the commission was disbanded, and on October 1st, 1801, Malabar was reconstituted as a district with the collector as its principal authority. Joint Commissioner exhibited a pronounced interest in assuming

¹¹⁰*Reports of Joint Commission from Bengal and Bombay*, appointed to inspect into the state and condition of the Province of Malabar, in the years 1792 and 1793, Madras: Government Press, 1863, p, 147.

provincial administration in Malabar, to exerting control and asserting dominance over the entirety of the Malabar.¹¹¹

The forthcoming chapter will comprehensively examine the processes through which maritime authority was established by regulating the ports in the Malabar region. It will explore how the British meticulously implemented various merchant regulations in the major ports of Malabar. Specifically, this inquiry will scrutinise the complexities of merchant shipping acts, native merchant shipping acts, fees imposed on native coasting vessels, and regulations concerning the salt and timber trade. This chapter will analyse how different communities, particularly the native merchant class and those involved with native coasting and fishing vessels, responded to these maritime interventions by the colonial state. It will also examine how British maritime policies enabled some native merchants to gain economic benefits and act as agents for the British in Malabar. Furthermore, by closely examining these regulatory frameworks and maritime dynamics during the British period, this chapter will discuss how the ports in Malabar became important economic and regulated spaces.

¹¹¹R Rejikumar, (ed), *Joint Commissioners Report on Malabar 1792-1793* (Reprint), Trivanduram: Kerala State Archive, 2010.

Chapter 2

Ports as Regulated Space: British Maritime Policies and Governmentalisation of Maritime Malabar

This chapter argues that the British strategically exploited the major ports in Malabar as maritime conduits to assert and consolidate their supremacy and power. This strategic governance in ports and port spaces was executed through the implementation of various maritime regulations, aimed at regulating and controlling ports, native merchant class, restrictions on native vessels, and controlling various resources such as Salt, Timber, fisheries and other agricultural products. The primary focus of this chapter revolves around examining a range of maritime regulations affecting merchants, such as merchant shipping acts, native merchant shipping acts, and the impact of these regulations on port activities. It also analyses the various regulations on native vessels in Malabar. This chapter critically examines the grievances and challenges associated with maritime regulations within the ports of Malabar. Through a meticulous examination of the export and import values derived from the three major ports such as Calicut, Cannanore, and Tellicherry, this chapter unveils the British utilisation of these ports as pivotal economic centers during the British time. Moreover, it elucidates the pivotal role of these ports as gateways for British trade, facilitating the export of goods to various ports within India and abroad. Statistical analyses further underscore the paramount significance of these ports during the British period shedding light on their indispensable contribution to the political economy of Malabar.

Port as a Regulated Space: Political Economy of Ports in Malabar

The goal of examining ports extends beyond understanding their historical importance; it aims to provide insights into the people, cultures, and political economy associated with them. The colonial interventions in the ports of Malabar impacted native

merchants, vessels and passengers, and resulted in an uneven commodification of resources within ports. In colonial Malabar, maritime operations were overseen by the district magistrate, who held authority over the ports, they appointed port conservator to manage the port activities.¹¹² Through the organisational dominance, the British were able to cop up with the indigenous power holders and maintained their colonial character in the maritime-related subjects. The ports situated within the Malabar region underwent a profound transformation catalysed by colonial incursions, a transition that reshaped not only their economic dynamics but also the very essence of governance and control. Pre-colonial Malabar's port spaces were traditionally administered by indigenous merchants who meticulously regulated trade practices according to their own norms and conventions, and were under the control of native rulers in Malabar. The colonial era, however, heralded a paradigmatic shift, as these ports assumed newfound importance as economic fulcrums under British rule. The significant interventions in the ports encompassed a spectrum of maritime regulations affecting diverse aspects such as merchants, ships, salt, timber, pilgrimage, and fisheries. These interventions were instrumental in reshaping the port milieu, facilitating a paradigm shift wherein British authorities could assert their dominance and regulate these spaces in alignment with their strategic interests. For instance, prior to colonial interventions, fishing communities enjoyed unbounded autonomy, practicing free and mobile fishing techniques in Malabar Coast. Similarly, salt production and timber exports adhered to indigenous norms, with local merchants overseeing timber trade operations within port environs. Indigenous coasting vessels were afforded the liberty to conduct shipping activities within port confines without any restrictions or fines. However, these norms underwent disruption,

¹¹²Calicut Regional Archives (hereafter CRA), Madras Port Manual, Madras: Superintendent Madras government Press. 1899.

culminating in the emergence of a novel maritime institutional framework across various Malabar ports.

The institutionalisation of ports in the Malabar region served as more than a mere manifestation of colonial agendas and policies; it concurrently functioned as a means to enhance financial gains by subduing indigenous ship proprietors and traders. One of the most significant changes to the ports of Malabar during the colonial period was the establishment of various port officials, most notably the appointment of port conservators to oversee port-related matters, which had not been the case prior to colonialism. During the pre-colonial period, coastal areas were not under the administrative and bureaucratic control, instead they were following their own survival methods, some of them depends on fishing, and salt making, also engaged in merchant activities in the ports. Under colonial rule, British officials exercised control over port spaces, adhering to official government policies.¹¹³

The British classified various ports in Malabar as major and minor ports for their administrative and economic conveniences.¹¹⁴ The regulation of these ports was often driven by the needs and priorities of the colonising powers. They realised that, controlling the major ports in Malabar can be a base for establishing colonial administration. They classified three major ports in Malabar such as Calicut, Tellicherry, and Cannanore. The British implemented maritime regulations to exert control over the indigenous population within the port economy. They permitted only licensed merchants and traders to operate, emphasising that all vessels must register at the port conservator office before any customs procedures could take place.¹¹⁵ Following the British arrival in the ports of

¹¹³Sugata Bose, *A Hundred Horizons: The Indian Ocean in the Age of Global Empire*, Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 2006. Thomas Metcalf, *Imperial Connections: India in the Indian Ocean Arena, 1860-1920*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007.

¹¹⁴William Logan, *Malabar Manual* (Vol, 1 and 2), Calicut: Mathrubhumi Books, 2014.

¹¹⁵CRA, *Madras Port Manual*, Madras: Superintendent Madras Government Press, 1899.

Malabar, there was a shift in administrative control. The ports came under the supervision of a port conservator, responsible for overseeing customs and all other shipping-related matters.¹¹⁶ A significant transformation during the British period was the centralised control of all shipping and merchant activities in the Malabar ports.

Calicut port emerged as a crucial port for the British East India Company, serving as a strategic base for their regional operations. It played a pivotal role as a major hub for exporting spices, including pepper and cardamom, alongside other commodities such as textiles, coconut products, and timber. Moreover, the port served as a key center for importing manufactured goods like textiles, metals, and various other products. Calicut is a city located on the southwestern coast of India that was a significant port during the colonial period. The city has a long history of maritime trade and was a major center for the spice trade, including exports of pepper and cardamom, during the ancient and medieval periods.¹¹⁷ J.H. Taylor, the Master Attendant of Madras, conducted a visit to the Malabar ports on May 2, 1879. During this inspection, he thoroughly examined the major ports in Malabar, assessing their socio-economic significance and port activities. On May 17, 1879, Taylor arrived at Calicut port and observed various aspects of its operations, providing detailed explanations,

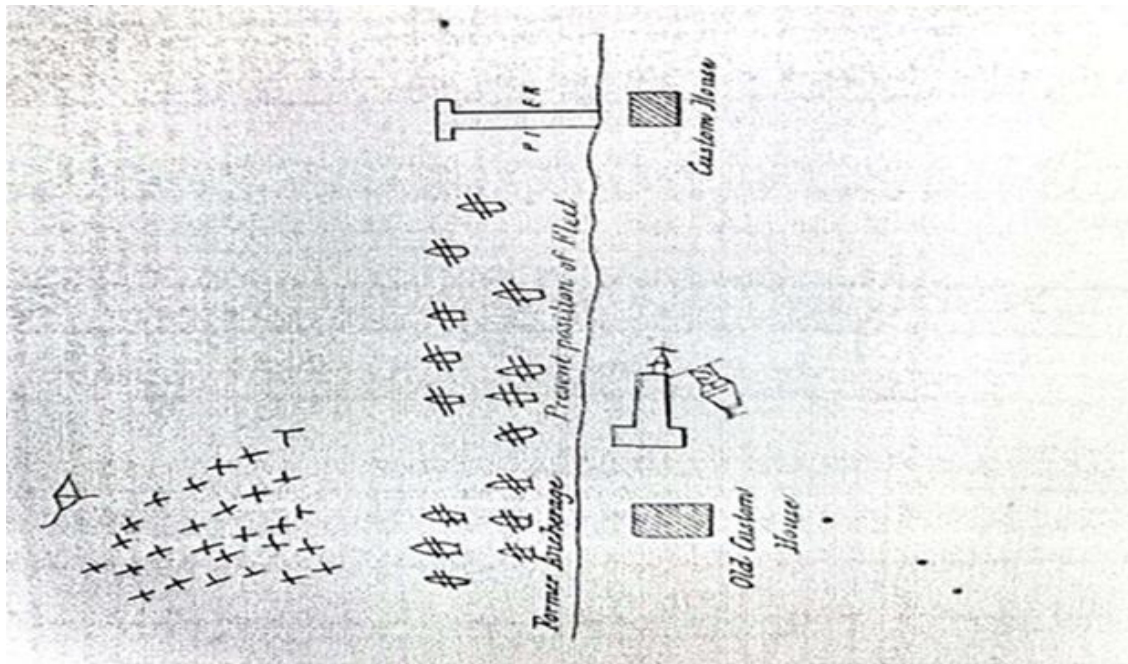
“There is a native craft congregated off the old custom house and could not be induced to move near the pier, but owing to the mud bank having shifted northward, the vessel now occupy the whole space from the pier to the old station, but still object to using the pier for shipping and discharging. The groynes for the protection of the new custom house seem to be efficient, large accumulation of

¹¹⁶CRA, Madras Port Manual, Madras: Superintendent Madras government Press. 1899.

¹¹⁷Ashin Das Gupta, *Malabar in Asian Trade, 1740-1800*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967, K.S.Mathew, *Maritime Malabar and the Europeans*, New Delhi: Hope India Publication, 2003, Sebastain.R.Prange, *Monsoon Islam; Trade and Faith on the Medieval Malabar Coast*, London, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2018. Mahmood Kooria, M.N.Pearson, ed, *Malabar in the Indian Ocean Cosmopolitanism in a Maritime Historical Region*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2018. Pious Melekandathil, *Maritime Malabar: Trade, Religion and Culture*, New Delhi: Primus, 2022.

sand has formed up, and sea is now so far from the first instalment of laterite boulders ordered on the first occasion of erosion, a flag staff near the new pier would be very useful for the European vessels”.¹¹⁸

Figure 2: Calicut Port Map



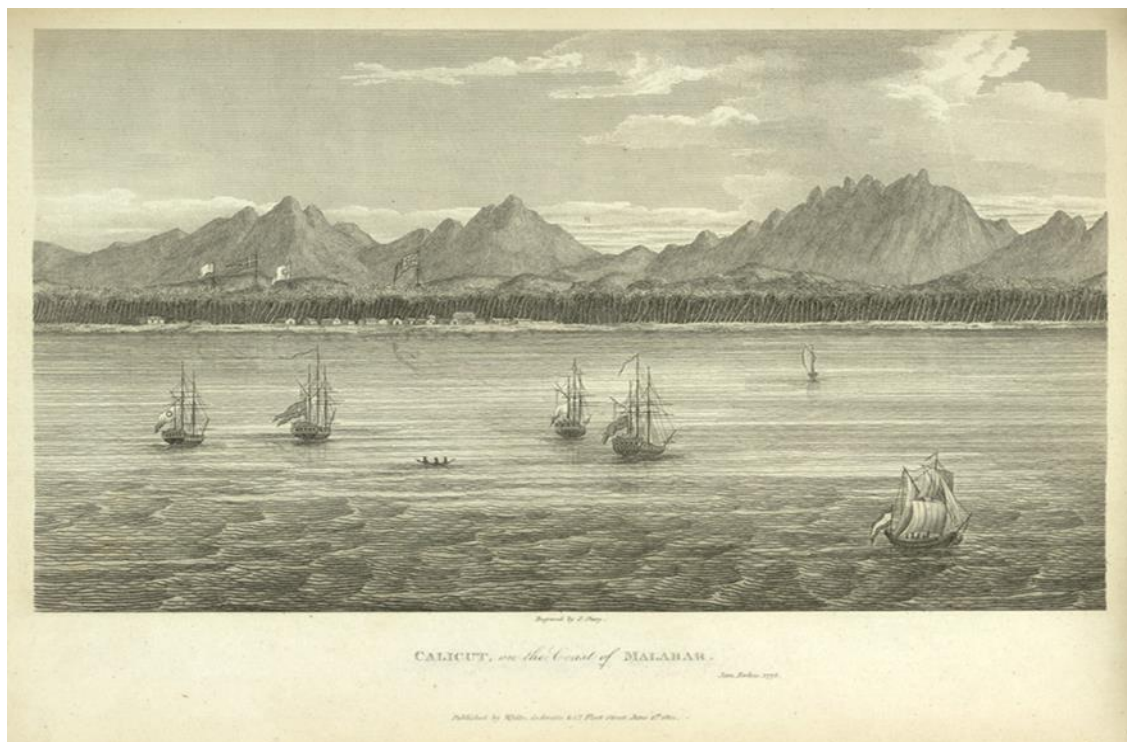
Source: Government of Madras, Marine Department, Inspection report, 10th June 1879, No 312, Enclosure No 1.

The colonial authorities established a number of institutions in Calicut to support trade and commerce, including warehouses, custom houses, and other facilities. The port was also connected to the rest of the country by a network of roads and railways, which facilitated the movement of goods and people. Spices such as Pepper and Cardamom were highly valued in Europe and were in high demand, which made Calicut a major source of wealth for the region. These institutions were designed to facilitate the flow of goods and ensure that trade was conducted efficiently and transparently. This helped to promote trade and commerce. Thus, Calicut port held a central position as the primary

¹¹⁸CRA, Marine Department, Inspection Report, Government of Madras, 10th June 1879.

maritime domain of the Zamorins, attracting significant attention from various colonial powers seeking to gain control over it. Following the arrival of the Portuguese at the Calicut port, there was a significant disruption, and restructuring of existing economic and mercantile activities. The Portuguese pursued measures to exclude native Muslim merchants from maritime trade by engaging in treaties and agreements with the Zamorins to establish dominance at sea. The British began their direct involvement in the Calicut port around 1800 when the provincial administration of Malabar officially came under British control. J.H. Taylor characterised Calicut port as a modern and developed port within the Madras presidency. Additionally, he noted the proper functioning of the lighthouse in Calicut port.¹¹⁹

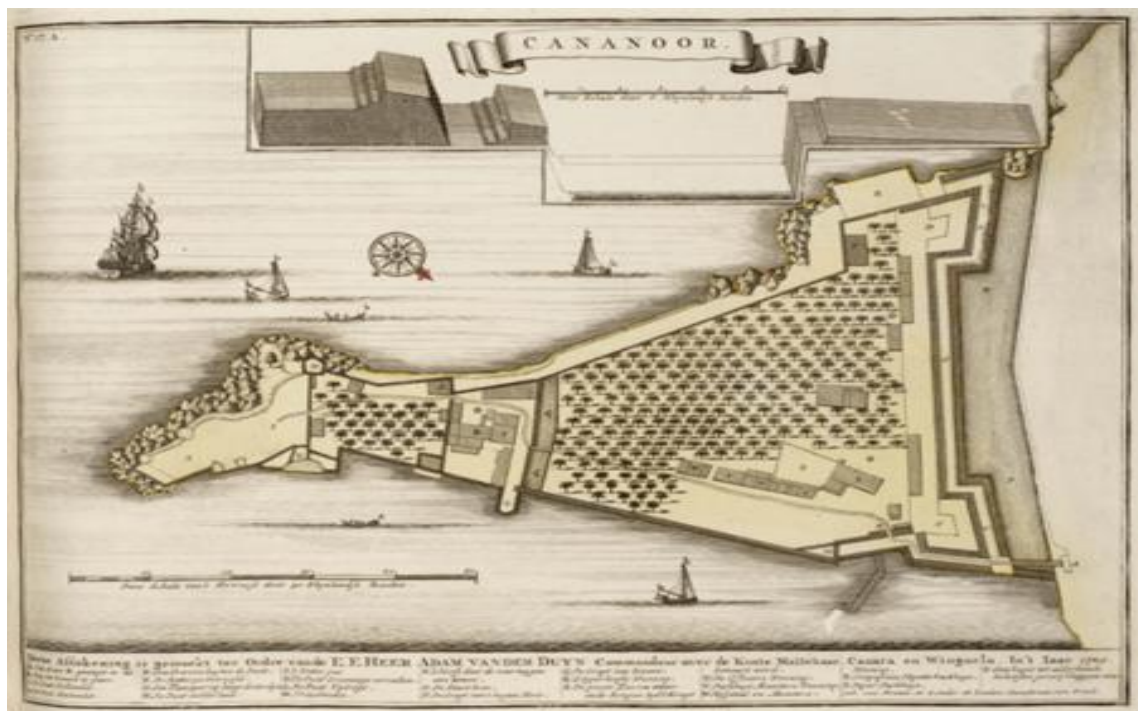
Figure 3: Calicut Port during British period. This image depicts that, various large and small vessels are near the shore. There are native small dhonies seen in this picture.



Source: <http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/apac/other/largeimage69554.html>

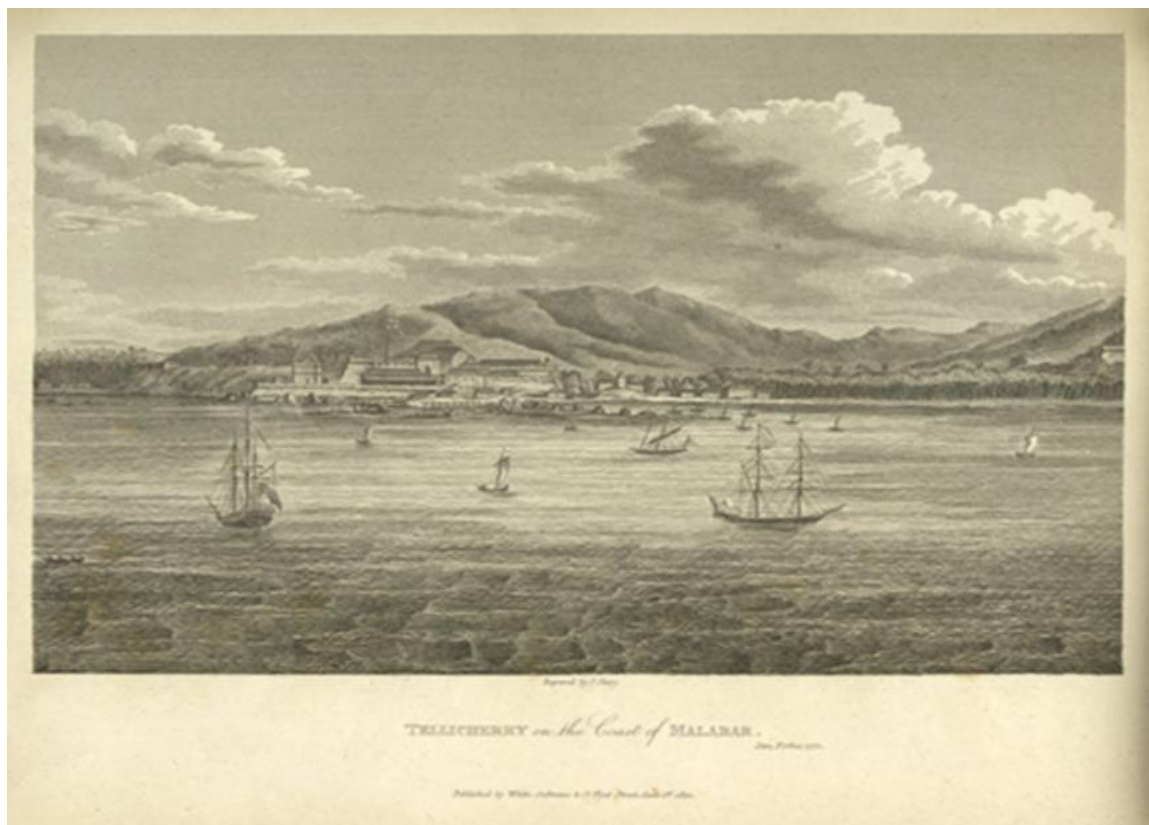
¹¹⁹CRA, Government of Madras, Marine Department, Inspection report, 10th June 1879, No 312, Enclosure No 1, Marine Report on Ports, p. 2.

Figure 4 Cannanore Port



Source: <http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/apac/other/largeimage69554.html>

Figure 5. View of Tellicherry Port



Source: <http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/apac/other/largeimage69554.html>

The pictures above describe the view of various major ports in Malabar such as Calicut, Tellicherry and Cannanore with a multitude of big and small ships docked in the ports.¹²⁰ Cannanore and Tellicherry ports played significant role in the maritime economy of Malabar, particularly in terms of export and imports of various items to foreign ports. The British classified these ports as a major economic and administrative space not only for economic reasons but administrative as well. These two ports were central to the provincial rulers of Malabar especially by Arakkal kingdom. Throughout historic period, these two ports acted as central to the economy of Malabar, which was considered as the major ports in Malabar. In 1879, JH Taylor visited Tellicherry port, he highlighted Tellicherry's pivotal role and robust commercial orientation within Malabar. British realised the economic importance of Tellicherry and they appointed Mr. Christopher Peile to conduct an inquiry into the revenue condition of the port under the administration of the Bibi of Cannanore.¹²¹ The British tried to initiate negotiations with local rulers in Malabar to access various resources from the region, especially Pepper, and Tellicherry and Cannanore stood out as the major economic space for controlling the Malabar pepper, and the British realised that controlling these two ports can enable them to conquer the political economy of Malabar. To control the trade activities in these regions, the British wanted to create some native merchants who can support the colonial trade and their policies, in such situations, the trade privileges were granted to Choukara Moosa (native merchant) for conducting trade in Cannanore, eventually leading him to become the exclusive patron of colonial trade in the Malabar region.¹²²

¹²⁰CRA, Revenue Files, 1908, Bundle No-75.

¹²¹CRA, Guide to the Records of the Malabar District, 1714 to 1835, 11-10-1897, p, 7030.

¹²²Santhosh Abraham, 'The Keyi Mappila Muslim Merchants of Tellicherry and the Making of Coastal Cosmopolitanism on the Malabar Coast', *Asian Review of World Histories*, Vol 5, 2, 2017, pp, 145-162. CRA, Guide to the Records of the Malabar District, p, 7160, CRA.

The administration and operational activities of these ports constituted the primary focus of the colonial government in Malabar. The regulation of ports and their immediate environs was deemed essential for maximising economic gains in Malabar. A significant alteration instituted during the British period was the implementation of documentation procedures for every transaction occurring within the ports, for which custom officers were appointed.¹²³ The British authorities rigorously enforced regulations across various ports in Malabar, with the custom office assuming responsibility for overseeing all economic activities within the port precincts. Stringent protocols governed ship entry, trade accessibility, and the meticulous recording of passenger details, all of which fell under the purview of the custom office. This was the result of colonial institutionalisation process in ports and its space in Malabar. John Eyde elucidates comprehensively on the Ports of Malabar, providing insight into the intricacies of colonial port management and regulatory frameworks.

“At this port there are great quantities of valuable timber, as also at ponnani that is highly valuable for the largest ships of war, which cannot be shipped this year, on account of the immense quantity that was brought down during the last, monsoon, in consequence of the great fall of rain, it being considerably more than has been known for years past; and many large trees were washed down from the hills, that it was expected could never be removed. East India Company started to experiment vessel building in Malabar in 1809”.¹²⁴

¹²³ CRA, Madras Port Manual, Madras: Superintendent Madras government Press. 1899.

¹²⁴John Eyde, ‘Description of the Sea-Ports on the Coast of Malabar, of the Facilities They Afford for Building Vessels of Different Descriptions, and of the Produce of the Adjacent Forests’, *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. 2, no. 2, Cambridge University Press, Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 1835, pp. 324–77.

The historical transition of port spaces was defined by the rise of colonial port cities, a consequence of urbanisation fueled by the expansion of trade networks.¹²⁵ Advanced communication technologies, including railways and ferries, played a pivotal role in connecting major ports to their hinterlands. Colonial powers demonstrated adeptness in navigating the intricacies of Malabar's provincial administration, securing particular privileges that occasionally disrupted port activities, especially in the significant pepper trade and other resources from the region. The colonial interventions in these ports need to be explained in detail to understand the colonial governmentalisation of ports in Malabar.

Governmentalisation of Ports and Merchants in Malabar

The introduction of port rules in Madras marked an early intervention in the maritime landscape of South India.¹²⁶ British maritime authority was established through various rules and regulations in the ports through regulating maritime trade and transportation in India. Further, a system of surveillance and monitoring was instituted to ensure adherence to these rules and regulations. The initial measure taken by the British to regulate ports in Malabar involved the control of native merchants and native vessels accessing the ports. In Malabar, the indigenous merchants who dominated the maritime space, faced financial hardship due to the interventions by the colonialism. The British policies in the maritime Malabar had several effects, resulting in the Malabar collector getting involved in issues related to the entry of vessels into the Calicut port, due to economic and political pressures from the British.¹²⁷ An important change in the port administration was the introduction of Merchant Shipping acts and Native

¹²⁵Partha Mitter, 'The Early British Port Cities of India: Their Planning and Architecture circa 1640-1757,' *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, vol. 45, no. 2, 1986, pp. 95–114. Meera Kosambi, John E. Brush. 'Three Colonial Port Cities in India.' *Geographical Review*, vol. 78, no. 1, 1988, pp. 32–47.

¹²⁶CRA, Madras Port Manual, Madras: Supredendent government press, 1899.

¹²⁷CRA, Report from port conservator of Calicut, P James and William Logan (Collector of Malabar) report on Sea Custom House Procedures and Accounts in Malabar, 3rd November, 1882.

passengers Ship Acts.¹²⁸ These acts were the base for various regulations in the ports and led to changes in the existing maritime practices in the coastal areas of Malabar.

A significant political shift occurred after 1858 when the East India Company lost its complete trade privileges to the Indian economy. The Crown assumed full autonomy over the Indian economy in accordance with the Regulating Act of 1858.¹²⁹ Subsequently, all trade activities came under the purview of the British government, which initiated the regulation of various rules pertaining to ports, ships, and merchants. The Merchant Shipping Act was the early interventions in the maritime activities in the region, it played a crucial role in establishing laws and regulations governing the operation of merchant ships. It covered processes for registering ships, ensuring safety standards, and preventing pollution. The act also delineated the rights and responsibilities of crew members, specified rules for transporting passengers and cargo, and provided a framework for resolving disputes. According to the Madras Port Manual, there were different rules for the native ships and British ships; for the native vessels, it was directed to report the port officer to inform all the details of the vessels as well as the passengers.¹³⁰ Some of the indigenous merchants from Malabar filed a petition to the governor general regarding the high coasting vessel fees for their vessels. The British

¹²⁸CRA, Marine Department, Government of Madras, 22nd March, 1880, No 110, Government of Madras, Marine department, 13th October 1877, No-557. Government of Madras, Marine department, 10th October 1877, No-552.

¹²⁹The 1858 Regulating Act was passed by the Parliament of the United Kingdom to reorganise the administration of India. It marked the first time that the British government directly controlled the administration of India, setting up a dual system of government in which the British Crown took over governance from the East India Company. The Act established a Governor-General of India as the head of the British administration in India and a Council of India to offer advice to the Governor-General. It also created a Supreme Court in Calcutta with jurisdiction over all British subjects in India and the authority to be the highest court of appeal in the country.

¹³⁰CRA, Marine Department, Government of Madras, 4th June 1878, No-303. Government of Madras, Marine department, 3rd July 1880, No-207. Government of Madras, Marine department, 9th July 1880, No-320.

government had filed a fine for the native coasting crafts in Malabar as per the Act of XXII of 1855. The merchant's petition says that,

“We the native merchants from Malabar, appeal against the notification of Madras government, act of XXII of 1855 made some changes in the existing port rules in Malabar. It states that vessels of 100 tons and above shall not be permitted to enter or exit the harbor without pilot fee”.¹³¹

The native merchants have expressed their discontent and urged the state to revoke these regulations. They argue that these measures are detrimental to local commerce and are causing significant financial hardships for owners of coasting crafts and the large number of people involved in coastal navigation in Malabar ports. The important regulations in the act of XXII of 1855 were,

“In every port, subject to this act, to which the provisions of this section shall be extended by any order of the local government, it shall be unlawful to move any vessel of the 200 tons without having pilot fee. If any vessel shall except in any case of urgent necessity, be removed contrary to the provisions of this section, the masters of such vessel shall be liable to a penalty not exceeding 200 rupees for every such offence unless the master of such vessel shall submit application to the proper officer”.¹³²

This regulation indicates that the native coastal vessels could not enter the harbors due to the restriction. It created problems for the easy flow of commerce activities between Malabar and Bombay. The merchants pointed out that,

“The madras government in passing this restriction on coasting crafts, such as pattimars, Kotcahs, Battelabs, in charge of Tindal's is to discourage the local

¹³¹CRA, Marine department, Proceedings of Madras government, 20th December 1876, No 567.

¹³²CRA, Marine Department Proceedings of Madras government, p, 2.

coasting trade, and throw a large number of industrious men out of employment, and impoverish them and their families. The madras authorities, in strange view of political economy, appear utterly ignorant or indifferent of the mighty truth—that without well directed industry the most potent system must decay or perish and be ruined by unsound political economy, and that the sources of all wealth are industry and unrestricted commercial enterprise”.¹³³

The consequences of such restrictions disabled the movements of mercantile activities in the ports. In Cochin port, most of the crafting vessels turn back to the other ports in Malabar. The merchants of Malabar had submitted various representations to the Madras government to abolish the pilot fee in the ports. They were not getting enough profit from the trade activities, restricted movements and imposition of penalties and fines were the result of British dominance in Maritime spaces. In 1858, the government initiated the enforcement of specific maritime regulations in Malabar through the Act of 1858, titled ‘An Act for the Regulation of Native Passenger Ships and Steam Vessels intended to convey passengers on coasting voyages’. This legislation primarily aimed to regulate native passenger ships operating between company ports and presidencies, with a particular focus on pilgrim ships originating from Malabar. In 1859 Madras government implemented certain regulations related to entry, passing, and taxing in ports. In the Calicut port, it is evident that two individuals have been granted permission to ship goods from the part of the beach closest to their warehouses. Patrick Grant, in a request to the board of trade, emphasised the need for stringent rules in various ports of Malabar. He advocated that these rules should be tailored to account for the trade volume and maritime activities specific to each port.¹³⁴ The important rules of the sea customs in Malabar as follows,

¹³³CRA, Proceedings of Madras government, Marine Department, p, 2.

¹³⁴CRA, Letter P Grant, collector of Malabar (6th July 1859, No 3265) and Calicut, 29th June 1859, No 153.

1. According to the section 1, 2 of Act of 1848, all goods imported and exported on foreign bottoms are to be charged only with the same rate of duty as goods and imported and exported on British bottoms.
2. It abolishes all duties levied on goods carried from any port in the territories, subjected to the company, to any other port in the said territories.
3. Importers and exporters are to be required to continue entering in the import and export manifests, as well as applications on nature, quantity, and value of goods required to be passed through custom house.
4. The rules are to be enforced to all vessels in sailing for ports out of the district, with regards to boats, carrying rice and other species of produce from port to port within the province, manifest will be sufficient.¹³⁵

The regulations implemented particularly highlighted in the Act of 1848, were primarily aimed at boosting trade volume in Malabar. This Act emphasised the principle of equality by ensuring that goods imported and exported on foreign vessels incurred the same rate of duty as those on British vessels. This provision was designed to eliminate discriminatory practices and foster international trade. Furthermore, a significant aspect of these regulations involved the mandatory requirement for importers and exporters to furnish detailed information in import and export manifests in the ports. This information encompassed the nature, quantity, and value of goods. The objective was to enhance transparency in trade transactions and facilitate proper documentation for customs processing in Malabar ports.

The Native Passengers Act and Merchant Shipping Act underwent multiple amendments over time, influenced by political pressures and evolving economic needs. This dynamic regulatory environment reflected the continuous adaptation of maritime

¹³⁵CRA, HV Conolly, collector of Malabar- rules for the management of the sea customs in Malabar under Act of 1848, 26th august, 1848.

regulations to changing circumstances and priorities. In the pre-British period, ports in the Malabar region operated without specific limitations. Yet, in recent times, the governing body has imposed regulations on these ports, creating unrest among local traders. These regulations have established stringent control over maritime shipping and commerce, placing them under the dominion of the colonial state. In 1874, the merchant class in Malabar questioned the pilotage system in the ports, they pointed out that,

“The great decrease in the number of ships at this port is attributed to the paucity of trade, arising from depressed state of the market and this dilemma to burden the crafts with additional imposts is a measure as suicidal to the government as it is ruinous to the merchants, and local coasting vessels in the ports”.¹³⁶

William Logan, collector of Malabar took the initiative to address the concerns raised by the merchants. In addition, he provided a detailed report that outlined the quantity of vessels, ranging from over 100 to under 200 tons that regularly visited the port of Malabar, as well as other prominent ports within the region.

Table No, 1. Statement showing the number of Vessels of above 100 and below 200 tons which frequented the principal ports in Malabar

Year	Vessels at the Port of Cannanore	Vessels at the port of Tellicherry	Vessels at the ports of Calicut	Vessels at the Port of Cochin			
				Vessels	Pilotage Fee	Pilotage share	Government share
1871-72	34	37	95	99	3,670	2202	1468
1872-73	47	32	117	124	2,950	1770	1180
1873-74	12	15	109	100	1,860	1116	744
1874-75	25	10	124	71	3,414	2052	1362
1875-76	27	10	99	65	3,470	2244	1496

Source: CRA, Letter from William Logan, Collector of Malabar to the chief secretary to government, Calicut 14th October 1876, No 79.

¹³⁶CRA, Letter from JH Taylor (Master attendant of Madras), December 1876, No 8462.

The above table illustrates the pilot fees at various major ports in Malabar from 1871 to 1876. It is apparent that, for Cochin, the figures suggest a reduction in the number of crafts resorting to the port, possibly due to pilotage fees or other reasons, particularly in the last two years. Simultaneously, there is an increase in the number of crafts resorting to other ports in Malabar, such as Cannanore, Tellicherry, and Calicut. This indicates that pilotage fees may have impacted the local merchant and commerce activities in certain ports. According to William Logan's report, the pilotage fees considerably exceeded during the same period. The high share of government pilotage fees posed a challenge for most native crafts to manage the revenue. Consequently, Logan urged the Madras government to reconsider the new pilotage fees in Malabar.¹³⁷ J.H Taylor, master attendant of Madras had carefully investigated this petitions and concerns from the native merchants from Malabar. In 1874, Taylor recommend to government not to abolish the compulsory pilotage system in the ports as he could not find any reasons. He says that,

“The native merchants and petitioners have under estimated their earning and overestimated their expenditure, the crew of ships, about 100 tons burthen, and number from 12 to 15 hands in all and the expenses for total travel will be 150 instead of 300 as stated by the petitioners”. Taylor has rejected the merchant petitions and asked the port officer to collect the pilotage fee from the crafting vessels and boats”.¹³⁸

The communication from the Calicut port officer addresses challenges associated with the entry of native vessels into Calicut port, revealing that British Maritime regulations disproportionately favoured the economic interests of the British over those

¹³⁷CRA, Letter from William Logan, Collector of Malabar, to the chief secretary to government, Calicut 14th October 1876, No 79.

¹³⁸CRA, Letter from JH Taylor, Master attendant of Madras, 6th December 1876, No 8462.

of native vessels. According to the report, native vessels discharged cargo without entering the port conservator office, adhering to the port rules. However, the British implemented a requirement that all vessels entering Calicut port for loading or unloading goods must register with the port conservator office and submit relevant certificates to the port officer. The necessity for this regulation was emphasised during the cholera outbreak and other infectious diseases in Bombay, which had the potential to spread to Malabar. In response to the epidemic, compulsory registration in Calicut port was enforced in 1883. The Calicut port officer asserted that, in the event of an infectious disease outbreak on board upon arrival, the enforcement of laws and rules would be impossible without this measure. Consequently, this practice was observed across all ports in Malabar to control the spread of infectious diseases.

JH. Taylor, Master attendant of Madras, reported that no vessels other than steamers are to be allowed to follow the procedure obtaining with regards to entry and clearance. William Logan, the collector of Malabar, was allowed the dhoney.¹³⁹ In 1883, Richardson, serving as the port officer at Calicut port, highlighted an incident involving the native vessel Sultanalee. The vessel arrived at Calicut port at 4 pm, bypassing the master attendant's office and unloading its cargo before official office hours. In response, Richardson issued an order prohibiting the discharge of cargo under such circumstances. In 1877, Andrew and Messers Corporation formally requested the government for concessions specifically tailored for the Calicut port, seeking relief from port dues. In response to this request, the government of Madras granted special concessions to the Calicut port.¹⁴⁰ Nevertheless, William Logan emphasised that exempting certain vessels from port dues would impose a financial burden on the port administration.

¹³⁹Small vessels- usually navigating in the rivers of Malabar.

¹⁴⁰CRA, Marine Department, Government of Madras, 6th October, 1877, No 546. Letter from Messers Andrew and co, Calicut to the chief secretary, 17th July, 1877.

Consequently, he recommended refraining from granting concessions in this regard.¹⁴¹

Later, in 1887, the draft notification restricted the movements of vessels in the port areas.

It refers that,

1. At ports, there is a resident Master Attendant, no vessel of any description should be allowed to enter or clear without a certificate from the master attendant that all port rules and regulations have been attended to. If there is no master, there should be a Port conservator; all the duties will devolve on him.
2. whom a ship's register is presented, it should be carefully scrutinised and the Tindal (officer among lascars) or master should be put through a searching examination regarding the vessel, the owner's name and residence and regarding his own antecedents, if any difference is discovered either through change of ownership or alterations in the size of vessel, the vessel should be detained.
3. All Tindal's are bound to appear in person before the Master Attendant or conservator prior to entry, and this rule should be never is relaxed with regard to native vessels.¹⁴²

The enactment of the Native Passengers Ship Act of 1887 brought about various modifications to the rules and regulations governing passengers, goods, and services. It introduced new regulations aimed at managing and limiting the presence of irregular passengers on vessels.¹⁴³ The initial regulation that continued the imperial influence in maritime Malabar was the implementation of the Native Passengers Ships Act of 1877 by the Madras presidency. A significant impact of these regulations was the delineation of port limits. Defining the boundaries of ports in Malabar involved regulating the duties of the port conservator under the Indian Ports Acts of 1875 and the Sea Customs Act. William Logan expressed concerns about the constraints imposed on Malabar ports,

¹⁴¹CRA, Proceedings of the Board of Revenue, 25th September 1877, No 4491.

¹⁴²CRA, Proceedings of the Board of Revenue, 8th November, 1883, No- 3369.

¹⁴³CRA, Government of Madras, Marine department, 16th May 1878, No-270, Government of Madras, Marine department, 31st December 1878, No-684.

fearing that restricting native vessels might lead to conflicts in the ports. Richardson informed William Logan about the discharge of cargo by a native vessel named Sultanee, owned by Ismail bin Hajee Abdulla, at Calicut Port without proper approval from the marine department. Richardson conveyed this information in a letter to William Logan,

“As the Tindal has thereby evaded the port rules, I trust you will inflict such a fine as will deter him and others for repeating such irregularities”.¹⁴⁴

The article falling within the category of "agricultural implements" was exempted from tariffs and duties. In a letter from William Logan to Messers and Company, it was stated that if coffee spouting from Ceylon arrived at the port of Calicut, it would be subject to tariffs unless instructed otherwise by the board. Logan requested the board's approval for a refund of the imposed duty if they deemed coffee spouting to fall under the specified provision. In response, the board expressed their opinion that coffee spouting should be considered an agricultural implement, comparable to a plough or thrashing machine. They argued that it served as a labor-saving device for agricultural purposes, replacing the need for manual laborers to transport coffee from the upper parts of the estate to the storage facility. However, disappointingly, the board concluded, based on the exchanged letters, that coffee spouting could not be classified as an agricultural item.¹⁴⁵ Consequently, native vessel owner paid the entire cargo fee at Calicut port. It becomes apparent that particular maritime regulations had the effect of marginalising indigenous merchants and vessels within the broader scope of maritime changes.

¹⁴⁴CRA, Proceedings of Board of Revenue (8th November 1883, No 3369), Letter from JH Taylor, Master attendant of Madras to Board of revenue, 24th August, 1883, No 8182.

¹⁴⁵CRA, Letter, William Logan to HE Stokes, secretary, Board of Revenue, Calicut 30th October, 1877.

The letter from Mr. Brown of Anjarakandi, regarding the heavy export duty levied on pepper in Malabar.¹⁴⁶ He pointed out that there is heavy export duty on white pepper from Malabar which creates financial difficulties among the merchants. The black pepper pays an export duty of 3 and half percent per candy on a tariff evaluation of rupees 40, and the same duty levied on white pepper but the value is 100. Mr. Brown was a British merchant in Tellicherry, who carried pepper trade from Malabar to outside economy. Black and white pepper from Malabar is annually exported to United Kingdom, Europe, America, and China. Brown criticise the British pepper policy in regards to the heavy duty which makes them unprofitable. He pointed out that

“As regards the tariff, there is no such thing thought of discriminating Malabar coffee, a local produce, into several qualities according to as it is, and no such things done for sugar, with indigo, or with any other commodities from Malabar, but pepper is sole exception to the general rule”.¹⁴⁷

Patrick Grant, the acting collector of Malabar replied to Brown that, there is no heavy export duty as Brown mentioned, it was because of the difference in Tariff evaluation. Brown was considered as the privileged merchant in Malabar. British government had a proper mechanism to evaluate the export duty, which created financial stability to them. Brown's response can be seen as the response to the larger maritime change in the trade sector of Malabar. The pepper export which was the major economic activity in Malabar since ancient period, became political since the arrival of colonialism in the Coast. The advent of colonialism in the region disrupted the entire economic activities in Malabar, forcing regional powers to engage with foreign powers, particularly

¹⁴⁶CRA, Letter, P Grant, acting collector of Malabar, 15th March 1859, No 45 and 8th February 1859.

¹⁴⁷CRA, P Grant, acting collector of Malabar, 15th March, 1859, No 45, 21st March, 1859, No 1174.

concerning pepper and other resources in the area. The British pepper policy, in essence, mirrored the strategies employed by other colonial powers. Their primary objective was to exert control and influence over the pepper trade in the region. Mr. Oliphant writes to the commissioner that Rajas of Malabar consented to Mr. Powney to make a pepper survey in the Malabar. But, Powney remarked that there is no need of an extensive survey of pepper in the region, due to the changes in the quantity, and all the rajas have the authority in the matters of pepper industry.¹⁴⁸ Pepper was one of the major economic policies of the British, bound to the local political power, though the British were managing the political economy of Malabar. Choukara Moosa, leading merchants in pepper remarks that pepper price increased due to some misunderstanding between native merchants and British officials. He pointed out that,

“As soon as the company’s advertisement calling for the sale of pepper to them was made known, the native merchants including Local Rajas concealed the pepper. Mr. Agnew, factor at Calicut port appointed Acusniff (Arab merchant) to keep pepper at Rs 200 per candy. Mr. Taylor, resident also purchased at the same rate.”¹⁴⁹

Choukara Moosa suggests that money should be advanced only to the honest friends of the company and that the pepper should not be purchased at a higher rate than that fixed by the company on pain of fine or forfeiture. The British agents advanced money to several merchants in Malabar to supply pepper at same rate. One of the major changes in the ports of Malabar were after the implementation of native passengers regulations in 1878, which made various changes in the port administrations and passenger ships. The important regulation in 1878 was, every native passenger ship

¹⁴⁸CRA, Malabar Collectorate Records, Correspondence file, Vol 1731, pp, 186-213.

¹⁴⁹CRA, Malabar Collectorate Records, Correspondence file Vol 2150, pp, 7533-7613.

should have a qualified medical officer and health certificate should be provided. The rule III pointed out that,

“Every ship carrying more than 100 passengers shall be fitted with hospital suitable for segregating from the main body of passenger persons attacked by any infectious diseases, also every ship shall fitted with not less than two privies sufficiently screened from public view and readily accessible, every such ship shall be provided two places for washing sufficiently screened from public view”.¹⁵⁰

The two important regulations in the provision of passenger’s voyage from native ports were,

1. A valid certificate granted by the government or board of trade
2. A certificate granted under the authority of any British Indian government and dated not more than six months before the proposed day of sailing.¹⁵¹

The enforcement of regulations pertaining to native passengers posed significant challenges for the indigenous ships and vessels operating in the Malabar region. Primarily, these regulations placed considerable burdens on shipmasters, who were tasked with ensuring compliance with various certification requirements upon approaching or docking at ports. British government tried to excess revenue from various establishments at various ports in Malabar. It indicates that, through the modernisation of ports, they were generating maximum tolls and taxes from the native resources. JH Taylor, master attendant of Madras, submitted a letter to the government regarding the toll levied on Calicut pier.¹⁵² He pointed out that, the revenue derived from the tolls on

¹⁵⁰CRA, Marine Department, File No 386, 25th July 1878, p 6.

¹⁵¹CRA, Marine Department, File No 386, 25th July 1878, p, 13.

¹⁵² Pier can be seen as the a long structure sticking out from the land over the sea, where boats can be tied, or used for getting into and out of boats in ports.

the Calicut pier was very small compared to the expenditure incurred on the establishment.¹⁵³ He revised the existing tolls levied on Calicut pier and boat hire for the Calicut port. The present rate was 3 Annas per ton on export or import goods, whether small vessel or large vessels, they required paying this amount.¹⁵⁴ Later, the resistance from the small native vessel owners made the government to give some concession regarding the toll. One of the major reasons were, after the introduction of this regulation in Calicut port, the trade activities has been reduced. JH Taylor reported that the existing rate for small native vessels (3annas) had created some issues among the native vessels, and he proposed some changes in the existing toll rate of Calicut pier. He pointed out that,

“The boat hire to vessels lying under three fathoms is now fixed at 6 annas per ton, while the head of the pier is in two fathoms of water. I would suggest the rate of boat-hire to vessels lying in three fathoms of water from the pier be 4 Annas per ton”.¹⁵⁵

The impact of colonial maritime regulations extended beyond the merchant classes, affecting even small native vessels subject to the stringent control of the colonial state. Existing regulations indicate that colonial maritime policies sought to regulate the movements of native passengers, imposing numerous restrictions on free mobility in Malabar. The implementation of the Native Passenger's Ships Act brought about significant changes in the entry procedures for vessels into Malabar ports. The new maritime regulations also extended their influence to fishing boats, a crucial economic asset in the region. Consequently, these fishing boats became subject to the new legal

¹⁵³CRA, Letter from J H Taylor, Master attendant of Madras to DF Carmichael, chief secretary, 21st January 1875, No 542.

¹⁵⁴CRA, Proceedings of the Madras government, Marine Department, 28th January, 1875, No 34.

¹⁵⁵CRA, Letter from J H Taylor, Master attendant of Madras to DF Carmichael, chief secretary, 21st January 1875, No 542.

framework imposed by colonial rule. Important modification in the entry protocols for fishing boats in various Malabar ports was prompted by a high number of accidents and wrecks at sea. In response, the government introduced several changes in the entry procedures for fishing boats in ports. Specifically, open fishing boats and other vessels underway were not mandated to display the side lights required for other types of vessels. Instead, each such boat was required to have a lantern with green glass on one side and red glass on the other side. This arrangement ensured that the green light was not visible on the port side and the red light was not visible on the starboard side.

- 1) A fishing vessel and open boat when at anchor, shall exhibit a bright white light
- 2) A fishing vessel when employed in drift net fishing, shall carry on one of her masts two red lights in a vertical line one over the other
- 3) Fishing boats and vessels shall be not being prevented from using a flare up in addition, if they desire to do so.¹⁵⁶

The regulations outlined above pertain to the lighting requirements for fishing vessels in different scenarios. These regulations aim to enhance maritime safety by ensuring visibility and communication between vessels, particularly during periods of reduced visibility or when engaged in specific fishing activities. In 1880, Watters, serving as the acting collector of Malabar, stated that the recently implemented regulations posed challenges for native vessels, particularly the rules pertaining to new lights on vessels as outlined in the Merchant Shipping Act.¹⁵⁷ He reported that,

“It seems an Arab seaman stuck in the Calicut custom house and could not get port clearance unless they furnished themselves with new regulation on lights which was not possible at Calicut port that time.”¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁶CRA, Marine department, Government of Madras, 10th September, 188, No 450.

¹⁵⁷CRA, Marine department, Governments of Madras, 8th October, 1880, No 506.

¹⁵⁸CRA, G Watters, to the chief secretary, government of India, Calicut, 20th September 1880, No 350.

For native vessels, it was very difficult to furnish the vessels according to the new regulation; instead they followed the existing regulations. The native vessels carried only a white light at the mast head but now they are obliged to carry other three lights on their vessels; a white light as before at the mast-head, a green light on the starboard side and a red light on the port-side. However, Watters requested to the government to exclude the native vessels from the new light regulation in Malabar. Indeed, the government of India had taken this request and solved accordingly, as per the new regulation of 1880, sailing ships were not required to carry white mast-head lights in Malabar.¹⁵⁹ Watters received several complaints and requests from Native Vessel owners regarding the new maritime regulations. Another regulation in the Malabar port was introduction of registration for native vessels and boats. In January 5th, 1880 Government of India notified that there should be an annual inspection of boats and the payment of an inspection fee of 1 rupee per boat and license fee of 1 rupee per ton.¹⁶⁰ Some of the boatmen from Calicut and Beypore submitted a letter that says,

“We are paying number of tonnages to our boats such as the professional tax paid to the municipality, imperial license tax, the value of the boats, and now we are required to pay the amount for inspection of boats and license fee, which is economic burden to us”.¹⁶¹

It indicates that, the native boat owners were unsatisfied with the new regulation. JH Taylor, master attendant of Madras responded to their grievances, and remarked that,

¹⁵⁹CRA, Government of India, 23rd September 1880, No- 480, Government of India, order dated 8th October 1880, No-506.

¹⁶⁰CRA, Marine department, Government of Madras, 12th May, 1880, No-187.

¹⁶¹CRA, Marine department, Government of Madras, 12th May, 1880, No-187.

“I do not see any grounds of making any concession in favour of boat owners of Calicut; indeed I am sure that, they are making a strong group to resist the new changes”.¹⁶²

Taylor resisted any alteration to the existing boat registration regulations and justified the government's actions by pointing to other regulations in Calicut port. He argued that these new regulations applied not only to boat owners but also to hack carriage proprietors, emphasising that all individuals in these categories were required to pay taxes and obtain a separate license for each conveyance. The British administration, motivated by a desire to maximise profits, prioritised revenue generation over considering the perspectives of the native population. Taylor's response did not involve implementing positive changes for native boat owners; instead, it aimed at extracting revenue from them. One key argument presented by Taylor was that boat ownership was a lucrative investment, and he saw no issue with maintaining the stringency of the new maritime regulations at Calicut port.

Table 2: The quantity of cargo imported and exported at Cochin and Calicut port

Ports	Number of Boats	Tonnage	Rate of Hire Outer roads	Rate of Hire Inner Harbour	Tonnage Exported	Tonnage Imported
Cochin Port	137	980	Rs 2-8 to 3-12	One rupee per trip	20,534	29,099
Calicut Port	29	203	”	From annas 6 to Rs 1-8 per ton, and for every quarter above charge additional	20,630	9,520

Source: CRA, Marine File, Government of India, 10th May, 1880, No-181 and 187.

To support this stance, Taylor compared the quantity of imported and exported cargo with the number of boats at each port, citing the example of Calicut port and Cochin

¹⁶²CRA, JH Taylor, to the chief secretary, government of India, 1st May 1880, No-3449.

in a table. The inquiry was not focused on the trade volume at Calicut port; rather, the issue was the considerably lower number of boats in Calicut compared to Cochin. Many boat owners struggled to afford the high registration and license fees, leading them to export their goods through other Malabar ports like Beypore and Ponnani. Taylor seemed oblivious to the challenges faced by boat owners in Malabar and urged the collector of Malabar to thoroughly examine the boat registration details. The table failed to consider the historical trade volume at the port, as its timeframe only spanned from 1880. Taylor defended the maritime regulations, asserting that they were appropriate and successful. The table suggests that 1880 witnessed positive export growth, influenced by various factors such as the opening of the Suez Canal, which enhanced international trade connectivity and contributed to the global economy. The primary stipulation of the Native Passengers Ships Act of 1876 was that every native passenger ship must have a qualified medical professional on board. According to the provisions outlined in the 1876 Act, every native ship is required to present a B certificate. The regulations specify that if a ship carries a surgeon, it must also carry a supply of medicines and surgical appliances as detailed in Schedule A. Additionally, any ship carrying more than one hundred native passengers must be equipped with a hospital facility suitable for isolating individuals afflicted by any infectious disease from the main body of passengers.¹⁶³

The ferry system, which was highly popular in the peripheries of Malabar, was subject to another maritime regulation. This system was used to transport products from the hinterlands to ports, in addition to transporting native passengers.¹⁶⁴ It played a crucial role as a vital communication system for the people of Malabar. The river economy held significant prominence during this period, emerging as a key economic

¹⁶³CRA, Malabar Correspondence File, File Number 545.

¹⁶⁴CRA, Revenue Department File, 1907, Bundle No-59.

domain following the maritime activities in the history of communication and trade in Malabar. Particularly, a considerable portion of goods was transported through rivers, involving the movement of timber and pepper from the inland regions of Malabar to the major ports. The flow of timber in the rivers serves as an illustration of the functioning of maritime networks in Malabar. The regulations governing ferries in Malabar were based on the Madras Canals and Ferry Act of 1870, with decisions related to ferry sales subject to the collector's authority. This regulations in Malabar were formulated under the heading Hukumnama for the sale and lease of ferries.¹⁶⁵ As we know that the colonial maritime policies not only affected the coastal communities but also various people who engaged in the port and maritime spaces. During the pre-colonial period, port activities in Malabar were relatively unrestricted, various communities enjoyed freedom to carry trade in the ports and port spaces. However, with the advent of British rule, strict regulations were imposed, limiting the entry of vessels into port areas. This section examined the legal and maritime changes that occurred in the region, highlighting how the British asserted their economic dominance by implementing various maritime regulations and the consequential effects on the different ports in Malabar, and its impacts on native merchants and communities. The colonial maritime regulations not only limited to ports but extended to other maritime resources of the region, salt was the another commodity where colonial state tried to regulate and monopolize in Malabar.

Salt regulations and Maritime Economy of Malabar

The maritime regulations in Malabar impacted the salt production and consumption in the region, which was the autonomy of the natives in the coastal areas. From 1800 onwards, the question was on establishing a provincial administration in the region eventually a base for the profit generation for the company. British introduced a

¹⁶⁵CRA, Malabar Gazatte supplements, 1st February, 1888.

regulation for extending the salt monopoly to the province of Malabar in 1807. The collector of Malabar gives an account of the mode in which the salt monopoly was managed in Malabar. He thinks that a standard price may be fixed for all foreign salt.¹⁶⁶ Malabar collector proposed the establishment of a commercial agency at each depot so as to prevent abuse among the servants. Collector objected to the periodical sale of salt by auction, as it is a sort of monopoly within a monopoly and would benefit a few individuals at the expense of the whole community.¹⁶⁷ The important regulation on salt in Malabar were,

“The salt manufactured shall be sold by the landholders, proprietors, at a price to be determined with the consent of the respective parties. All salt which may be sold by proprietor, landholders, inhabitant or manufacturer to any other than the officers of the government shall be confiscated and party liable to get fined”.¹⁶⁸

In April 2, 1830, Thomas Harvey Baber, who served as the collector of Malabar during that period, presented a response to the House of Lords detailing the socio-political and economic circumstances prevailing in the colonies, particularly in Malabar and Canara. Prior to the implementation of the salt monopoly along the Malabar coasts, indigenous people were involved in salt-related activities. These activities were carried out through a practice known as ‘Ooppadana’ referred to as ‘Salt Pans’ in English. These salt pans were arranged in a parallel manner with the coastline. The lands in question were submerged by the sea, and certain areas were enclosed to allow saltwater entry. The sun's heat, evaporated the water, leaving behind salt deposits. Subsequent to the

¹⁶⁶CRA, Guide to the Malabar Records, Volume 2319, 22-10-1817, pp, 161-186.

¹⁶⁷CRA, Guide to the Malabar Records, Volume 2319, 22-10-1817, pp, 161-186.

¹⁶⁸The unrepealed Regulations of the government of Fort.St. George, the acts of the government of India, applicable to the Madras Presidency and the acts of the government of Madras relating to revenue matters from 1802 to 1869, pp, 52-53.

imposition of the salt monopoly, there was a significant increase in the price of salt in the region. This increase was directly attributed to the monopoly, resulting in price hikes ranging from three hundred to four hundred percent in various parts of the country. Ultimately, the cost to consumers rose dramatically, potentially reaching as high as six hundred to seven hundred percent. This monopoly had additional repercussions, leading to unrest among the native population. Baber highlighted the numerous grievances and complaints received about the exorbitant salt prices resulting from this monopoly system.¹⁶⁹ These complaints were, first, that many were prohibited from manufacturing salt, and thereby their lands which had cost them large sums of money were rendered useless to their owners, as they would yield no other produce. The extensive suppression of Salt pans both in Malabar and Canara is a source of great grievance both to the proprietors and actual manufacturers. In Malabar alone, 6,438 pans¹⁷⁰ were thrown out of a lucrative subsistence; and the compensation (which was not paid for years, and sometimes not at all, as set forth in petitions presented to Baber,) was very inadequate. The Proprietors in some measure brought upon themselves but, as Mr. Græme says, the Collector disguised the design with which he called for a return of their profits. In return, they concealed their resources as it would be rather severe to inflict a permanent punishment on them for this offence. In lieu of this annual compensation, Mr. Græme recommended the purchase of the privilege of manufacture, or in other words the free sale of the salt pans. It should also be borne in mind that the suppression of the salt pans is not provided for in the salt monopoly regulations of 1807.

¹⁶⁹ Affairs of the East India Company: Minutes of evidence, 02 April 1830', in Journal of the House of Lords: Volume 62, 1830 (London), pp, 1035-1039. British History Online. <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/lords-jrnl/vol62/pp1035-1039>

¹⁷⁰ As reported by Mr. Commissioner Graeme in his Letter to the Board of Revenue dated 31st of August 1820,) Affairs of the East India Company: Minutes of evidence, 06 April 1830', in Journal of the House of Lords: Volume 62, 1830 (London), pp, 1035-1039. British History Online <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/lords-jrnl/vol62/pp1035-1039>.

On the contrary, a particular distinction is made in favour of the inhabitants of Malabar, who are to be at liberty to carry on the manufacture, under the penalty of confiscation of the salt, and of a large fine, for selling to any other but the officers of Government. Secondly, there were great differences in the measurement, in the receipt or purchase from those who are allowed to manufacture, and in the issue or sale, which were represented in specific complaints.¹⁷¹ There was an additional price put on by the retailers, besides other numerous frauds, which enhanced the price to the consumer by one to several hundred per cent. The salt depots were all located on the Coast. The European agents to both tobacco and salt depots, who were exclusive of the company's covenant servants, suffered great hardship due to the distance.¹⁷² Thus, the British maritime regulations of the time aimed not only to control the flow of commodities but also to manage the movement of individuals.

A pivotal consequence of these regulations was the oversight of salt production in the Malabar region, resulting from the broader British maritime policies. This oversight was realised through the establishment of a salt monopoly that extended along the entire coastline. The year 1880 marked the introduction of new regulations that granted authority to an assistant commissioner for the supervision of the salt industry in the districts of Malabar and South Canara. This appointment consolidated power within the salt department, effectively centralising control over salt-related matters in these two districts. This move signaled a significant shift in governance and administration, entrusting the assistant commissioner with the responsibility of regulating and managing salt production, distribution, and related affairs.¹⁷³ HW Bliss instructed the government

¹⁷¹Letter from Thomas Barber, 3rd of December 1814,

¹⁷²Thomas Harvey Baber Letter to the Honourable the Governor of Madras, 28th December 1808.

¹⁷³CRA, Proceeding of Board of Revenue, dated 26th April 1880- Letter from HW Bliss, commissioner of salt revenue to CA Galton, secretary of board of revenue, dated Calicut- 16th April 1880, No, 2274.

to introduce Salt preventive force in Malabar, to look after the salt manufacture. He pointed out that,

“As long as any untaxed salt is permitted to pass into consumption through the west coast ports on payment of duty free, the interests of the salt revenue cannot be properly protected”.¹⁷⁴

The British realised that, they are unable to get the revenue due to some dispensaries in the salt management in Malabar. HW Bliss refers that,

“Most of revenue was losing due to failure in the storage of salt, and one of the solution he raised that, West Coast custom house must be subjected to the superior supervision which the new organisation of the salt department should afford without increase of cost, or custom establishments must be very much better paid than they are now, which will cost a large amount of money”.¹⁷⁵

Salt revenue was the important concern of the British and they tried to regulate the salt stores at various ports in Malabar. British government established various salt depots at Malabar to store maximum salt. In 1859, the major salt depots in Malabar namely, Cannanore, Tellicherry, Calicut, and Ponnani exported salt to various places in Madras presidency and other British ports.¹⁷⁶ Most of the salt from Malabar were exported to Mysore market and Coorg, and salt depots were used as the storage place for various goods such as pepper, plantation products etc. GA Galton, acting commissioner of salt raised various concerns regarding new salt regulations in Madras especially the appointments in the salt department, the important concerns were,

¹⁷⁴CRA, Proceeding of Board of Revenue, dated 26th April 1880- Letter from HW Bliss, commissioner of salt revenue to CA Galton, secretary of board of revenue.

¹⁷⁵CRA, Proceedings the Board of Revenue, 26th April 1880, Letter from HW Bliss, Commissioner of Salt revenue, Calicut, 16th April, 1880, No-2274.

¹⁷⁶CRA, P Grant, collector of Malabar, 11th July, 1859, No 166.

- (a) What appointments in this Department should be subject to reduction of pay when held by Natives of India, and whether the rule should be applied to those Europeans who, being domiciled in India, rank as Statutory Natives, or only to those who are Natives by race and blood?
- (b) Whether the reduction of pay should take the form of a fixed ratio, such as two-thirds of the salary assigned to the appointment when it is held by a European, as in the case of Native Members of the civil Service under the Statutory Rules; or a fluctuating ratio, the reduction being less in the lower than in the higher grades; or whether two alternative scales of pay should be adopted?
- (c) Whether a rule should be introduced reserving a fixed number of appointments or a fixed proportion of the vacancies for Native candidates.¹⁷⁷

Bliss expressed concern on the appointments, and refers that no restrictions should be placed on the employment of Europeans, as it is difficult to find educated natives for the job.¹⁷⁸ After a series of discussions among the board of directors, the conclusion was to appoint the persons fit for the job, instead of nationality. Galton concluded the discussion and submitted his points to the board of directors.

- (a) There is no necessity for any alternative scale of pay as regards this. Department, because Natives of India should not be considered eligible for appointments of higher grade than Inspector, and the rule as to reduction of pay should not be applied to that or any other grade for which they are eligible
- (b) If at any time a Native or Eurasian should be promoted to the Assistant Commissioner class, the increments should be Rs. 50 instead of Rs. 100 for each grade, but that the reduction of emoluments should not be held applicable to domiciled Europeans,

¹⁷⁷CRA, Letter from Alton, Acting Commissioner of Salt and Abkari Revenue, to the Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Madras, 23rd June 1886, No. 8094.

¹⁷⁸CRA, Bliss letter, 16th August 1884, recorded in the Government of India, 2nd September 1884, No. 1062

(c) It is not desirable to reserve for Native candidates any fixed number of appointments or proportion of vacancies¹⁷⁹

Evidently, a distinct and conspicuous disparity existed between individuals of native origin and those who were non-natives in terms of appointments within various departments of the company. This contrast in appointments was prominently observable across a multitude of departments, and these appointments could be broadly classified into four distinct groups.

- (a) Europeans (proper),
- (b) Europeans (domiciled in India),
- (c) Eurasians,
- (d) Natives (Asiatic)¹⁸⁰

The interventions in salt management led to unrest among the natives of Malabar. Salt regulations were aimed to manage and control the salt resources in the region, for that, they introduced various officials in the salt management. For the natives, salt making was considered as traditional livelihood and intervening in the salt making considered as the threat to their survival in the coast. The introduction of salt tax led to widespread protests in the coast. The salt interventions also impacted the fishing communities who reside near the coast and manage the salt making as well. The *mukkuvans* have used salt for dry fishing in Malabar, and they were struggling to get salt due to high price. Later, salt tax become one of the reason for the wide protest across the nation, even Malabar also experienced such events. Payyannur Satyagraha was the

¹⁷⁹CRA, Bliss letter, 16th August 1884, recorded in the G.O., 2nd September 1884, No. 1062, p. 47.

¹⁸⁰letter from J. E. OCONOR, Assistant Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Finance and Commerce (Separate Revenue, &c., Customs), to the Secretary to the Government of Madras, Shimla, 13th June 1884, No- 1599(Proceeding of the sub-committee, Public Service Commission, salt department, supredendent government press, 1887.

example of such events, where leaders break the salt tax and protested against the colonial salt regulations. It was the base for the national protest against the colonial economic policies in India. The salt regulations enforced in Malabar underscored the British objective of maximising revenue generation from the industry. Consequently, they introduced a range of limitations and rules governing salt manufacturing. As we discussed earlier, the broader impact of colonial maritime regulations was profound, extending beyond salt production to other aspects in port spaces. Timber was one of the commodity where the British tried to monopolize in Malabar.

Colonial interventions in Timber Economy

The timber trade in Malabar Coast was organised by two distinct groups, such as jungle merchants and coast merchants. The jungle merchants were mostly Mappilas, who employed several contractors to conduct the different phases of timber procurement.¹⁸¹ They used to carry timber trade in Malabar for shipbuilding and other uses, and was considered as an important source of revenue in British time. In 1823, Thomas Munro abolished the monopoly in timber and as an after effect, the prices of timber increased. Babar refers that, forest and timber dominance had created a new market in the political economy of Malabar, and he says that,

“I have seen applications from the principal Shipbuilders to the Conservator of the Forests and to the Government, to sell to them, or to be allowed to purchase, Timber to build and repair their Vessels. They offered to purchase at any price”.¹⁸² Principal Collector of Malabar, 18th July 1806, stated,

“That Company had occasion for Teak trees for the purpose of building ships, and therefore the Government had resolved to grant a monopoly to one Chowakkara

¹⁸¹Michael Mann, ‘Timber Trade on the Malabar Coast, 1780-1840’, *Environment and History*, November 2001, Vol, 7, No 4, p, 407.

¹⁸²CRA, Malabar Collectorate Records, Letter, 18th July 1806.

Moosa, in order that it might be furnished with the trees it wanted at a low Price”.¹⁸³

The subsequent proclamation by the madras government on 25th April 1807, announced,

“The assumption, in pursuance of orders from the Honourable court of directors, of the sovereignty of the forests in the provinces of Malabar and Canara”.¹⁸⁴

The British tried to cultivate the timber in Malabar as a part of colonial forest policy. They used Malabar timber for ship building at various dockyards in India, especially in Bombay dockyard. Mackonochie was surgeon in the government of Bombay; his desire was to promote national interests in the collection of Teak from the province of Malabar for the purpose of shipbuilding.¹⁸⁵ Malabar timber was very famous for ship building in Colonial time. The first ship built on the Malabar Coast, was from Teak, and entirely a produced for the Company's territories. By far the greatest part of the timber hitherto used was procured either from Bassein, and other parts belonging to different Maratha states to the northward of Bombay; or from Cochin and Travancore, to the southward of Malabar. A considerable part of the iron, pitch, and tar, used in her construction, were native produces of Malabar. The tar used, was extracted from the chips and saw – dust from the vessel herself and no other tar, whatever, was made use of.¹⁸⁶ The British identified Teak as durable for ship building, they were classified as southern and northern according to the durability. , Northern teak was more durable than southern one. The various categories according to the durability were:

¹⁸³CRA, Malabar Collectorate Records, Letter, 18th July 1806.

¹⁸⁴CRA. Madras Government, 25th April 1807.

¹⁸⁵CRA, Collectorate Records, Letter received, 1806, p 209-260.

¹⁸⁶A Collection of Papers, Relative to ship Building in India: with Descriptions of the Various Indian Woods employed therein, their qualities and uses, value, and Register comprehending all the Ships and Vessels built in India to the present time, compiled by John Phipps (Master Attendant, Calcutta), Calcutta: Scott and Co, 1840, p 174.

1. Northern carved timber, brought a distance from Bombay, or from 130 to 140 miles
2. Southern Calicut Teak
3. Northern patsey or straight timber, used for small vessels and boats
4. Basseen carved timber.¹⁸⁷

J.M. Sepping pointed out that Malabar teak should be used for the construction of ships and vessels, and is good for the tropical climate. He refers that naval ships will be better effective with Malabar teak.¹⁸⁸ Timber was exported to Bombay and Calcutta for ship building. Timber farming in Malabar started in the 1797 onwards. The necessity of Malabar timber in the shipping industry made the British to introduce certain timber forests in Malabar. The timber traders came under the strict regulations and British forest policies.

The agreement between Commissioners, Thomas Wilkinson, Colonel Alexander Dow, Robert Rickards, on one side and Vydee Puther and Purnaban Moosa (Timber trader) on the other was about to be affected for the exclusive privilege of cutting timber and catching elephants within certain limits of Malabar for Rs 60000. They are allowed the privilege of bringing their timber down the rivers or by land carriages, free of all demands by the company, such as interior tolls or duties. The tax charged upon timber brought by the river to Calicut was also to be abolished and the company was to receive no other customs.- However, Mr. Meckonochie remarks that the price levied was not an adequate sum for the cutting of timber, instead company revenue books showed that profits from timber was much larger and productive from Malabar. He remarks that the requirements of company will be very small owing to the stagnation of the ship building

¹⁸⁷ A Collection of Papers, Relative to ship Building in India: with Descriptions of the Various Indian Woods employed therein, their qualities and uses, value, p, 36.

¹⁸⁸ A Collection of Papers, Relative to ship Building in India: with Descriptions of the Various Indian Woods employed therein, their qualities and uses, value, p, 37.

work.¹⁸⁹ He comprehensively discusses multiple facets of the contract, encompassing labor considerations, and responds to numerous favorable arguments regarding his strategy to set up sawmills and rejuvenate the timber trade in Malabar. He additionally emphasises that the indigenous farmers lack the requisite expertise in timber farming and trading. His proposition to establish a timber farm in Malabar resulted in the introduction of novel forest policies and the establishment of British exclusivity in timber exports. No prompt measures were taken with regards to the Malabar farms. The solicitor's comments that,

“The proposed exclusive grant to the farmers is restricted in so far as such grant is incompatible with the permission given to Meckonochie to erect saw mills; I think the company is bound to do not act for its own profit¹⁹⁰ The idea of granting timber monopoly to the certain individuals will have direct tendency to obstruct and destroy the plans and prospects of a gentleman who upon the faith and support held out to him, has bestowed great labour and will consequently suffer great damage”.¹⁹¹

The Bombay government instructed Meckonochie against involving himself or mediating any arrangements among local merchants concerning the timber farms. This directive was based on the belief that intervening in the timber sector could potentially provoke anti-colonial sentiments within the trading communities in Malabar. Subsequently, Mackonochie's timber production proposal altered the course of political economy in Malabar. He believed that the forests held significant value and importance, necessitating the swift implementation of measures for their conservation. The report says that, an engineer visited forests of Malabar and reported that he travelled through the whole of the forests without having seen a tree. This suggests that the forests in

¹⁸⁹CRA, Malabar Collectorate Correspondence File, Vol 2143, pp, 4096-4118, 31-08-1797.

¹⁹⁰CRA, Malabar Collectorate Correspondence File, Vol 2143, pp, 4096-4118, 31-08-1797.

¹⁹¹CRA, Malabar Collectorate Correspondence File, Vol 2143, pp, 4096-4118.

Malabar were at a deplorable stage. He pointed out that everyone interested in opposing the resumption of Company's right to royalty of the forests, have been in the practice of cutting timber and appropriating it to their own use.¹⁹² The commercial resident of Malabar informed the government that company's vessels are not adequate to carry all the timber from the coast.¹⁹³ The company objectives were to export timber from Malabar to Bombay dockyard for construction of vessels and ships. The demand for Malabar timber made the government to interfere in the forest farms and try to plant more timber trees in Malabar forest areas. Timber was exported through the major ports of Calicut, Beypore, Cannanore, and Tellicherry. The British residents managed the timber trade in ports, where they had to inspect the timber quality and manage the number of shipments.¹⁹⁴ Individuals who were in possession of timber fields in jungles would be disposed at their own cost, and further cutting of timber was strictly prohibited and solely reserved as privilege to Vydee Puther and Purmaban Moosa.¹⁹⁵

In 1810, the timber merchants of Calicut represented to the conservator of forest that, by the recent proclamation that no permits will be issued either to fell or to bring down any of the produce of the jungle this year without the sanction of government, they are put to a great loss. Earlier, they were prohibited from either felling or bringing down timber from the forests without permission, they then applied for an order to bring away what timber they had been at the expense of dragging and which was laying at different places. After that, government demanded that, the timber to build ships of war and they were offered Rs 6 per candy for delivery at either Beypore, or Calicut ferry, and timber farmers accepted this terms. Subsequently, they got an order permitting them to fell their

¹⁹²CRA, Malabar Correspondence File, Vol 2144, Dated 21-09-1797, pp, 5366-5386.

¹⁹³CRA, Malabar District, guide to the Records from 1714 to 1835. Volume 7(2140) p, 6750.

¹⁹⁴CRA, Malabar District, guide to the Records from 1714 to 1835, Vol 2151, p, 7754.

¹⁹⁵CRA, From the Diary of Second Malabar Commission, 6th November 1796, p, 263.

timbers for delivery at the same price. On this they advanced money from and rented their elephants to the people whom they generally employ in this trade, but they suddenly received order from the government neither to fell the trees or nor to bring them down.¹⁹⁶

The hardships arising from the orders,

- 1) The timbers laying in the rivers will be washed out to sea if there is any flood
- 2) When the water subsides the timbers cannot be brought down without much labour
- 3) The seasoned timbers and those laying in the forests are liable to catch fire when the jungles take fire
- 4) The merchants will be injured in their credit if they are not allowed to discharge the debts they have incurred, by the sale of these timbers
- 5) Without timber no building or ship, vessel, shop can be built and this kind of handicraft will be at a standstill

Therefore, timber merchants requested the collector of Malabar to forward these concerns to government with conservator letter. The conservator of forests forwarded this letter to the superintendent of Marine, Bombay and recommended him to buy whatever timber has been felled, lest the timber should be burnt when the jungles takes fire. He remarks that, the government cannot procure their timber in a more reasonable way than under the present contract and suggested them to get larger timber for building ships and vessels.¹⁹⁷ The eighteenth century did not witness a phase of direct control or supremacy of the British in Malabar; instead, the focus was on exerting influence over the region's political economy and provincial administration. During the British rule, timber trade was brought under their monopoly, leading to the introduction of diverse forest policies aimed at conserving, safeguarding, and exploiting forest resources. A significant

¹⁹⁶CRA, Collectorate Records, Letters received (Public), 1810, Vol 2185, 22,01,1810, pp, 1-36.

¹⁹⁷CRA, Collectorate Records, Letters received (Public), 1810, Vol 2185, 22,01,1810, pp, 1-36.

endeavor was the establishment of Teak plantations in Malabar, intended to yield high-quality and durable teak wood, particularly for shipbuilding purposes. The forest policies implemented in the latter half of the 19th century can be interpreted as part of the broader maritime expansion strategy of the British Empire in the region. The timber policies were the result of maritime expansion of colonialism in Malabar.

Colonial Trade and Commerce in the Ports of Calicut, Tellicherry and Cannanore.

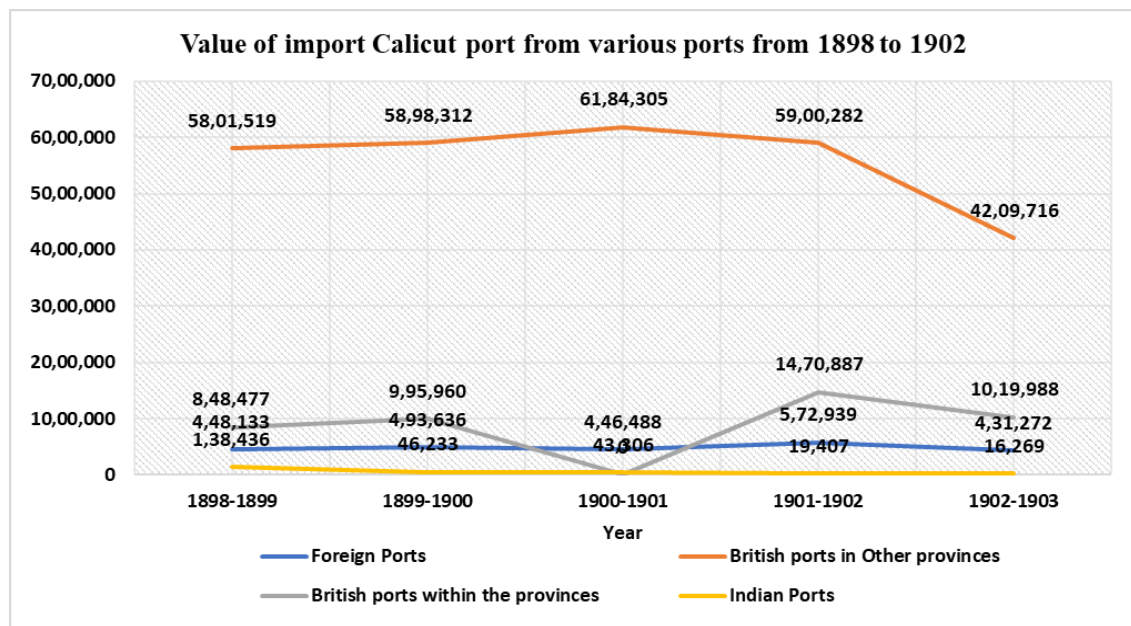
This section discuss about the number of commercial activities conducted at the important ports of Calicut, Cannanore, and Tellicherry in Malabar during the years 1898 and 1903. It does so by conducting a comparative analysis of the commercial activities that took place in these three ports during the time of colonial rule. Upon conducting an examination of the presented table, a number of significant discoveries have been made, which provide valuable insights into the patterns and trends of commercial activities spanning the period from 1898 to 1903.

Table. 3: Value of import Calicut port from various ports from 1898 to 1903

Year	1898-1899	1899-1900	1900-1901	1901-1902	1902-1903
Foreign Ports	4,48,133	4,93,636	4,46,488	5,72,939	4,31,272
British ports in Other provinces	58,01,519	58,98,312	61,84,305	59,00,282	42,09,716
British ports within the provinces	8,48,477	9,95,960	13,000,35	14,70,887	10,19,988
Indian Ports	1,38,436	46,233	43,306	19,407	16,269
Grand Total	72,36,565	7434141	79,74,134	79,63,515	56,77245

Source: Madras District Gazetteer- Statistical Index, Malabar Volume 2, 1905, p 31.

Graph 1. Value of import Calicut port from various ports from 1898 to 1902



It is evident that trade volumes in all categories exhibited oscillations over time, characterised by alternating periods of expansion and contraction. This observation suggests that the trade environment during this period was marked by a lack of stability and consistent patterns. The trade quantities observed at international ports exhibited a non-uniform pattern. Significantly, there was a noteworthy surge of roughly 28.3% during the year 1901-1902, which was followed by a huge decline of around 24.7% in the subsequent period of 1902-1903. The trade volume reached its peak in the period of 1900-1901, followed by a subsequent decline in the following year. Nevertheless, the trading volume exhibited a consistent rising trend over the duration of the study.

British Ports in Other Provinces: Trade volumes in British ports located in other provinces exhibited a similar pattern of growth with fluctuations. There was a sharp decline of approximately 28.3% in 1902-1903. This suggests that while trade in these ports was generally expanding, there were abrupt contractions in specific years.

Indian Port Trade: Indian ports experienced irregular trade patterns as well. Although the trade volumes were generally smaller compared to other categories, there was a substantial increase of

around 163.2% from 1899-1900 to 1900-1901. Trade volumes subsequently decreased significantly in the following years. Grand Total: The analysis of the grand total trade volume reveals a complex picture. The trade volumes increased modestly in the initial years, with an increase of approximately 7.3% in 1900-1901. However, there was a slight decrease of about 0.1% in 1901-1902, followed by a significant drop of around 28.8% in 1902-1903. This overall trend suggests a degree of instability in the trade landscape during this period

Table 4. Export Value from Calicut port (1898-1903)

Year	1898-1899	1899-1900	1900-1901	1901-1902	1902-1903
Foreign Ports	62,94,763	66,38,570	68,97,310	69,23,063	82,90,568
British ports in Other provinces	42,08,716	44,39,212	32,92,831	28,76,027	33,68,455
British ports within the provinces	10,19,968	25,04,898	26,92,605	19,78,286	16,50,685
Indian Ports	3,36,533	15,77,050	4,77,145	1,94,591	2,36,345
Grand Total	1,25,40,370	1,53,59,730	1,26,89,733	1,19,71,957	1,35,46,953

Source: Madras District Gazetteer- Statistical Index, Malabar Volume 2(1905), P 32.

The trade volume of ports in Calicut has shown an upward trend over the course of five years. There has been an increase in trade volume from 1899 to 1902, 1903 with approximately a 31.7% growth during these years. The significant increase took place between 1901 1902 and 1902 1903 with a jump of around 20.0%. This indicates a trade relationship with ports, during this period. This steady growth might be influenced by favorable trade agreements, increasing demand for Calicut's exports, or improved port infrastructure. If we look at export to British Ports in Other Provinces, the trade volume in British ports located in other provinces exhibits fluctuations and a declining trend over

the period. There is an initial increase in trade volume from 1898-1899 to 1899-1900, followed by a significant decline of approximately 25.9% in 1900-1901. While there are minor fluctuations in subsequent years, the trade volume remains lower compared to the initial years. The trade volume in British ports within the provinces also displays fluctuations and a declining trend: Initial Fluctuations: There's an early increase in trade volume from 1898-1899 to 1899-1900, followed by fluctuations in the following years. A remarkable increase of around 367.6% occurs from 1898-1899 to 1899-1900, followed by a steep decline of about 69.7% in 1900-1901. There are further fluctuations in subsequent years, but the trade volumes do not return to the peak levels of 1899-1900. The grand total trade volume for Calicut reveals an intricate pattern: Initial Growth and Fluctuations: There's an initial increase in trade volume from 1898-1899 to 1899-1900, followed by fluctuations in the following years. Slight Increase and Decrease: There's a modest increase in 1900-1901, followed by a slight decrease in 1901-1902. The observation is a substantial drop of about 28.5% in 1902-1903. The fluctuations in the grand total might be a combination of the individual trends in each category, suggesting the interplay of various factors influencing overall trade volume in Calicut. The comparison between import and export data from Calicut Port highlights the trade balance. Consistently higher export totals indicate a trade surplus, suggesting that the region is exporting more goods than it is importing, it means british used Calicut as a major port in Malabar to export items from the region. It also indicates that Import totals, on the other hand, fluctuate more prominently and show a general decreasing trend, with a significant drop in 1902-1903. It highlights that, various maritime regulations on ports and merchants impacted the port trade in Malabar, there were restrictions on merchants and various fee implemented in the ports of Malabar.

Graph 2. Export value from Calicut port.

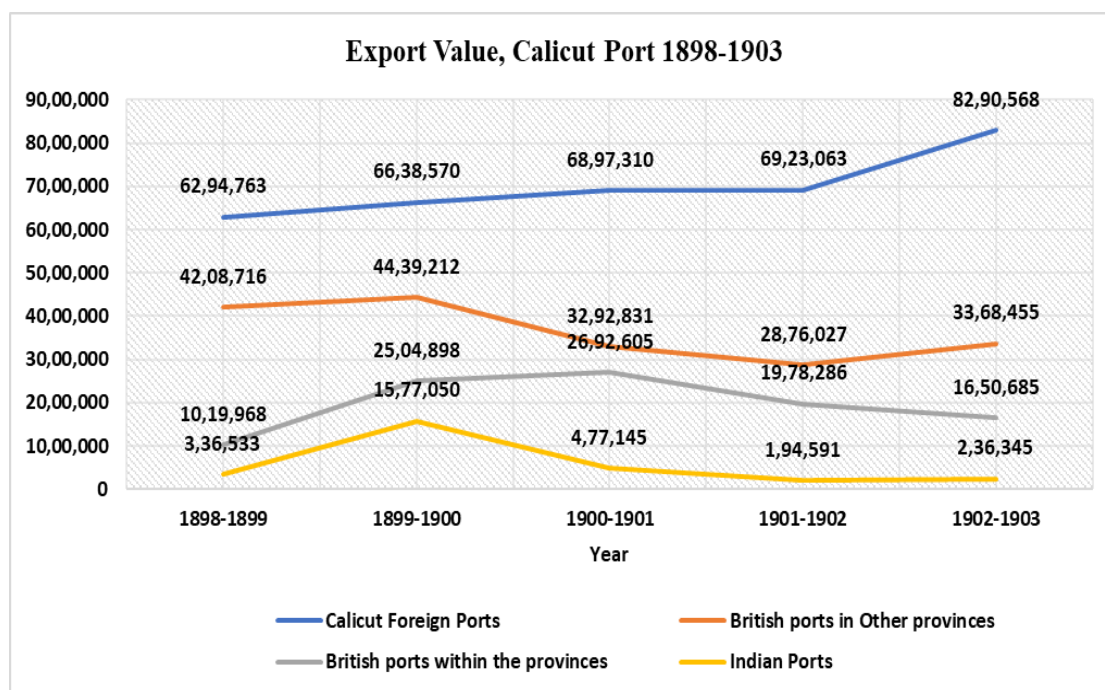


Table 5. Imports in Cannanore port from 1899-1903.¹⁹⁸

Year	1898-1899	1899-1900	1900-1901	1901-1902	1902-1903
Foreign Ports	74,760	68,918	1,07,467	1,04,529	85,646
British ports in other provinces	15,00,490	17,35,421	18,49,376	19,34,438	16,15,264
British ports within the provinces	7,41,937	9,07,521	6,50,502	6,81,472	6,19,110
Indian ports	4,368	2369	3909	1014	1310
Grand Total	26,24,533	27,14,170	27,12,259	27,21,433	23,61,330

Source: Madras District Gazetteer- Statistical Index, Malabar Volume 2(1905), P 33.

¹⁹⁸Madras District Gazetteer- Statistical Index, Malabar Volume 2(1905), printed by Addison company, Total Trade in each port in Malabar- p, 33.

The imports from various ports to Cannanore port shows the significance of this port. The trade volume from foreign ports experienced an initial decline, decreasing from 74,760 in the year of 1898-1899 to 68,918 in the subsequent period of 1899-1900. There was a significant rise in trade volume observed during the periods of 1899-1900 and 1900-1901, reaching a total of 1,07,467. There was a decline in trade volumes in the following years, reaching its lowest point in 1902-1903 with a recorded volume of 85,646. The trade volumes have exhibited oscillations characterised by alternating periods of expansion and contraction throughout the years. The imports from British ports in other provinces indicates that, the trade volume shown a steady increase, rising from 15,00,490 in the fiscal year 1898-1899 to 17,35,421 in the fiscal year 1899-1900. The increasing trajectory persisted as trade volumes reached their zenith at 19, 34,438 in the fiscal year 1901-1902. There was a decrease in the volume of trade, amounting to 16, 15,264 in the fiscal year 1902-1903. The trade volume experienced a marginal growth in the period of 1901-1902, reaching a value of 681,472, followed by a subsequent decline to 619,110 in the subsequent period of 1902-1903. There exists a confluence of growth, volatility, and decline. The imports from Indian ports also shown the decline, dropping from 4,368 during the period of 1898-1899 to 2,369 in the subsequent period of 1899-1900. There was a surge observed during the period of 1900-1901, with the figure peaking at 3909, afterwards followed by a substantial decrease to 1014 in the subsequent period of 1901-1902. The trade volume experienced a sustained decline, reaching a value of 1310 in the period of 1902-1903. The available data indicates a prevailing pattern of expansion characterised by intermittent variations, followed by a subsequent decrease in the volume of commerce. At the same time, the imports from British ports within the provinces shows that the trade volumes experienced a growth, rising from 741,937 in the

year of 1898-1899 to 907,521 in the subsequent period of 1899-1900. A decrease in the volume of trade was seen during the period of 1900-1901, reaching a figure of 650,502.

Graph 3. Imports in Cannanore Port

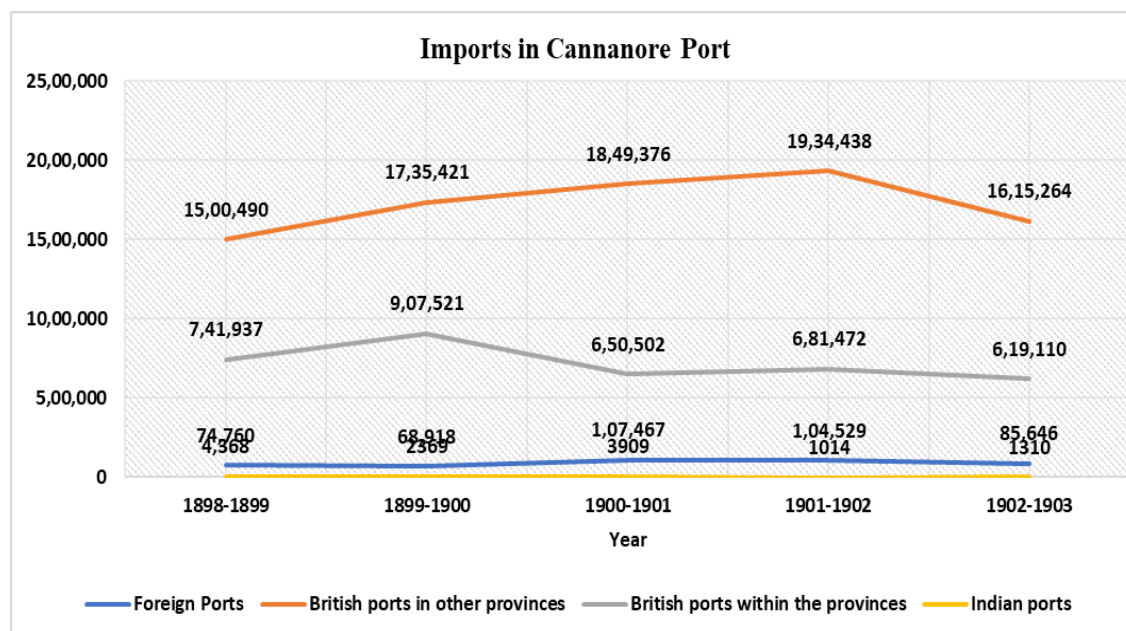
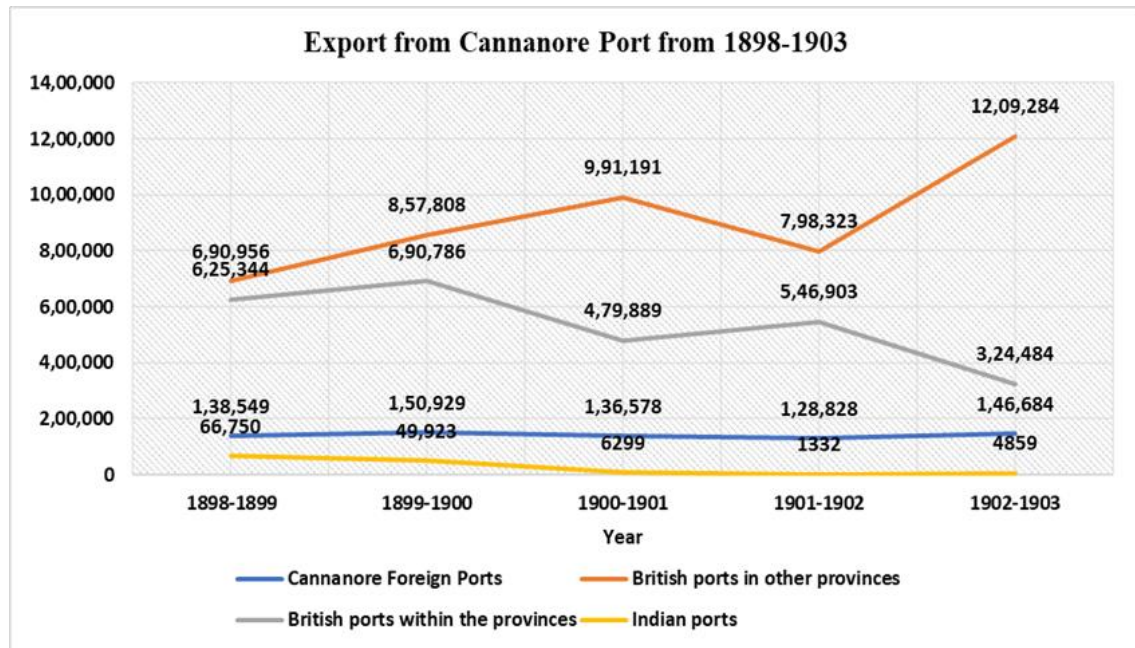


Table 6. Export value from Cannanore Port, 1898-1903

Year	1898-1899	1899-1900	1900-1901	1901-1902	1902-1903
Foreign Ports	1,38,549	1,50,929	1,36,578	1,28,828	1,46,684
British ports in other provinces	6,90,956	8,57,808	9,91,191	7,98,323	12,09,284
British ports within the provinces	6,25,344	6,90,786	4,79,889	5,46,903	3,24,484
Indian ports	66,750	49,923	6299	1332	4859
Grand Total	15,17,639	17,49,256	16,13,957	1,475,386	16,85,323

Source: Madras District Gazetteer- Statistical Index (1905), P 33.

Graph 4. Export from Cannanore Port from 1898-1903.



At the same time, the export value from Cannanore port shows that, there was increasing demands of various products from Malabar. We can see that, most of the items imported to Cannanore port from British dominated ports in other provinces rather than Malabar. In 1898, the value of import from British ports in other provinces were 690956(ton) and increased to 1209284(ton) in 1903. At the same time, the import value from various British ports in Malabar was showing negative growth, in 1898, the amount was 625344(ton) and decreased to 324484(ton) in 1903. The total export value in 1898 was 1517639(ton) and increased to 1685323(ton) in 1903. It indicates that, Cannanore port used as the major port for exporting goods from Malabar to various Indian and foreign ports. The table shows that, most of the items exported to the British controlled ports. The export value to foreign ports from Cannanore Port demonstrates a steady increase from 1898-1899 to 1902-1903, suggesting sustained growth in international trade facilitated by the port. Despite minor fluctuations, the export value to foreign ports remains relatively stable over the five-year period, indicating consistent trade relations

maintained by Cannanore Port with foreign partners. Concurrently, export values to British ports in other provinces show a notable escalation, peaking in 1902-1903, underscoring significant trade activity within the British Empire. This growth suggests strengthened trade ties with British territories located in other provinces, emphasizing the pivotal role of colonial trade networks in the region's export economy during the specified period. However, export values to British ports within the provinces fluctuate throughout the period, with a discernible decline from 1899-1900 to 1902-1903. Despite these fluctuations, the export values to British ports within the provinces remain substantial, indicating robust intra-provincial trade facilitated by Cannanore Port.

Table: 7 Import Value from Tellicherry Port

Year	1898-1899	1899-1900	1900-1901	1901-1902	1902-1903
Foreign Ports	76377	84,496	2,29,430	8,22,968	1,16,212
British ports in other provinces	13,91,915	15,77,458	18,25,294	14,79,407	12,37,058
British ports within the provinces	37,62,402	26,57,220	24,17,420	26,13,638	16,89,987
Indian ports	1,28,533	61,370	32,119	30,310	14,960
Grand Total	53,59,947	43,80,544	45,04,263	46,46,323	30,58,217

Source: Madras District Gazetteer- Statistical Index, Malabar Volume 2 (1905).

In 1898, the total import value at Tellicherry port was 5359947 tons, which gradually declined to 3058217 tons by 1903, demonstrating a steady decrease in import activity. The majority of imported items came from British-controlled ports in Malabar such as Cannanore, Calicut, Badagara, Cochin, and Quilon. The import from foreign ports to Tellicherry port indicates that the import value from British ports in other provinces starts at 13, 91,915 units in 1898-1899 and generally increases over the years, except for a slight decrease in 1901-1902. At the same time, imports from British ports

in other provinces shows that steady increase in import values from British ports in other provinces suggests consistent trade relationships with other regions within the British Empire. However, imports from Indian ports shows the relatively small import values from Indian ports indicate a lesser reliance on domestic sources for imports compared to foreign and British sources

Graph 5. Import to Tellicherry Port

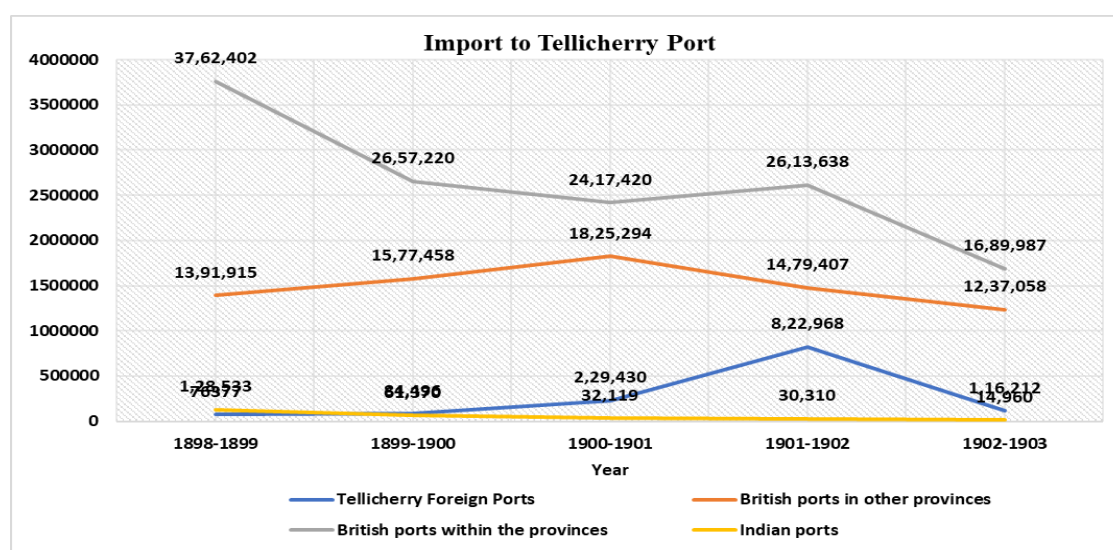


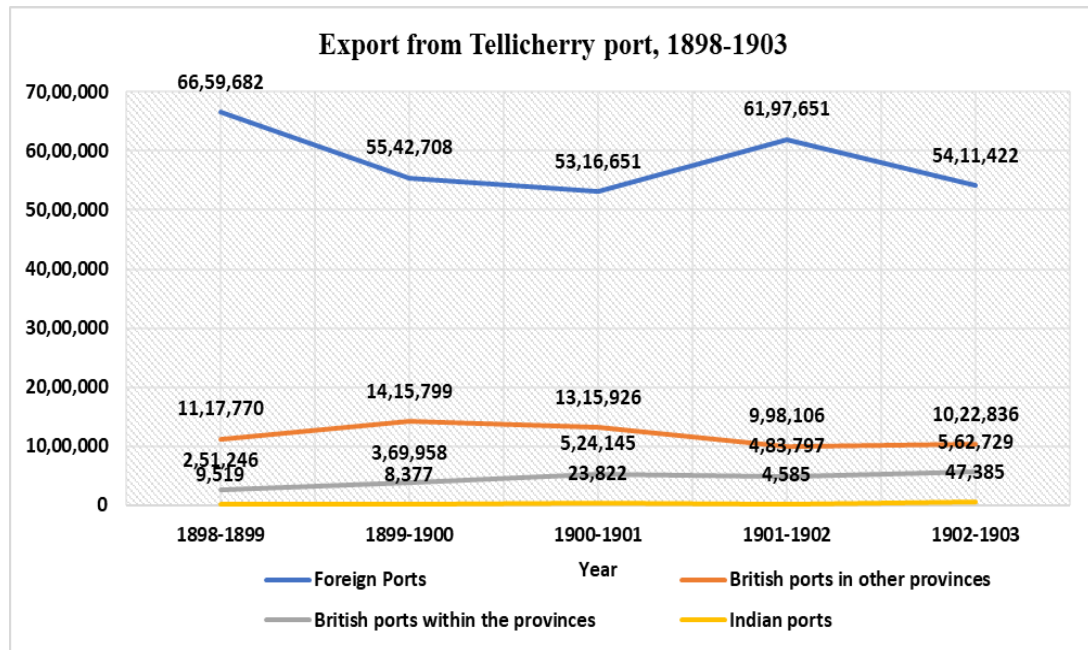
Table 8, Export from Tellicherry port. 1898- 1903¹⁹⁹

Year	1898-1899	1899-1900	1900-1901	1901-1902	1902-1903
Foreign Ports	66,59,682	55,42,708	53,16,651	61,97,651	54,11,422
British ports in other provinces	11,17,770	14,15,799	13,15,926	9,98,106	10,22,836
British ports within the provinces	2,51,246	3,69,958	5,24,145	4,83,797	5,62,729
Indian ports	9,519	8,377	23,822	4,585	47,385
Grand Total	80,88,217	73,36,842	71,80,544	76,84,139	70,44,372

Source: Madras District Gazetteer- Statistical Index, Malabar Volume 2(1905).

¹⁹⁹ Madras District Gazetteer- Statistical Index, Malabar Volume 2(1905).

Graph 6. Export Value from Tellicherry port.



The provided table 8 presents the export values of Tellicherry port from 1898 to 1903, indicating its status as a major trading center during the colonial period. The export value from Tellicherry port also exhibited a decreasing trend from 1898 to 1903, with a growth period between 1900 and 1902. In 1900, the export value reached 7180544 tons, which further increased to 7684139 tons. A similar pattern can be observed in the import value at Tellicherry port from 1900 to 1902, where the amount rose from 4504263 to 4646323 tons. There is a general fluctuation in the quantity of goods shipped to foreign ports over the years. The highest quantity is observed in the first year (1898-1899), followed by a decrease in the second year (1899-1900). Subsequent years show variations but without a clear upward or downward trend. There is a fluctuating pattern in the quantity of goods shipped to Indian ports, with an increase in the third year (1900-1901) and a decrease in the last year (1902-1903). Both export and import data indicate trade with foreign ports as the dominant partner, followed by British ports in other provinces, British ports within the provinces, and Indian ports. The colonial trade across various

ports in Malabar between 1898 and 1903 highlighted the increasing demand for Malabar products, which presented an opportunity for generating wealth from the region.

This section examined the import and export values of several ports in Malabar during the years 1908 and 1913. During the specified historical period, it is apparent that the export volume originating from various ports in the Malabar region surpassed the equivalent import value. The table provides information regarding the import and export values of various ports, including Calicut, Cannanore, and Tellicherry, spanning the period from 1908 to 1913.

Table 9. Total trade in Calicut port from 1908- 1913.

Year	Import Value	Export Value
1908-09	9164050	14549239
1909-10	9851622	13715803
1910-11	8633417	13280547
1911-12	8378564	15273771
1912-13	8542881	16384759
Total	44,570,534	73,204,119

Source: Madras District Gazetteers, statistical appendix for Malabar District, 1915, P, 48.

This data shows that export to Calicut port was higher than import value. In 1908, the import value was 9164050 and reduced to 8542881 in 1913. It is a clear downward trend in the import value. At the same time, export value from the Calicut port during this five years shows that initial years was showing the decline in the export value as well but slowly the value is increasing. Both import and export values showing fluctuation over this years. In 1909-10, the import value was 9851622 compared to 9164050. From then the value was decreasing and showing downward growth. This fluctuations and variations in the import and export value shows that, the colonial administrative strategies impacted the various ports of Malabar.

Graph 7: Import and Export value from Calicut port.

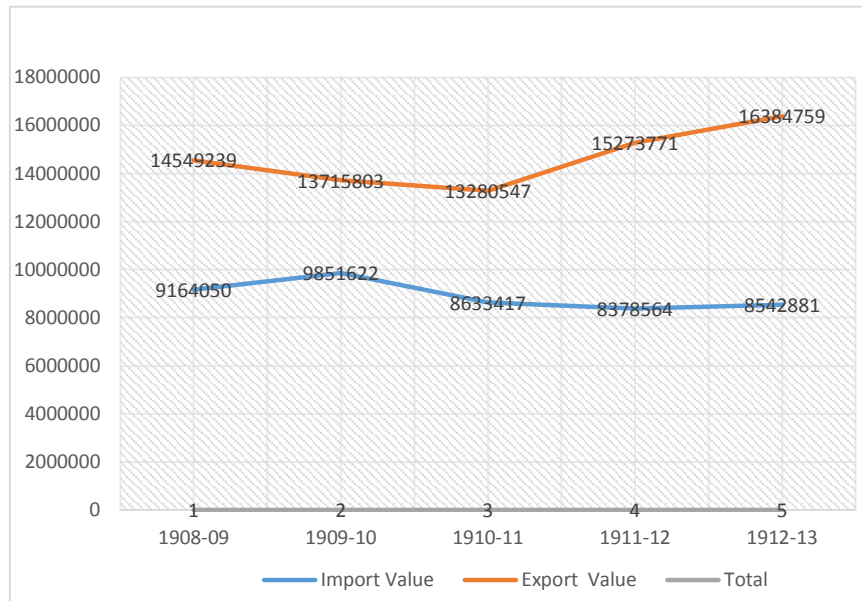


Table 10: Import and Export value at Cannanore port from 1908-1913

Year	Import Value	Export Value
1908-09	3154518	829858
1909-10	3622213	777533
1910-11	4030814	1159203
1911-12	4178725	1456456
1912-13	4148727	1962654
Total	19134997	6185704

Source: CRA, Madras District Gazetteers, statistical appendix for Malabar District, 1915, p 48.

This data explains the Import and Export value at Cannanore port from 1908-1913. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Cannanore port played major role in the shaping of Malabar economy. This data also shows that Cannanore port was active during this period; considering 1908 as a base year, we can see that, there is a growth in the import value and high growth in the export value from the port. The import growth rate in Cannanore port is 31% and export growth is very high 136%. Import value in 1908-09 period was 3154518 and increased to 4148727, and export value was 829858 during

1908-09 period and increased to 1962654. Cannanore port shows a different picture of trade in the Malabar; it shows that import value was higher than export value.

Graph 8, Import and Export value at Cannanore port from 1908-1913

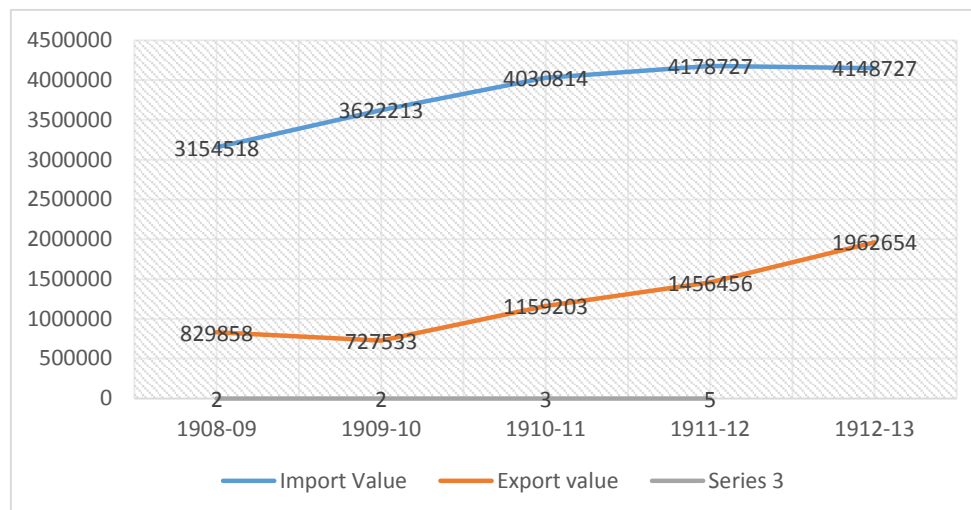


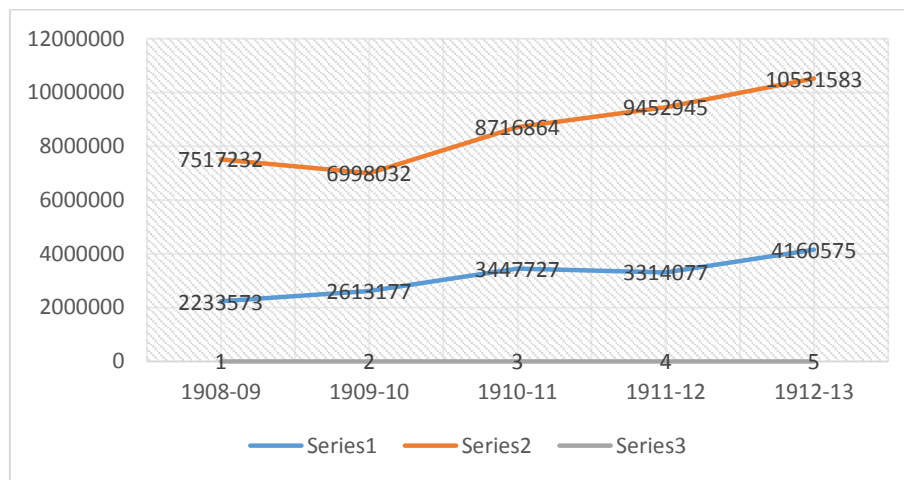
Table 11, Import and Export value of Tellicherry port from 1908-13.

Year	Import Value	Export Value
1908-09	2233573	7517232
1909-10	2613177	6998032
1910-11	3447727	8716864
1911-12	3314077	9452945
1912-13	4160575	10531583
Total	15728529	43216656

Source: CRA, Madras District Gazetteers, Statistical Appendix for Malabar District, 1915.p 49.

This data shows the import and export value from Tellicherry port from 1908 to 1913. It indicates that, Tellicherry can be considered as the major port during the colonial period. The import value in 1908-09 period was 2233573 and incensed to 2613177 in 1909-10 period. Then again, we see an upward growth in the import value from this port. The overall data shows that, Tellicherry port was economically active compared to the other major ports in Malabar.

Graph 9, Import and Export value of Tellicherry port from 1908-13.



The export value from this port indicates that, there is a fluctuations in the export value. In 1908, the export value was 751732 and reduced to 6998032, it indicates that there was 6.8% decrease in the export value. If we look at the five years as a base period to understand the economic activities in the Tellicherry port, there was an increase in the export value from 1909 to 1913. The export value increased 40.29% from 1908 to 1913. The import values generally increase over the years, with some fluctuations. The export values also show an upward trend, with some variations. The total export value is higher than the total import value, suggesting a trade surplus over this period. There appears to be growth in both imports and exports, indicating increased economic activity and potential global trade interactions during these years.

The examination of trade operations at the three major ports in Malabar elucidates the multifaceted roles these maritime centers played under British administration. Not only were they pivotal economic nodes, but they also functioned as administrative focal points. The discernible impact of diverse maritime regulations on these ports is palpable through the observed fluctuations in import and export data, notably characterized by a downward trajectory in importation volumes. The implementation of merchant regulations, such as those prescribed in the Merchant Shipping Act, alongside the

imposition of pilotage fees, charges on native vessels, and the enforcement of health protocols, introduced operational complexities within the ports. This chapter culminates in the assertion that the confluence of colonial marine regulations exerted a significant influence on trade dynamics within these ports, precipitating adverse effects on trade flow, merchant activities, and the socio-economic milieu of communities engaged in port-related sectors, encompassing salt production, timber trade, and other pertinent endeavors.

This chapter articulates the manifold challenges faced by indigenous merchants in Malabar, illustrating the intricate interplay between their grievances and the responses of colonial powers. Moreover, it explores the colonial strategies employed to monopolize salt production and exploit forest resources, elucidating how these endeavors facilitated the consolidation of maritime authority in the region. In essence, the narrative contends that colonial interventions were geared towards subjugating local commerce and harnessing natural wealth to reinforce dominion over Malabar's maritime domain.

The coming chapter endeavors to scrutinise the manner in which the British Empire expanded its maritime interventions over pilgrimage routes and the pilgrims hailing from Malabar. It aims to dissect the ramifications of health and pilgrimage regulations on the Muslim populace of Malabar. Colonial interventions in the pilgrimage landscape underscore the consequential impact of British policies, particularly evident in the regulatory framework designed to govern the transmission of contagious diseases. This examination looks into multifarious aspects such as regulations pertaining to passports and tickets, health protocols at ports, and quarantine measures. Through a comprehensive analysis of these regulatory mechanisms, it becomes apparent that the British authorities wielded significant influence, asserting their supremacy over maritime affairs in the Malabar region.

Chapter 3

From Devotion to Documentation: Colonial Interventions on Hajj Pilgrimage in Malabar

Colonial maritime interventions in Malabar not only reshaped ports and their spatial configurations but also influenced diverse policies associated with port management. Interventions in pilgrimages serve as a noteworthy instance of maritime expansion of colonialism in India. The objective of this chapter is to examine the introduction of institutional frameworks by the British in the context of the Hajj pilgrimage in Malabar, as a fundamental component of their colonial modernisation efforts. This chapter undertakes a critical examination of various policies and regulations on Hajj pilgrimage with a particular focus on the Malabar region. This chapter discusses the introduction of passport systems for pilgrims in Malabar as a part of colonial institutionalisation. It examines the health-related measures implemented by the British government for Hajj pilgrims including quarantine rules, restrictions at ports, mandatory medical certificate provisions, and the involvement of agencies and brokers in facilitating the pilgrimage.

There is no dearth of studies on pilgrims and pilgrimage traffic, and most of the studies highlight the socio-political dimensions of the pilgrims.²⁰⁰ Michael Pearson's work 'Pious Passengers: The Hajj in Earlier Times' is an important scholarship on pilgrimages, offering a socio-economic perspective.²⁰¹ As we discussed in the introduction, pilgrimage and colonial medicine had gained academic attentions, by the works of scholars such as M. Harrison, Biswamoy Pati, David Arnold, John Slight, William Roff,

²⁰⁰Suraiya Farooqi, *Pilgrims and Sultans: The Hajj under the Ottomans, 1517-1683*, London: IB Tauris, 1994, Sanjay Subrahmanyam, 'Persians, pilgrims, and Portuguese; the travails of Masulipatanam shipping in the Western Indian Ocean', 1590-1665, *Modern Asian Studies*, 22, 1988, pp, 503-530.

²⁰¹ Michael Pearson, *Pious Passengers: The Hajj in earlier time*, Delhi: Sterling publishers, 1994.

Saurabh Mishra, and Radhika Singha.²⁰² Their extensive research has carefully explored the historical evolution of pilgrimage practices and the complex interplay with colonial medical interventions, thus providing invaluable insights into this multifaceted aspect of colonial health policies.

The Portuguese arrival in Southern India gave rise to a range of disagreements and conflicts concerning Muslim subjects. In the Indian Ocean littoral, the Portuguese pursued a policy that was hostile towards Muslims, and this led to various conflicts in the Malabar region. M Kooria refers that, Portuguese directly attacked the pilgrim ships which was hailing from Malabar.²⁰³ The emergence of Portuguese influence in the region of Malabar introduced a new dimension to the existing naval dominance, leading to the implementation of a unique system of travel permits for all the ships sailing in their territory; it created an imbalance in the existing voyages in the sea.²⁰⁴ M.N Pearson highlights that the Portuguese assaulted any ship that did not possess a Cartaz, and many

²⁰² Mark Harrison, Quarantine, pilgrimage, and colonial trade: India 1866-1900, *The Indian Economic & Social History Review*, Vol 29, 2, 1992, pp, 117-144. David Arnold, *Colonizing the Body: State Medicine and Epidemic Disease in Nineteenth-Century India*, London: University of California Press, 1993. Mark Harrison, *Public Health in British India: Anglo-Indian Preventive Medicine, 1859-1914*, Delhi: Cambridge University press, 1994. Radhika Singha, Passport, ticket, and india-rubber stamp: The problem of the pauper pilgrim in colonial India c. 1882–1925, in *The Limits of British Colonial Control in South Asia*, ed, Harald Fischer, Ashwini Tambe, London: Routledge, 2008. pp, 49-83. Mark Harrison, Biswamoy Pati, ed, *The Social History of Health and Medicine in Colonial India*, New York: Routledge Publication, 2009. Saurabh Mishra, Beyond the bounds of time? : The Haj pilgrimage from the Indian subcontinent, 1865–1920, in *The Social History of Health and Medicine in Colonial India*, ed, Mark Harrison, Biswamoy Pati, New York: Routledge, 2009. John Slight, *The British Empire and the Hajj: 1865–1956*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015.

²⁰³ Sheik Zainudheen Makhdam, *Thuhfatul Mujahideen; A historical epic of 16th century*, translated by Muhammad Husayn Nainar, Calicut: Islamic Book Trust, 2006. Muhammed Kooria. 'Killed the Pilgrims and persecuted them, Portuguese Esatdo da India's encounters with Hajj in the 16th century', in Umar Ryad (ed) *The Hajj and Europe in the Age of Empire*, Leiden: Brill, 2017.

²⁰⁴ Portuguese Justified that Ocean belongs to the Portugal king and all of the ships should have their Cartaz pass to access the Sea. Cartaz were usually issued from Goa or any Portuguese fort in India for trade movements. They claimed that without this pass, nobody have the right to access the sea and ports in Portuguese domain spaces. These passes include the name of the ships, captain, destination details, crew details, and raw materials on the board etc. According to KS Mathew, Cartaz was implemented for the financial maintenance of the empire. See, KS Mathew, *History of the Portuguese Navigation in India, 1497-1600*, Delhi: Mittal Publications, 1988.

of these ships were carrying pilgrims from Malabar.²⁰⁵ However, provincial rulers requested the British to protect the native ships from the Portuguese attacks in the sea, which led to form a colonial dominance in the region. During the British period, they introduced various regulations and laws regarding the pilgrim subjects in India.

Pilgrimage and Colonial Health policies

Hajj is the annual pilgrimage to Mecca that is required of all Muslims who are able to make the journey. It has a long history and has been an important part of Muslim religious life for centuries. During the colonial times, Hajj continued to be an important part of religious life for many Muslims. However, the experience of Hajj was often shaped by the political and social context in which it took place. In some cases, colonial authorities attempted to regulate or control the Hajj to maintain order and to prevent potential political unrest.²⁰⁶ For example, the Ottoman Empire, which controlled Mecca and Medina at the time, imposed restrictions on the number of pilgrims who were allowed to make the journey and required that pilgrims obtain permits and pay a fee in order to participate. In other cases, colonial authorities promoted the Hajj as a way to generate revenue and to boost the local economy. For example, the British government in India encouraged the growth of the Hajj trade, which involved the transportation of pilgrims from India to Mecca, as a way to support the local economy. Despite the challenges faced by the authorities to ensure a smooth transportation, Hajj remained an important part of Muslim religious life during colonial times and continues to be an important practice for Muslims today.

²⁰⁵M.N Pearson, *Pious Passengers: The Hajj in earlier time*, New Delhi: Sterling Publishers, 1994. pp 89-95. Mahmood Kooria, 'Killed the Pilgrims and persecuted them, Portuguese Esatdo da India's encounters with Hajj in the 16th century', Leiden: *Brill*, p, 19.

²⁰⁶Saurabh Mishra, *Introduction, Pilgrimage, Politics, and Pestilence: The Haj from the Indian Subcontinent, 1860-1920*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2011.

The colonial interventions in the Hajj pilgrimage were primarily motivated by the global apprehension around the transmission of infectious diseases within the Indian Ocean region.²⁰⁷ The majority of pilgrims originating from southern India, specifically the Malabar region, commenced their journey to Mecca via ports situated in Malabar. In addition, certain individuals also boarded from ports in Madras, while a considerable number of pilgrims from Malabar initially journeyed to Bombay prior to their onward trek to Mecca.

Hajj was subjected to various regulations and restrictions that were put in place to protect public health and British officials.²⁰⁸ The proliferation of infectious diseases prompted the formulation of quarantine regulations in ports due to the frequent interactions with other countries.²⁰⁹ During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the British authorities in India implemented quarantine policies for travelers returning from the Hajj in order to prevent the spread of diseases such as cholera and smallpox.²¹⁰ However, to maintain their own convenience, the British authorities disregarded scientific evidence and international responses that cholera was a contagious disease.²¹¹ The policies required returning pilgrims to undergo medical examination and quarantine for a period of time to ensure that they were not carrying any infectious diseases. Quarantine policies for Hajj were also implemented by other colonial powers in the

²⁰⁷John Slight, British Colonial Knowledge and the Hajj in the Age of Empire, in *The Hajj and Europe in the Age of Empire*, edited by Umar Ryad, Leiden: Brill, 2017, pp, 81–111.

²⁰⁸John Slight, 'British Colonial Knowledge and the Hajj in the Age of Empire, in *The Hajj and Europe in the Age of Empire*, edited by Umar Ryad, Leiden: Brill, 2017, pp, 81–111. Boyle, Stephanie Anne, 'Cholera, Colonialism, and Pilgrimage: Exploring Global/Local Exchange in the Central Egyptian Delta', 1848-1907, *Journal of World History*, vol. 26, no. 3, 2015, pp, 581–604. Michael B Miller, 'Pilgrims, Progress: The Business of the Hajj', *Past & Present*, no. 191, 2006, pp, 189–228.

²⁰⁹CRA, Marine Department, Government of Madras, 18th February 1878, No 101.

²¹⁰CRA, Marine Department, Government of Madras, 18th February 1878, No 101.

²¹¹Michal Christopher Low, 'Empire and the Hajj, Plague, and Pan-Islam under British Surveillance, 1865-1908', *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol 40, No 2, 2008, p, 271.

Middle East, such as the Ottoman Empire.²¹² These measures were often controversial and were criticised by some for being overly restrictive, and hindering the ability of Muslims to fulfill their religious obligations. However, they were justified by the authorities as necessary measures to protect public health. During the British rule, the administration of Hajj pilgrims was a part of the colonial policy in India, which led to the introduction of various regulations among the pilgrims.

From 1860 onwards, a series of regulations were introduced in various ports of the Malabar to prevent the spread of diseases among pilgrims. John Slight discussed the impact of Hajj on the development of Muslim communities in the British Empire and the ways in which the pilgrimage shaped relationships between Muslims and the British authorities. Slight's work provide valuable insights into the history of the Hajj and the role of the British Empire in shaping the experience of the pilgrimage for Muslims in the 19th and early 20th centuries.²¹³

Prior to the enforcement of quarantine regulations among the pilgrims, the British authorities were apprehensive that imposing restrictions might jeopardise the status of Muslim subjects. The government of India had received a lot of criticism for failing to implement adequate sanitation policies on ships carrying pilgrims. They were also concerned that imposing strict quarantine measures could impede the smooth flow of trade between India and Europe. However, the non-intervention policy shifted in response to reports of significant fatalities among pilgrims hailing from Arab nations. This led to the formulation and implementation of several laws and regulations concerning pilgrims. The colonial pilgrimage policy primarily affected ships and their

²¹²Michael Christopher Low, 'Empire and the Hajj: Pilgrims, Plagues, and Pan-Islam under British Surveillance, 1865-1908', *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, vol. 40, no. 2, 2008, pp, 269–90. Saurabh Mishra, *Politics and the Pilgrimage: The Haj in the Early Twentieth Century, Pilgrimage, Politics, and Pestilence: The Haj from the Indian Subcontinent, 1860-1920*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2011.

²¹³John Slight, *British empire and Hajj, 1865-1956*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015.

passengers, as the majority of rules were centered on monitoring and inspecting passengers aboard ships and vessels departing from the port.

Colonial Hajj Pilgrimage Policies in Malabar

The preceding chapter discussed the effects of the native passengers ship act on shipping and port operations in Malabar ports. This legislation also delved into health regulations within the Malabar region.²¹⁴ The native passenger's ship act brought about several changes in the rules and regulations governing passengers, goods, and services.²¹⁵ It introduced regulations aimed at maintaining and restricting the number of passengers on vessels. It also mandated that ships must possess a clean bill of health and a certificate indicating that they were not overcrowded before being allowed to depart from India.²¹⁶ The introduction of quarantine regulations brought about revolutionary changes in maritime spaces, despite the restrictions imposed by the British on voyages. The quarantine laws were implemented in ports due to concerns from the broader British health policy and to keep officers safe.²¹⁷ From 1881 onwards, a series of regulations were put in place to prevent epidemic diseases in the Malabar region. The Master Attendants of the Calicut port issued instructions concerning the entry of vessels into the port. The instructions of the Master Attendant are as follows:

“Your immediate and most particular attention is requested to the imperative necessity of your entering in the report herewith forwarded the state of health of your crews and passengers and whether any infections and malignant or other diseases have appeared on board during the voyages. In the event of any such

²¹⁴CRA, Maritime Files, Inward letters from Malabar to Malabar collector: Instruction to commanders for entering the Calicut port.

²¹⁵CRA, Marine Department Government of Madras, native passenger ship act, 10th October, 1877, No 552 Government of Madras, marine department, 4th June, 1878, No 303.

²¹⁶Mark Harrison, ‘Quarantine, pilgrimage, and Colonial trade: India, 1866-1900’, *The Economic and Social History Review*, 29, 1, 1992, p, 120.

²¹⁷CRA, Marine Department, Government of Madras, 18th February 1878, No-101(Quarantine regulations to prevent the introduction of Plague), Government of Madras, Marine Department, 29th March, 1878, File No 198. Government of Madras, Marine Department, 16th September, 1878, File No 473. Government of Madras, Marine Department, 9th October, 1878, File No 519.

sickness has occurred, you are hereby ordered and directed to prevent all communications with other vessels in the roads or with the shore until the port, and marine surgeon shall have duly reported such intercourse to be free from objections. If sickness has appeared, and still prevails you are required to hoist the *flag R* of the commercial code by day, or two lighted lanterns one over the other at the fore by night. On either of these signals being hoisted the commander or other person in charge of such vessel shall consider himself in quarantine. No dead bodies are to be thrown overboard in the roadstead. No boats to be allowed alongside until the Ensign are hoisted at some mast-head in token that the commander accepts the responsibility of the proceeding caution".²¹⁸

These instructions indicate that quarantine rules were strict for both port officials and passengers in Malabar.²¹⁹ Even pilgrims going to Mecca from India were required to follow quarantine regulations, which were revised through the Native Passengers Act of 1876.²²⁰ This act mandated that ships carrying more than 100 pilgrims had to have a qualified medical officer on board, and an Indian vice-consul was appointed in Jeddah to attend to the well-being of the pilgrims. In 1887, a new resolution was passed requiring all steamers carrying pilgrims to have a Muslim doctor on board. From 1850 onwards, quarantine laws were enforced rigorously, and the Master Attendant of the ports was responsible for scrutinising passengers and ships. Records of conditions on ships and in ports were frequently documented and reported by the administration. The British were clear about the quarantine regulations and they institutionalised the pilgrimage rules.²²¹ It is evident that British knowledge production underwent changes over time, influenced by broader concerns including the threat of epidemic diseases and political shifts in the

²¹⁸CRA, Malabar Collector, Inward letters from Malabar: Instruction to commanders for entering the Calicut port.

²¹⁹CRA, Letter from William Logan to the chief Secretary, Calicut, 16th May 1876, No 41, p. 5.

²²⁰CRA, Government of Madras, Marine Department, 31st December, 1878, No 691.

²²¹CRA, Letter from William Logan to the chief Secretary, Calicut, 16th May 1876, No 41.

Hajj, such as the transitions from Ottoman to Hashemite and then to Saudi control. This elucidates the consolidation of colonial knowledge on Hajj pilgrims and the methods employed in gathering and collecting information.

An important initiative by the British was the definition of the Pilgrim ship, implemented through the Pilgrim Ship Act.²²² The Act of 1895 deliberated on various remedial measures to control contagious diseases on ships traveling for Hajj. The significant provisions in the Pilgrim Ship Act of 1895 clarified the meaning of a pilgrim in the broader context:

“Pilgrim means a Muhammadan passenger going to, or returning from, the Hajj; but it does not include a child under one year of age, and in the computation of pilgrims for all or any of the purposes of this Act the Governor General in Council may, by notification in the Gazette of India, direct that two persons of the age of one year or upwards and under the age of twelve years shall be reckoned as one pilgrim.²²³ A Muhammadan passenger who has embarked with the intention of going to the Hajj, but is returning without having actually landed there, shall be deemed to be a pilgrim for the purposes of this Act”.²²⁴

The act defined the Pilgrim ship as a ship conveying or about to convey pilgrims from or to any port in British India to or from any port in the Red Sea other than Suez. it provided that no ship carrying passengers other than pilgrims of the lowest class and having on board pilgrims of the lowest class in a less proportion than one pilgrim for every one hundred tons of the gross tonnage of the ship shall be deemed to be a pilgrim ship within the meaning of this Act.²²⁵ The important rules for voyages of pilgrim ships were,

²²²Gazette of India, 1895, p, 165: for Report of the Select Committee.1895, p. 177; for Proceedings in Council, 1895, Pt. VI, pp. 321- 349.

²²³Preliminary. Sec. 6. Pilgrim Ships. [1895: Act XIV (Rules for Voyages of Pilgrim Ships (7-8.)), p, 244.

²²⁴Marine File, general instructions to the Pilgrims to Hajj, Appendix B, Bombay Act of 1887, p, 7.

²²⁵Preliminary. Section, 6.1895: Act XIV. Rules for Voyages of Pilgrim Ships (7-8.), p, 244.

1. No pilgrim ship shall depart or proceed from, or discharge pilgrims at, any port or place within British India other than a port or place appointed in this behalf by the Local Government.
2. After a pilgrim ship has departed or proceeded on a voyage from a port or place so appointed, no person shall be received on board as a pilgrim except at some other port or place so appointed.
3. The master, owner or agent of a pilgrim ship so departing or proceeding shall give notice to an officer appointed in this behalf by the Local Government that she is to carry pilgrims, and of her destination, and of the proposed time of sailing.
4. The notice shall be given at the original port of departure of in British India and in other cases at the first port at which she touches in British India, not less than three days, and at all other port of call not less than twenty-four hours, before that time.²²⁶

These regulations aimed to centralise and control the movement of pilgrim ships in British India. By designating specific ports for departure, arrival, and the discharge of pilgrims, the government ensures a systematic approach to managing pilgrim ship activities. The notice requirements contribute to the organisation of these movements, providing authorities with information about the ship's itinerary and plans to carry pilgrims. It suggests a regulatory framework designed to maintain order, monitor pilgrim ship activities, and potentially manage issues related to public health, safety, or immigration control. The British made sure that all the ships commencing from a port have a master in which he should carry two certificates,

1. The first of the certificates (hereinafter called certificate A) shall state that the ship is seaworthy and properly equipped, fitted and ventilated, and the number of pilgrims of each class which she is capable of carrying.
2. The second of the certificates (certificate B) shall states the voyage which the ship is to make, and the intermediate ports (if any) at which she is to touch, and that she has the proper complement of officers and seamen; *if*) that food, fuel and

²²⁶Preliminary Section, 6.1895: Act XIV. Rules for Voyages of Pilgrim Ships (7-8.), p, 244.

pure water over and above what is necessary for the crew, and the other things (if any) prescribed for pilgrim ships have been placed on board, of the quality prescribed, properly packed, and sufficient to supply the pilgrims on board during the voyage which she is to make (including such detention in quarantine as may be probable).²²⁷

The letter from W White and Dr Dickson²²⁸ refers that there were concerns regarding the spread of smallpox by Indian pilgrims and concerning the decision that pilgrims found to be suffering from small-pox were detained at the quarantine station until they were cured and their clothes were disinfected.²²⁹ Dickson replied to Dr Stiepowich that the sanitary inspector at Jedda has called the attention of the Board of health towards the frequent outbreaks of small-pox occurring on board of pilgrim ships arriving in the red sea. He declares that persons affected with this malady, after performing their quarantine at Camaran are reshipped on board of the vessels that took them there and carried on to Jedda from whence the infection is spread to various part of the Hajj route.²³⁰ He quotes that,

“British steamship Sumatra which on its arrival at camaran had one case of smallpox amongst its pilgrim passengers and when it reached Jedda on the April there were 4 cases of the malady”.²³¹

The board of health had taken actions on the recommendations by Dr Stiepowich and resolved that persons suffering from smallpox will be isolated and treated by the Lazaret medical officer and not allowed to continue their voyage to their ultimate

²²⁷Preliminary Section, 6. 1895: Act XIV. Rules for Voyages of Pilgrim Ships (7-8), p, 245

²²⁸British officers who was in charge of colonial health regulations on pilgrims from India.

²²⁹CRA, Public Department, Government of Madras, (Dr Dickson to WA White, 1st June, 1888, F No 36). Government of Madras, Public department, WA White report on Turkish pilgrims, 5th June, 1888, No 77.

²³⁰CRA, Public Department, Government of Madras, (Dr Dickson to WA White, 1st June, 1888, F No 36)

²³¹CRA, Public Department, Government of Madras, , WA White report on Turkish pilgrims, 5th June, 1888, File No 77, Public Department, Government of Madras, 11 September, 1888, File No 895.

destination until they are cured and their clothes have been disinfected. The detention of pilgrims suffering from smallpox would probably oblige them to forfeit the amount paid for their passage from Camaran to Jedda. The question was on the sanitary tariffs, whether the loss should be borne by the pilgrim or by the Ottoman Health department. The circular from Turkish government in 1871 states that Board of health resolved the issue regarding small pox and diseases; in future, every ship arriving in ottoman port, the sick suffering from smallpox shall be disembarked and placed in isolated localities and taken care of by the sanitary doctors of the ports of disembarkation. As regards to the ships, it will ordinarily be subjected to measure of sanitation and disinfection. In 1888, a new regulation came into force, which states that smallpox is regarded as one of the pestilential diseases which should strictly involve the application of quarantine.²³²It is a contagious disease, occasionally assuming an epidemic form and causing great ravages, especially when it breaks out in large cities or crowded localities. The board of health decided to implement specific rules to control the spread of smallpox among the pilgrims; the rules are pointed below,

- a) That, all the persons in quarantine attacked by smallpox shall be isolated in a suitable locality specially appropriated to them
- b) That they shall be there taken care of by one of the doctors
- c) That on the termination of the period of quarantine, those attacked by smallpox shall not be allowed to reembark until they have recovered and their personal effects have been thoroughly disinfected.²³³

These rules applied specifically to pilgrimage ships due to the higher risk of disease spread compared to other vessels. Authorities had implemented thoughtful measures to

²³²CRA, Public Department, Government of Madras, Circular No 466, 28 June 1871, p, 2.

²³³CRA, Public department, Government of Madras, 11th September, 1888, No, 895 (circular no 119, 29th May, 1888- instruction regarding the treatment of small pox patients).

control epidemics and other diseases affecting pilgrims. The aforementioned instructions and rules increased pilgrims' awareness of their health conditions, leading to reported check-ups before embarking on voyages. The sanitary department intervened extensively in addressing epidemic diseases among the pilgrims. In 1889, additional regulations were enforced following the preceding instructions. The main articles included:

- a) Vessels bound to be red sea having on-board only one pilgrim for every 100 tons of registered tonnage are not included in the definition of pilgrim ships. Such containers will be dealt with according to the character of their bills of health, conformably to the provisions of the General Regulations of 1867, applicable to cases of cholera.
- b) Mail boats and vessels not carrying more than five pilgrims for every 100 tons register can proceed Abbou Saad where they will discharge subject to quarantine, their pilgrims and merchandise destined for the Hajj.
- c) On the arrival of a pilgrim ship in Camaran or Abou saad, all pilgrims will be disembarked and undergo the usual medical examination. If the health of the ship is good and no suspicious case has occurred on the voyage, the ship and the pilgrims will undergo five full days of quarantine: baggage and effects will be disinfected, the ships will be washed and purified, but the cargo will not be landed nor purified nor taxed
- d) Pilgrim ships which arrived from infected ports, but have had no cholera case during the voyages or after arrival, will undergo a quarantine of ten days. Merchandise coming from cholera infected port will remain on board the ship, if there has been no cholera case during the voyages or after arrival, but will be exempt from disinfection and sanitary fees, except in the case of old personal effects and stuffs already used, unwashed wool, old cotton, hair and feathers, new skins and other raw animal remains, and rags.
- e) Ships upon which cases of cholera or suspicious circumstances have occurred during the voyage or after arrival will be subjected ships and pilgrims to a quarantine of at least 15 days. This quarantine will be renewed each time a cholera case occurs among crew or passengers after their arrival in the port and will date

from the day of last case sickness. In such cases, the clauses in the Regulation of 1867 for cholera strictly applied.

- f) No pilgrim shall leave camaran for good without having reshipped at the expiration of the quarantine, all the pilgrims brought by her, vessels which have completed their quarantine without cholera cases or suspected cases among the crew shall have right to free quarantine.²³⁴

The regulations outlined above reflect a comprehensive approach to managing health risks associated with pilgrim ships arriving at specific ports. The rules were based on the ship's destination, the number of pilgrims on board, and the health status during the voyage. The focus on cholera prevention, medical examinations, and quarantine measures demonstrates a commitment to public health and safety. The text emphasises a balance between controlling the spread of infectious diseases and facilitating the movement of pilgrims, and cargo. The breaking point in the maritime space occurred in 1865, in which the violent outbreak of cholera struck Hijaz. Dr Achille Proust expressed the terror was felt throughout the Mediterranean and pointed out that,

“Europe realised that it could not remain like this, every year at the mercy of the pilgrimage to Mecca.”²³⁵

Cholera spread between 1831 and 1912 in Bombay, Calcutta, and considered cholera as a perennial threat. There were two major concerns in front of the British, First and foremost Britain worried that restricting access to Hajj would agitate its Muslim subjects. Second, Britain feared that strict quarantine would threaten the free flow of trade between India and Europe. For these reasons, Britain has never treated cholera as a

²³⁴CRA, Public department, Government of Madras, 27th March, 1889, No 288(regulations applicable to the Mecca pilgrimage of 1890).

²³⁵Michael Christopher, ‘Empire and the Hajj: Pilgrims, Plagues, and Pan-Islam under British Surveillance, 1865-1908’, *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, vol. 40, no. 2, 2008, pp, 269–90.

contagious disease. Due to the international pressure they were forced to take several measures to prevent cholera. The British were worried about the appointment of non-Muslims in the matters of pilgrimage which led to introduction of a new post called protector of pilgrims. The British made sure that the protector of pilgrims must be from Muslim community and he must work under the commissioner of police. The important duties of this officer were, to issue passports to all applicants, to aid them in procuring the necessary equipment for the voyage, to bring to notice the existence of any epidemic diseases among them, and generally to give them all the information and assistance related to pilgrimage. Muslim employees produced lot of material to the state to understand the nature of Hajj and pilgrims, Dr Razzack was one notable officer who consolidated information for British and he advised the government to take immediate actions for impoverished pilgrims.²³⁶

The maritime activities in colonial Malabar witnessed several changes, particularly with regards to the subject of pilgrims. The implementation of colonial policies aimed to address the introduction of various health regulations in the region and the underlying political motives behind them in the ports of Malabar. Consequently, quarantine rules were enforced in the ports of Calicut, Cannanore, Tellicherry, Beypore, and Cochin, as specified in the government of India's notification on the 9th of September, 1872. Subsequently, additional minor ports such as Ponnani, Badagara, and Quilandi were also included in the list.²³⁷ After the introduction of Quarantine rules in Malabar, there were changes in the arrival and departure rules in the various ports. William Logan reported that,

²³⁶CRA, Public Department, Government of Madras, 13th may, 1883, No 9. Public department, Government of Madras, letters from Abdur Razzack, 15th July 1884, No 24.

²³⁷CRA, Letter from William Logan, to the Chief Secretary, No- 41, 16th May, 1876,

“At Calicut a pattimar arrived in November 1873 with a case of small pox on board, it was therefore placed under a quarantine of observation for ten days. Another native vessel entered Cochin under similar circumstances on 28th January and placed by advice of the port surgeon under quarantine. The pattimar bhowany en route from Cochin to Bombay put into Tellicherry on 18th February last with 6 cases of cholera, she was placed under quarantine at the neighbouring quarantine station”.²³⁸

One of the important aspects of these regulations were, none of the expenditure was taken by the government, but all the quarantine charges were met by the vessel owners or agents at the ports. Later, the British introduced various policies regarding Pilgrimage, such as Passports and issuing passes which we will be discussing in the next section. The implementation of passport for pilgrims and the introduction of a quarantine system to control the spread of contagious diseases were the major interventions in regards to pilgrimage subject in Malabar.

Passport and Pilgrimage policy in Colonial Malabar

In 1875, the British government inquired about the possibility of the Indian government suggesting ways to alleviate the suffering of poor Muslim pilgrims traveling for Hajj, which had previously been a matter of serious concern. The British government attempted to introduce a new systems for pilgrim traffic across its colonies; although some other governments were already granting passports to pilgrims.²³⁹ After discussions with local patrons and governments, it was deemed inadvisable to impose any restrictions on their movements that might be liable to misconstruction. In 1877, the secretary of state addressed some concerns regarding the pilgrim’s religious beliefs and stated that their

²³⁸CRA, Marine Department, Government of Madras, File No 691, 31st December, 1878.

²³⁹CRA, Public Department, Government of Madras, 10th January 1891, No 28.

religion was considered vibrant and widely followed, and that the British policy was one of non-intervention.

“The governor general in council was opposed to any direct interference on the part of government with what is considered to be religious obligation by large sections of Muslims in India, and accordingly disapprove the introduction of a system of passports or license or any other similarly restrictive arrangements”.²⁴⁰

In the late 1800s, the British government implemented policies regarding the movements of pilgrims despite their previous policy of non-intervention in religious matters. This was partly due to a notification from the Turkish authority requiring all passengers and pilgrims to have passports upon arrival in Jeddah. To prevent Indian pilgrims from being turned away at Turkish ports, the government of India had to provide passports to their subjects. But, issuing passports posed economic challenges, and the British had to balance the requirements of the Turkish government with the freedom of movement previously enjoyed by Indian pilgrims. This policy was influenced by political pressure from other governments. The important questions raised in front of authority on subjects of pilgrims were,

1. The question of charging a small fee on passports in order to raise a fund to be devoted to giving assistance to needy and impoverished pilgrims.
2. The plan of issuing passports not only at the ports of embarkation but also in every district in British India and in the Native states.
3. The necessity of appointing pilgrim agents at Indian seaports to facilitate the embarkation of pilgrims, and to afford them all possible information and aid.²⁴¹

²⁴⁰CRA, Proceedings of the Government of India, Sanitary Department, 12th July, 1882, No 4-198, p, 2. Government of Malabar Public Department (This letter contains various notifications on Hajj from 1875 to 1882).

²⁴¹CRA, Proceedings of the Government of India, Sanitary Department, 12th July, 1882, No 4-198. p, 2.

The above questions were raised among the officials for the granting of passports to the pilgrims in India. The report pointed out that, the British realised that it would increase the already heavy expenditure which the pilgrimage entails. After series of discussions among the colonial officials, it had been decide that passports shall be distributed at free of cost, and no deposit or other guarantee of the ability of the grantee to discharge the cost of his journey in Arabia or his return journey shall be exacted by the government. According to the new passport regulations, passports would be unconditionally given to the pilgrims not only at the ports of embarkation but also at the central stations of every district in British India. Thus, it will be left to the option of pilgrims to take his passport either in his own district or at the port from which his journey starts. After the clearance regarding the issue of passports, the question was on the subjects and data in the passports. It states that, social position of a pilgrim should reflect in the pilgrim passport so it can be helpful in their long journey.

The passport information mostly comprised the pilgrim's occupations, physical characters, etc. Henceforth, the granting of passports to the pilgrims was a representation of social class in the colonies. The British recorded socio-economic status of the pilgrims when they applied for the passports. They appointed a Muhammadan agent at Jeddah to secure the pilgrim traffic and for proper treatment of pilgrims as well as to make arrangements for their return passage.²⁴² It is anticipated that this officer will take up his duties before the commencement of next pilgrimage. The important objectives of these regulations were to document and survey of the pilgrims. On 13th January 1883, a resolution was passed to report the impact of passport system among the pilgrims. In Malabar, 49 passports were issued to pilgrims, and Bombay had issued 4740 passports

²⁴²CRA, Proceedings of the Government of India, Sanitary Department, 12th July, 1882, No 4-198.p 3. Government of Malabar, Public Department (This letter contains various notifications on Hajj from 1875 to 1882)

to the pilgrims. The reasons for large number of passports in Bombay presidency was due to the Bombay port, pilgrims travelled from interior parts of Malabar to Bombay for the voyage. The commissioner of Bombay requested the government to implement certain provisions related to pilgrims. The first suggestion was to frame rules for the protection and care by the commanders of pilgrim vessels, of the effects of pilgrims who may happen to die at sea. The second suggestion was that, in order to aid the protector of pilgrims in his work, two peons, possessing a knowledge in Persian and some local dialects be sanctioned.²⁴³ The results of these systems were not successful because there were discrepancies in the implementation. Captain L. Moncrieff, pointed out that

“I am not able to state what proportions of Indian Pilgrims actually arrive without passports”.²⁴⁴

Most of the pilgrims were not aware of the new regulations due to the lack of information. The responsibility of local administration had been increased, their main duty was to assess and issue passports for the needy ones. The resolution quarantine regulations on Hajj refers, on

“all persons proposing to make a pilgrimage to Mecca are hereby warned that they will be required by the Turkish government to perform quarantine for at least 10 days on the island of Camaran before being allowed to go on to Jeddah, during which period, pilgrims have to provide for all their expenses. Therefore, they should make certain in taking their passages that the steamer starts so as to arrive at Jeddah in time for Hajj, after making due allowance for the detention at Camaran. During the quarantine at Camaran the Turkish government require the pilgrims to pay certain fees besides arranging for their own provisions, and ships which have evaded quarantine are not allowed to land their pilgrims at Jeddah. Pilgrims are, therefore warned that before starting they should see that they have sufficient funds for the expenses of quarantine and of the Hajj, also for their

²⁴³CRA, Extract from the Proceedings of the Government of India, Home Department, Sanitary, 28th September, 1883, No 9/329/39. Public department, 22nd October 1883. No 2066, p, 2.

²⁴⁴CRA, Captain L Moncrieff to Secretary of India, 13th May, 1883, No 9. (Government of Malabar, Public Department), L Moncrieff, 30 July 1881.

journey back to native places. Abdur Razzack suggests that each pilgrim should have at least Rs. 300 with him when he leaves India after having paid his passage to Jeddah. Also. Intending pilgrims should apply to the protector of pilgrims Bombay and to the port officer at other ports for information as to the latest safe date for sailing”.²⁴⁵

The implementation of these regulations posed significant challenges within the system. Captain Moncrieff asserts that numerous issues were apparent in the passport system, including the inability of some pilgrims to provide the necessary documents due to a lack of awareness and failures in local administration. Doctor Razzack highlights that the passport can serve as a means for the pilgrim to assert their right to protection in the event of an extended stay beyond the Hajj period. However, Moncrieff disputes the idea of registering at the consulate and instead suggests implementing a one-year duration for all pilgrims. He emphasizes that each pilgrim should assume individual responsibility for their own well-being.²⁴⁶ Moncrieff made a formal request to the government, urging them to incorporate the charge imposed at Turkish ports into the overall fee structure for the pilgrims disembarking at the shore.

From inner Harbour – 6 annas

From outer Harbour – 12 annas

Quarantine office fee on landing- 1, 2 annas

Tuskereh Moruhr - 14 annas²⁴⁷

²⁴⁵CRA, Marine department file, Government of Madras, 18th February 1878, No 101. Marine department file, Government of Madras, 29th march, 1878, No 198, Government of Madras, Marine department file, 16th September, 1878, No 473, Government of Madras, Marine department file, 9th October, 1878, No 519. Government of Madras, Marine department file, 24th May, 1879, No 280. Government of Madras, Marine department file, 31st May 1879, No 296 (Quarantine files).

²⁴⁶CRA, from captain Moncrieff to secretary, government of India, 13th may 1883, Public department, Government of Malabar. 5th February 1884, No 185. p, 3.

²⁴⁷CRA, from captain Moncrieff to secretary, government of India, 13th may 1883, Public department, Government of Malabar. 5th February 1884, No 185.

Moncrieff believed that it would be beneficial for the pilgrims to adequately prepare themselves prior to embarking for their journey. Razzack provides an analysis of three key aspects relating to pilgrims, namely, their mode of operation, the manner in which they engage in Hajj, and the advisability of its continuation. He asserts that a significant number of locations are unaware of this system. While many pilgrims in larger cities are familiar with the passport system, this knowledge is not widespread in towns and villages. In seaport towns, however, the pilgrims were provided with more comprehensive information, and it is often their first encounter with the concept of passports. The brokers who convey this information tend to exploit the pilgrims' trustworthiness. The majority of pilgrims were unaware of the fact that passports can be obtained free of charge.

“Many pilgrims consider the passports as a sort of ticket necessary during their passage to the Hajj but are neither aware of its nature or rule of registering in consulate. Out of 9800 pilgrims who arrived last year for the Hajj, only a few came to register at consulate”.²⁴⁸

The passport system lacked significance among the pilgrims, as their primary focus was to reach Mecca for the performance of Hajj. However, Razzack proposed that making certain changes at the local administration level could improve the situation. He called for government intervention on key issues to enhance the visibility and acceptance of passports, suggesting specific modifications to the existing system such as

1. A wider publicity of the nature of the system
2. Making more effectual arrangements for supplying the pilgrims with passports in their own districts
3. When pilgrims come for passports to the police courts, officers issuing them should make inquiries whether the pilgrims have paid anything for the purpose.

²⁴⁸CRA, Letter from Abdur Razzack, assistant surgeon to British council at Jeddah, 17th April 1883. p, 3.

4. If the registration of the passports at the consulate in Jeddah be considered obligatory, for which there is no apparent necessary. The pilgrim should be impressed with the urgency of the required step at the time of issuing passport.²⁴⁹

In his report, Razzack proposed that the most effective approach to provide passports to pilgrims would involve issuing a notice to all ship owners and shipping agents, explicitly stating that pilgrims should not be provided with passage tickets unless they could present passports. The second aspect of his investigation focused on the procedures employed during the pilgrimage. He highlighted that the system of Tezkirah Maroor (safe conduct) was adhered to, with Turkish authorities prioritising this certificate over verifying whether pilgrims possessed passports. He noted that during the last Hajj, a considerable number of pilgrims entered the pilgrimage without passports, relying solely on the Tezkirah Maroor certificate, as pointed out by Razzack.

“As soon as pilgrim had paid the quarantine fees at one door, he was passed on to another where he was obliged to purchase the Tezkirah Maroor like a ferry ticket. The local authorities are either ignorant of their own laws or don’t care for the passports as long as they provide the pilgrims with Tezkirah Maroor”.²⁵⁰

Pilgrims participate in Hajj driven by religious enthusiasm. It is evident that pilgrims encountered difficulties adapting to new Hajj regulations, despite the local administration issuing notifications in the vernacular language. While individuals from rural areas could read and comprehend the new rules, official information struggled to reach the peripheries effectively. The majority of pilgrims typically relied on local agents for their travel arrangements. In 1885, there was a notable decline in Hajj applications

²⁴⁹CRA, Abdur Razzack, Assistant Surgeon report on Pilgrimage issue, 17th April 1883, No. 21, p, 4.

²⁵⁰CRA, Abdur Razzack, Assistant Surgeon report on Pilgrimage issue, 17th April 1883, No. 21, p, 4.

from marginalised locations in Malabar, with only one application recorded during this period. The reasons for this were:

1. The poor circumstances of the Mappilas
2. Version on the part of Mappilas of position to appear in public and apply for passports.²⁵¹

Subsequently, the situation in Malabar underwent a transformation, with a growing desire among many to embark on a pilgrimage to Mecca. Data indicates that from 1885 onwards, there was an increase in the number of applications for passports. This rise can be attributed to the implementation of vernacular notifications throughout Malabar, signaling a positive correlation between the dissemination of information in the local language and the surge in passport applications.

Table: 12, No of passport issued in Malabar from 1883 to 1886.

Year	No of Passport issued
1883	23
1884	18
1885	140
1886	294

Source: CRA, Public Department, Govt of Malabar, File of Reports showing the number of passports granted to pilgrims proceedings to Arabia during the season, 1887. (Order 25th January 1887, No 119), Public Department, Government of Madras, 3rd February 1891, No-97.

The change in how pilgrims traveled became closely tied to government rules, bringing communities into the colonial paperwork system. The Mappilas had a hard time adjusting to the new rules because of pressure from magistrates and collectors. One major reason they started following the new administrative rules was because of a partnership between the British and Turkish governments. In 1887, the reports highlighted that, despite widespread publicity about the passport system, no passports were issued to pilgrims in that year. This delayed response was attributed to the economic challenges

²⁵¹ CRA, Public Department Government of Madras, order 3rd march, 1890, No 168.

faced by the Muslim community in Malabar. Additionally, a significant number of pilgrims embarked on their journeys from Calicut to Bombay, proceeding to Mecca, and found it more convenient to obtain passports directly from Bombay.²⁵² The data indicates that, while the issuance of passports was primarily focused on Malabar, the overall count is notably higher than the previous years. According to the report from the Malabar collector, the key pilgrimage concerns emerging from the Eranad Taluk were central to Mappila enthusiasm. This suggests that reservations held by certain Mappilas against the new passport system were diminishing.²⁵³ The pilgrim traffic from Malabar witnessed an increase from 1885 to 1886, with a decline in the subsequent years. The table below illustrates the number of passports issued from 1885 to 1887.

Table: 13, Pilgrim traffic details from Malabar from 1885 to 1887(on Taluk basis)

Taluk	1885-1886	1886-1887	Increase	Decrease
Calicut	41	10	-	31
Eranad	24	26	2	-
Valluvanad	-	6	6	-
Ponnani	-	2	2	-
Total	65	44	10	31

Source: CRA, Malabar Collectorate Correspondence File, File No 840.

The table illustrates a decline in the number of pilgrims traveling to Mecca, coinciding with the outbreak of cholera in the outskirts of Malabar.²⁵⁴ The collector reports indicated that the majority of pilgrims from Malabar were primarily planters, and timber merchants. The reports also suggest that the cholera pandemics induced fear among the pilgrims, with the collector noting their reluctance to leave their families due to cholera and other pandemics. Following the pandemics, the trajectory of pilgrimage in Malabar underwent changes, leading to the implementation of various maritime

²⁵²CRA, Public Department , Govt of Malabar , , File of Reports showing the number of passports granted to pilgrims proceedings to Arabia during the season, 1887. (Order 25th January 1887, No 119).

²⁵³CRA, File of Reports showing the number of passports granted to pilgrims proceedings to Arabia during the season, 1887. (Order 25th January 1887, No 119).

²⁵⁴CRA, Malabar Collectorate Correspondence File, File No 840.

regulations in the littoral world. In 1890, the Malabar collector reported the spread of plague in Egypt, highlighting that ships were making contact at the ports of Malabar.

‘I have taken best endeavours to prevent the introduction of disease in Malabar’²⁵⁵

In 1887, the Deputy Collector of Malabar issued 63 passports to pilgrims. A crucial element of the passport regulations was the authorization process. In Malabar, passport applications were directly submitted to the Tahasildars, who would then approve all the passport applications. Since the 1880s, the Muslim community in Malabar expressed contentment with the existing arrangement for granting passports.²⁵⁶ In the report dated September 30, 1888, a total of 184 passports were issued. The collector noted a decrease of 26 passports compared to the previous year, attributing it to the increased challenges posed by the prevalence of cholera in Malabar, which made pilgrimage traffic more arduous. The majority of pilgrims in Malabar hailed from Eranad and Calicut regions, with fewer applications coming from Wayanad and Palaghat regions. The report highlighted the necessity of publicising the regulations in the vernacular languages of Malabar.²⁵⁷ The number of passports issued in the year 1888,

Table: 14, No of passport issues during the year of 1888 in Malabar.

Chirakkal	19
Kurumbanad	3
Calicut	40
Eranad	86
Ponnani	28
Valluvanad	9
Total	184

Source: CRA, Letter, Deputy Collector, Malabar, 13th October, 1887.

²⁵⁵CRA, Collectorate Records, 1802, Revenue, Letter received, p 92.

²⁵⁶CRA, Letter, Deputy Collector, Malabar, 13th October, 1887.

²⁵⁷CRA, Malabar Head Magistrate office, No 695, Palaghat, 29th September 1888.

Following the implementation of passports, a question arose about who would be responsible for managing the travel arrangements of Indian pilgrims. This included coordinating their journeys within the country, arranging transportation, and overseeing accommodations in Jeddah. Consequently, Thomas Cook emerged as the chosen agency to fulfill this crucial role, effectively becoming the official representatives for the pilgrims. In this capacity, Thomas Cook took on the responsibility of organising travel itineraries, handling ticketing, and various logistical arrangements essential to meeting the pilgrims' needs. The following section will explore the process through which Thomas Cook was selected as the pilgrims' agency and its responsibilities. The British government appointed Thomas Cook and Son Company as the pilgrim agents in India in 1887. It is evident that there were two distinct classes of pilgrims taking the journey to Mecca: the extremely impoverished individuals whose expenses were covered by affluent Muslims, and those who independently financed their pilgrimage. In the year 1883, Henry Drummond Wolff formulated regulations aimed at safeguarding Muhammadan pilgrims traveling from India to Mecca. However, his proposals did not receive sufficient attention within the British government. Consequently, Lord Dufferin intervened by tasking the Thomas Cook and Company to manage pilgrim affairs and implementing specific maritime regulations pertaining to the pilgrims. The British government passed a resolution which proposed conditions under which Thomas Cook and company would be prepared to undertake the agency and control of the movements of pilgrims from India to Jeddah and back.²⁵⁸ A crucial regulation concerned the issuance of tickets, with the government of India granting Thomas Cook and Company full autonomy in this matter. It was their responsibility to coordinate with railway

²⁵⁸CRA, Public Department Government of Madras, proceedings of the government of India (Sanitary Department), 30th May, 1887, No 3, pp, 109-114.

administrations and steamships for the transportation of pilgrims. The guidelines outlined in the pilgrimage protection states,

“For several years past the attention of the government of India has from time to time been directed to the desirability of alleviating, so far as is possible, the discomforts and sufferings experienced by the pilgrims during the journey from India. The existence of these sufferings more especially in the case of those of the poorer class of Muhammadans who undertake the pilgrimage is an admitted fact, but the action taken with a view to afford relief has been necessarily of a restricted nature owing to the unwillingness felt by the government to undertake any direct interference with what is considered to be a religious obligation by the large sections of the Muhammadan community in India. In 1880, Turkish government made passport as a compulsory document for travelling to Hajj, whether from India or other countries”.²⁵⁹

One of the major changes in the subject of Pilgrimage was the introduction of passports to every pilgrim. It states that,

“to establish a system under which passports should be unconditionally given to every intending pilgrims not only at the Indian ports of embarkation but also at the central stations of every district in British India and at the all head-quarters of all political agencies in Native states”.²⁶⁰

In October 1884, Thomas Cook agreed to handle the pilgrim traffic from India as part of their business, receiving full support from the British government. The appointment of Thomas Cook as the pilgrim agents for the entire country involved local officers being directed to assist the firm in disseminating information about the terms of conveyance to Jeddah and back, as well as in facilitating the sale of thorough tickets.

²⁵⁹ CRA, Home Department, resolution no 4, 198-214, 12th July 1882.

²⁶⁰ CRA, Home Department, resolution no 4, 198-214, 12th July 1882.

They committed to coordinate with the railway administrators and steamship proprietors to transport pilgrims. Thomas Cook also pledged to use their influence to ensure the transit of pilgrims in suitable ships complying with maritime regulations. Cumod Suliman, a wealthy merchant in Bombay, took the initiative to build a rest house primarily for Muslim women on pilgrimage. He also promised to construct a rest house for 2000 impoverished pilgrims arriving from various ports in the presidency, particularly the Malabar region.²⁶¹ The pilgrimage regulations by the British had resulted in various changes in the existing system. One of the major concerns of the government was regarding the health conditions of pilgrims, therefore, they made vaccination compulsory before the embarkation.

“It is desirable that pilgrims should get themselves vaccinated either before leaving their homes for Bombay or were special arrangements have been made for vaccinating them at Musafirkhanas by male and female vaccinators, to remove any misapprehension, pilgrims are informed that the tika performed in Bombay is vaccination to prevent small pox and not inoculation against plague”.²⁶²

The 1896 Act, designed to safeguard Muhammadan pilgrims from India, implemented several regulations, with a pivotal focus on licensing pilgrim brokers. British pilgrimage policies, rooted in historical context, were primarily administrative, instigating notable transformations in shipping and voyages across the Indian Ocean. The question of determining individuals authorised to assist pilgrims in their sacred rituals became a historical point of discussion, prompting the government to contemplate the appointment of religious leaders for this purpose.

²⁶¹CRA, Pilgrimage file, p, 10. The Mecca Pilgrimage, appointment by the Government of India of Thomas Cook and Son as agents for the control of movements of Muhammadans pilgrims from all parts of India to Jeddah for Mecca, Medina and Back.

²⁶²CRA, Pilgrimage File, General Instructions for the Pilgrims to the Hajj- A manual for the guidance of officers and others concerned in the Red sea pilgrim traffic, p, 1.

Muallims, professional pilgrim guide²⁶³ who are group of religious leaders/ulemas who help the pilgrims for Hajj. They are considered as an important subject in the pilgrimage journey to Mecca. Muallims, ‘A Mutawwif (Arabic: مطوف), also known as a Muallims (Arabic: معلم) is a guide appointed by the Ministry of Hajj responsible for the needs and well-being of Hajj pilgrims’.²⁶⁴ They help the pilgrims in their well-being on the journey, such as their accommodation, their prayer timings, keeping a check on the health conditions of the pilgrim etc. Perhaps, they more concerned than pilgrims on journey. The trajectory of the Muallims changed during the colonial time. This section deals with Institutionalisation of Muallims in the British India as a part of colonial empire expansion, to analyse the major regulations related to the role of Muallims in Hajj pilgrimage. British parliament passed a bill in 1932 regarding the new regulations of Hajj and regulated new rules and regulations for the Muallims. This act implanted across British India as well British Baluchistan. According to the Hajj Pilgrims (Muallims) Act of 1932,

“A Muallim means any person who, for consideration or in the hope of reward, advises or assist or offers to advise or assist, any pilgrims in any matter connected with pilgrimage”.²⁶⁵

A significant regulation introduced was the implementation of licenses for Muallims. According to this regulation, the local administration had the authority to decide on the granting of licenses to Muallims. They were required to appoint officers for regular checks and inform the government about the number of licenses granted in their locality. Another regulation that faced criticism from pilgrims was the introduction of penalties for unlicensed Muallims. This regulation stipulated that,

²⁶³Fort. St. George Gazatte, April 19, 1932, p, 283.

²⁶⁴<https://Hajjumrahplanner.com/mutawwif/>

²⁶⁵ Fort. St. George Gazatte, April 19, 1932, p, 281.

“Not being licensed Muallims connected with the pilgrims shall be punishable with imprisonment which may extend to three months, or with fine which may extend to two hundred rupees or which both”.²⁶⁶

The British officials made clear that Muallims cannot act upon by themselves; instead they were to strictly follow the British regulations. The licensing authority would cancel the Muallim license once they act against the laws. They were punishable under the section 8 and would be fined rupees 200.²⁶⁷ The territorial limitations of Muallims was defined under this act, which states that

“Muallims shall not entitle him to act as Muallim outside the province in which the license is granted and, in particular, shall not entitle him to act as Muallim in any port unless it is granted in the province in which the port is situated”.²⁶⁸

The pilgrimage affairs were documented under the larger legal spectrum of colonialism, the important regulations such as, the protection of pilgrimage act of 1887, the protection of Muhammadan pilgrim act of 1896, made clarifications on pilgrim subjects. As per the new regulations, Muallims were not only professionally helping the pilgrims but also in recruiting the pilgrim from foreign countries.²⁶⁹ The act implies, during the three or four months preceding the day of Hajj, Muallims both Indian and foreign, toured throughout the country to secure as many clients as possible and escorted them to Hajj. The question whether any action could be taken to control the activities of Muallims and their agents in India was examined by the Hajj inquiry committee. The British colonial government in India implemented maritime regulations that aimed to regulate the activities of pilgrim brokers, who acted as intermediaries in providing passage tickets for pilgrims. These brokers were required to obtain proper licenses from

²⁶⁶Fort. St. George Gazatte, April 19, 1932, p, 282.

²⁶⁷Fort. St. George Gazatte, April 19, 1932, p, 282.

²⁶⁸Fort. St. George Gazatte, April 19, 1932, p, 282.

²⁶⁹Fort. St. George Gazatte, April 19, 1932, p, 283.

local bodies and were expected to operate within the bounds of the law. The Hajj inquiry committee reports emphasised the need for both Indian and foreign Muallims and brokers to carry licenses for their activities in any ports within colonial India. These regulations were part of a larger effort to codify the activities of pilgrim subjects under modern British law.

In summary, the historical evolution of maritime regulations in the Malabar region underwent a series of notable changes that granted the British an increased control over both passengers and native vessels navigating the area. The initiation of quarantine restrictions initially aimed to tackle health issues related specifically to Hajj pilgrims. Over time, these regulations expanded to encompass a broader spectrum of ships and ports. The British tried to institutionalise the pilgrimage due to international pressure and health concerns. Hajj pilgrims from Malabar experienced various difficulties due to passport systems and quarantine regulations especially accessing the new regulations on introduction of passports to the pilgrims. This chapter assessed that, Hajj pilgrimage was the major subject of British in Malabar, in which they implemented various health policies and regulated the pilgrimage system in the region. Additionally, global efforts to combat contagious diseases contributed to the formulation of these measures. The colonial interventions in the pilgrimage subject altered the spectrum of maritime spaces of Malabar, in which they had introduced various regulations and restrictions in the movements of pilgrims. The colonial health policies altered the native shipping, trade routes, and make compulsory certificates to the native ships.

This maritime interventions in Malabar extended beyond pilgrims, fisheries and *mukkuvans* also experienced various interventions and modernisation efforts. Following the interventions with pilgrims, the British expanded their maritime dominance to include fishing communities, setting the stage for an in-depth exploration in the forthcoming

chapter. This chapter will delve into the impact of British fisheries policies on the *mukkuvans*, who have historically been involved in fishing activities in Malabar Coast. It will particularly analyse the diverse experimental policies implemented in maritime Malabar with an aim to generate revenue from fisheries.

Chapter 4

Experiments and Exploitation in the Fisheries of Malabar: Colonial Interventions

‘There is no intention of making fish curing industry a source of revenue, it is sufficient if government is enabled to encourage it without a cost, and this is so’²⁷⁰

The pervious chapters explored various dimensions and repercussions of colonialism in the Malabar, covering aspects such as ports, merchant communities, ships, salt, timber, and pilgrims. Yet, the transformative impact of colonial maritime regulations went beyond these specific themes, encompassing the intricate realm of fisheries and the communities dependent on coastal fishing. This chapter investigates colonial policies regarding fisheries and fishing communities in Malabar, aiming to analyse significant economic policies concerning both fishermen and the fisheries sector in Malabar. It explores various colonial interventions, such as introduction of fish curing yards, the introduction of petrol boats, schools, and cooperatives for fishing communities. This chapter delves into the socio-economic conditions of Mukkavans in Calicut, Tellicherry, Beypore, Cannanore, and Ponnani to understand the impact of maritime regulations on these coastal places. It also explores the issues faced by *mukkuvans* especially the difficulties with *thattuvala* (net for fish catching) in Malabar.

There is no dearth of studies on impact of colonialism in Malabar,²⁷¹ but limited works on fisheries and fishing communities in Malabar. There are some works which discuss specifically focusing on the *Fish-Curing Yards* (FCY) in the coastal districts of

²⁷⁰Edgar Thurston, *The Sea fisheries of Malabar and South Canara; with seven plates*, Bulletin no 3, No 2, Madras Government Museum, Madras: Supprent Government press. 1900, p, 94.

²⁷¹John Edye. ‘Description of the Sea-Ports on the Coast of Malabar, of the Facilities they Afford for Building Vessels of Different Descriptions, and of the produce of the Adjacent Forests’, *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. 2, no. 2, 1835, pp, 324–77. Sebastian R. Prange, *Monsoon Islam*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018. K. S. Mathew, *Maritime Malabar and the Europeans, 1500-1962*, Delhi: Hope India Publications, 2003.

Madras Presidency.²⁷² William Logan and Edgar Thurston discussed the socio-economic conditions of *Mukkuvans*,²⁷³ R.G Mathur and B. Ramachandran have provided an anthropological analysis of fisher folks in Malabar.²⁷⁴ The majority of research conducted on this topic focus on socio-economic and anthropological aspects rather than historical perspectives, especially not with colonial experimentation in the fisheries. This chapter contention is that many of the present-day economic policies and reforms in fisheries of Malabar seem to resemble practices from the colonial experimentation period. It is crucial to look into the origins of fishery policies to gain a comprehensive understanding of the subject and its evolution over time. Through an analysis of the historical circumstances, a more profound comprehension of how present-day methodologies concerning the management and economics of fisheries have been shaped by previous encounters and the enduring impacts of Colonisation can be obtained.

Colonial Fishery Policies in Malabar

The modernisation of fisheries under colonial rule was brought about by both internal and external factors, including the adoption of modern fishing techniques, new fishing nets, the introduction of petrol boats, salt regulations, introduction of fishing yards, and the infusion of capitalist investments into the industry. Prior to the nineteenth century, fisheries were not considered significant economic strategies. In the nineteenth century, the British officials initiated inquiries into the fishing resources and industry in India. Francis Day played a pivotal role by conducting thorough research on fisheries

²⁷²Peter Reeves, Bob Pokrant, John McGuire, 'Changing Practice in the Madras Marine Fisheries: Legacies of the Fish Curing Yards, in In Joseph Christensen, Malcom Tull '*Historical Perspectives of Fisheries Exploitation in the Indo-Pacific*', MARE Publication Series, Vol 12, Dordrecht: Springer, 2014.

²⁷³William Logan, *Malabar Manual*, Calicut: Mathrubhumi, 2018. Edger Thurston, *The sea fisheries of Malabar*, Madras: Madras government, 1900. Francis Day, *The fishes of Malabar*, G Norman, Maiden Lane, Covent Garden, 1865.

²⁷⁴R.G.Mathur, *The Mappila Fisherfolk of Kerala: A Study in Inter-relationship between Habitat, Technology, Economy, Society, and Culture*, Trivanduram: Kerala Historical Society, 1977. Bindu Ramachandran, *An Anthropological Study of Marine Fisherman in Kerala*, Cambridge: Cambridge University press, 2021.

and fishing in India, with particular focus on Malabar. He conducted extensive investigation on the fisheries of Malabar, and located the most important concerns pertaining them. Day proposed three primary outlines related to the fisheries of Malabar:

1. Are the fisheries of Malabar at present being overfished?
2. Are fish containing a small quantity of oil, but are well adapted for salting and human food, being boiled down along with the oil sardines for the little that can be procured from them?
3. Has the salt tax had any bearing on the occupation of the fish curers?²⁷⁵

These questions were the base for the experimentations in Malabar as a part of colonial expansion in the fisheries. The questions posed by officials heightened their worries and prompted their involvement in the Malabar fisheries. The primary focus of their concern were the economic reasons to make more revenue out of this sector and look for more opportunities in the fisheries sector. Francis Day pointed out that,

“No form of animal food is more common in Malabar, for it is palatable to both Europeans and natives: indeed, without its presence the native Christians consider their curries to be imperfect. Light and easy of digestion, strengthening and savoury, no wonder that it is so highly esteemed. The flesh of sharks and rays are salted, and find a ready sale in inland places, as they are considered especially desirable for women soon after childbirth.”²⁷⁶

In 1841 Dr. McClelland,²⁷⁷ suggested that it would be possible and practical to create artificial lakes, called rivaria at the various hill sanatoria in order to provide a

²⁷⁵Francis Day, *The Fishes of Malabar*, London: G Norman, Maiden Lane, Covent Garden. 1865, p, 15.

²⁷⁶Francis Day, *The Fishes of Malabar*, London: G Norman, Maiden Lane, Covent Garden. 1865, p, 15.

²⁷⁷Dr. McClelland was a British doctor who works for east India Company, He conducted various research on coals, fishes in India during British period.

constant supply of fish. He proposed damming up portions of valleys or large watercourses to create these lakes. Dr. McClelland also emphasised the importance of choosing only good and edible fish when stocking large tanks, particularly those located near military cantonments or towns with European populations, in order to maximise the benefits of these artificial lakes. It is apparent that salting and dry fishing hold significant importance in Malabar. Establishing the fisheries department was deemed a crucial milestone in the history of food, as fish consumption was vital for livelihoods. In the Madras presidency, fisheries were considered not as a source of revenue, but rather as a means of food supply. Nicholson, Director of the Bureau of fisheries pointed out that fisheries required a more strategic approach and should be brought under the agricultural department to be better managed.

Introduction of Indian Fisheries Act ²⁷⁸ was the beginning of the institutionalisation of Fisheries in India and proposed various changes in the methods, selling, and catching of fish and directly connected to the fishing communities.²⁷⁹ H. S Thomas drafted the first policies on Indian fisheries, and could not finish his ideas on the development of Indian fisheries. He describes that the boat for fishing goes in the morning and returns in the evening. There was no lengthy fishing in this period.²⁸⁰ The reports suggest that there should be a detailed study on methods, conservation, and

²⁷⁸Madras Fisheries Bureau. *Papers from 1899: Relating to chiefly to the development of Madras Fisheries Bureau*, Volume 1, No 1, and Madras: The supredenent government Press.1915, p, 1.

²⁷⁹The primary objective of Indian Fisheries Act of 1897, was to regulate the fisheries in India. The main aim of the Indian Fisheries Act of 1897 was to effectively control and oversee fishing operations conducted within India's territorial waters. A key focus was on the preservation and sustainable use of fisheries resources. The law vested distinct entitlements and advantages upon both local governing bodies and individuals involved in fishing pursuits. Additionally, the act imposed restrictions on the deployment of particular detrimental fishing methods that had the potential to harm fish populations and the delicate balance of aquatic ecosystems. The law empowered local governing bodies to issue fishing licenses, outlining approved zones, periods, and techniques for fishing activities. This system aimed to mitigate the risks of excessive fishing and the exhaustion of fish populations. See, *Fort St. George Gazette*, 1903, Pt. I, p, 19. <https://indiankanoon.org/doc/286852>

²⁸⁰CRA, Madras fisheries Bearue, *Papers from 1899*, Madras, Vol 1, pp, 1-2.

utilisation of fishing as a source of revenue. Nicholson says that the Irish method has been introduced in the fisheries department to understand the techniques and methods of catching, boating and fish curing methods.²⁸¹ It enhanced new institutional changes in the fisheries, i.e. introduction of fish curing yards helped make new changes in the maritime spaces of fishing communities. They had to learn new scientific preservation methods and the availability of boat loans for going to the deep sea. The British encouraged and formulated new methods and policies for their benefit; rather than putting communities at the forefront, revenue and profit were their only concerns. On 1905 May 29, the Madras government appointed F.A Nicholson to investigate the fishery industry, both inland and marine fish, in Madras presidency.²⁸² Campbell pointed out that Nicholson can be regarded as the founder of the fisheries department in the Madras presidency. Through his efforts, he made fisheries the most profitable and accountable.²⁸³

Mukkuvans in Malabar

The fisherman in Malabar known as *Mukkuvans*, mostly converted to Muhammadans (Islam). In 1891 Census commissioner defined *Mukkuvans* as,

‘Sea fisherman of the Malabar Coast, as the *Mukkuvans* are the fishers in the rivers, the names is etymologically same. A *mukayan* is socially superior to a *Mukkuvan*, and their customs are very different. A mukayan will not take water from a Tiyyan, but a *Mukkuvan* may’.²⁸⁴

²⁸¹ The Irish method emphasised sustainable management techniques to safeguard the enduring health of fish populations and the fisheries as a whole. This approach included strategies like setting specific fishing periods, imposing restrictions on catch amounts and fishing gear, and protecting habitats. The goal was to achieve a sustainable fishing practice that would provide a steady fish supply for both nutritional and economic needs while preserving aquatic ecosystems.

²⁸²CRA, Order No, 487, Revenue, dated 29th May 1905(Madras fisheries Bulletin).

²⁸³CRA, Y.G. Campbell, *Administration Report of the Department of Fisheries, Madras*, 30th June 1920, Report No, 1, p, 1.

²⁸⁴Edgar Thurston, *The Sea fisheries of Malabar and South Canara*, Madras: Superintendent of government press, 1900, p, 116.

Edgar Thurston documented the intricate fabric of fishing communities in Malabar. He noted that the *Mukkuvans*, believed to trace their ancestry to Ceylon, enjoyed a vibrant social milieu along the Malabar Coast. Thurston observed that *Mukkuvan* fishermen, alongside their wives and children, engaged in fishing activities, establishing their dwellings in the vicinity of the coast.²⁸⁵ The below image depicts a fishing village in Cannanore, where fishing boats are gathered, patiently awaiting the arrival of fish from the deep sea.

Figure 6. In the fishing village of Cannanore, it is evident that women are actively engaged in the fishing operations. Once the fish is brought in from the sea, women join the men on the shore to assist in unloading and organising the fish. Subsequently, they transport the fish to the market for sale.



Source: Edger Thurston '*The sea fisheries of Malabar and South Canara*' Madras Government Bulletin, Vol 3, No 2, 1900, pp, 118-120, Plate No, 9.

This scene highlights that the act of fishing and selling fish involved not just individual fishermen, but the entire community. In Thurston's survey, he discussed the significant role of the *Mukkuvans* in the fishing industry and their contributions to the

²⁸⁵Edgar Thurston, *The Sea fisheries of Malabar and South Canara*, 1900, pp, 105-109.

fisheries of Malabar. The livelihood of *Mukkuvans* is reliant on fishing, and they often face difficulties when confronted with climatic variations in the sea. Nicholson visited various places in Malabar such as Calicut, Badagara, Tellicherry, Cannanore, Kasargod, and Tanur.²⁸⁶ He investigated fishing and curing methods, the character of the ports and harbours, and the economic and industrial side of fishing. The fishing communities were not familiar with modern fishing technologies, and the British officials attempted to introduce new methods and techniques in the fisheries sector. Nicholson proposed the introduction of longboats to transport substantial quantities of fish from the sea. Fishing communities, particularly in Cannanore, Calicut, Badagara, Tanur, and Ponnani in Malabar, faced challenges in owning large boats and adopting the modern technologies due to difficulties in assessing capital and investment. The British influence in the region aimed to advance fisheries with new scientific technologies. Questions arose regarding the necessity and affordability of large boats for sea fishing among these communities. Traditionally, they were not accustomed to extended stays at sea because of the unavailability of larger boats. Their focus was on sustenance rather than profit, guided by the principle of *Kudumbam pularthi*,²⁸⁷ emphasising family care. James Hornell (Director of bureau of fisheries of Madras) reported that the fishermen were following the idea of '*Kudumbam pularthi*' across the coast.²⁸⁸

Colonial fisheries policies failed to understand the fishermen's way of fishing in the sea, and colonial state tried to impose modern technologies on their coastal lifestyle. Nicholson reported that constructing larger boats presented challenges for the

²⁸⁶CRA, Madras fisheries Bearue, *Papers from 1899*, Vol 1, p, 9.

²⁸⁷ The concept of '*Kudumbam Pularthi*' held significant economic importance among the fishing communities in Malabar, particularly the *Mukkuvans*, who regarded family as the cornerstone of their daily existence. Edgar Thurston underscored the pivotal role of '*Kudumbam Pularthi*' among the *Mukkuvans* in Malabar, signifying a commitment to the welfare and survival of the family unit. This principle encapsulated the notion of those who diligently cared for and provided for their families

²⁸⁸James Hornell, *Madras Fishery Investigation Report (1908)*, Madras Fisheries Bureau, 1910, p, 92.

fishermen.²⁸⁹ The capital of boat making in the region depended on the availability of capital among specific individuals. In Tellicherry, it is evident that two curing facilities oversee two-thirds of the fishing boats.²⁹⁰ The demand for salt in curing yards led to regulatory adjustments in the salt department. New regulations were implemented to control salt prices for individuals, enabling the use of lower-priced salt in the fish curing process. In the 1901 census, specifically in Malabar and South Canara, the occupation section indicated that 109,760 individuals were engaged in various roles related to fishing, fish curing, and fish dealing.²⁹¹

Fish Curing Yards: Colonial Experimentations in Malabar

The current curing practices in Malabar were rudimentary and localised, primarily relying on sun drying or salt drying. Fish were left on the open shore with salt and were sometimes washed by the sea. There was no designated area for drying fish, so they were typically left on the nearest seashore to dry. Nicholson reported that most fishes were not applicable to be eaten, they fit for manure than food.²⁹² The modernisation of fish curing yards were deemed necessary for the implementation of colonial economic policies, which aimed to increase access to fish and generate profits. Colonial regulations intended to benefit the fishermen resulted in the curers gaining control over the entire curing process and the sale and export of fish, leading to the marginalisation of traditional fishing communities.²⁹³ This does not imply that there were no mechanisms for fish curing, but rather that they were limited to customary practices. The British agencies continuously researched the modernisation of fish curing yards. The British officials

²⁸⁹CRA, Madras fisheries Bearue, *Papers from 1899*, Vol 1, p, 14.

²⁹⁰CRA, Madras fisheries Bearue, *Papers from 1899*, Vol 1, p, 14.

²⁹¹CRA, Madras fisheries Bearue, *Papers from 1899*, Vol 1, p, 17.

²⁹²CRA, Madras fisheries Bearue, *Papers from 1899*, Vol 1, p, 22.

²⁹³Peter Reeves, Bob Pokrant, John McGuire, 'Changing Practice in the Madras Marine Fisheries: Legacies of the Fish Curing Yards, in In Joseph Christensen, Malcom Tull '*Historical Perspectives of Fisheries Exploitation in the Indo-Pacific*', MARE Publication Series, vol 12, Dordrecht: Springer, 2014.

viewed the catching process as primitive and in need of modernisation, scientific knowledge, and capital investment. The goal was not to benefit the fishing communities but to generate income for colonial agencies and help establish a new capitalist middle class. The new boat regulations, particularly the introduction of large boats in the fishing process, allowed for new capitalist access to the fisheries.

The fish curers provided feedback on some issues they faced. One major concern was the regulations that restricted fish curing operations after 10 PM, which caused problems for fishing communities as they sometimes could not make it to the curing yard on time, resulting in economic loss. Another challenge was that the curers were prohibited from taking the salted fish out to the sea for cleaning, which posed difficulties for them.²⁹⁴ In Tellicherry, the fish curers hired workers to bring seawater to their yard for washing the fish. But, they faced difficulties as the washing of fish could not be done near the yard. To clean the fish properly, they had to carry it in baskets. The people of Tellicherry highlighted that the absence of proper washing could reduce the value of the product by around 10 percent.²⁹⁵ A major complaint from the Malabar was regarding the prices of salt. There were price differences in Malabar compared to the Canara yards. In Malabar, salt was given to curers at 1 rupee (not less than one anna), but in Canara, it was significantly less. This differences led variations in profits as well.²⁹⁶

The establishment of fish curing yards materialised new capitalist enterprises in which they tried to control the fishing communities. In the locality of Tellicherry, a significant number of fishermen operating under the authority of the boat owners, who were also the fish curers, can be observed. The process of capitalist experimentation in the fisheries generated more availability of the fish. Fishermen were bound to provide

²⁹⁴CRA, Madras fisheries Bearue, *Papers from 1899*, Vol, 1 p, 28.

²⁹⁵CRA, Madras fisheries Bearue, *Papers from 1899*, Vol, 1 p, 28.

²⁹⁶CRA, Madras fisheries Bearue, *Papers from 1899*, Vol 1, p, 29.

fish directly to them without any middleman. It reduced the risk factor for the curers, and fishermen could not sell to any other people other than the curers.²⁹⁷ The establishment of modern fishing yards brought a change for fishing communities by eliminating the need to seek business individuals for fish sales. In a broader context, this curtailed the individual freedom of fishing communities. Colonial regulations imposed constraints on traditional practices of drying fishing Malabar, disrupting established methods of fishing, catching, and preserving fisheries. Nicholson reported that most fish in Tanur yards were unclean and unfit for consumption, prompting the integration of new scientific knowledge into fish preservation practices.

Colonial Modernisation and Engagement of Fishing communities in Malabar

The fishing communities in Malabar were not only limited to catching fish but also involved in various allied activities such as carrying fish from inland waters, making boats, creating boxes for fish, producing new nets, and curing fish either by themselves or their relatives. One crucial aspect of fishing was boat making, and it raised several important questions.

1. How they owned the boats/ whether through personal savings or individual way or depends on any capitalist investments
2. What were the conditions of paid laboures/ how did they manage to give a share to the boat owners? In what context do they need to depend on the capitalist entrepreneurs?

These questions led to understand the socio-economic conditions of *Mukkuvans* in Malabar during British time. Nicholson reported that two Mappila ticket holders were dominant in the yard, they owned 56 boats for fishing.²⁹⁸ The colonial attempts to modernise the fisheries industry were not as successful as anticipated. Despite the

²⁹⁷CRA, Madras fisheries Bearue, *Papers from 1899*, Vol 1, p, 34.

²⁹⁸CRA, Madras Fisheries Bearue, *Papers from 1899*, Vol 1, p, 42.

establishment of fishing yards in Malabar and South Canara, due to the high volume of fishing in the region, issues arose in their operation and transformation into a profitable business. The fishing trade was mainly dominated by Mappilas, rather than fishing communities. The *Mukkuvans* were limited to fishing activities and lacked the financial means to purchase large boats or manage fish curing works. The *Mukkuvans*, were unable to adapt to the new experiments due to irregularities in the fishing yards, and regulations which they were unable to follow. In 1906, Nicholson made some suggestions for the development of the fisheries department especially fish curing yards,

1. Duty-free salt should be given to sea fishing boats and curing purposes.
2. The working hours of curing yards should be extended.
3. Facilities should be given for the curers to clean the fish in the near to yard.
4. Price of salt in the yards of the Malabar district should be reduced to As. 10 a mound.²⁹⁹

The Board of Revenue did not accept all his suggestions and granted some permission to some boat owners, duty-free salt was given to certain individuals who own the boat. The capital and economic dominance of the individuals decided them certain privileges in the yard.³⁰⁰ One of the important rules was that the boat-owner should be directed to bring all fish cured at sea together with the balance of salt not used for curing, direct to the fish-curing yard for weighment, immediately on return of the boats to land.³⁰¹ The colonial strategy in Malabar was framed by four themes; experimental, observatory, compilatory, and clerical. The most important part was experimental; they introduced several new experimentations in the fisheries, Nicholson refers to the fisheries experimentation success in Japan, which should be the base for experimentation in

²⁹⁹CRA, Order of the Government of Madras, No. 1083, Revenue, dated 30th October 1906.

³⁰⁰CRA, Resolution of the Board of Revenue, No. 7/87-, Salt, 8th January 1907. Report from 1899, p, 52.

³⁰¹CRA, Resolution of the Board of Revenue, No. 7/87-, Salt, 8th January 1907, p, 53.

Malabar.³⁰² The British gave the operational charge on West Coast to the Indian Fisheries Company of London for the development of fisheries.³⁰³ Their operational area was more on fish oil and fish business. The British agencies tried to deal with the fish oil business due to high profits and economic benefits. The proposal of the Marine Fishery experimentation station in Madras presidency was an important regulation for proper methods of catching, collecting, and distributing at the wholesale marine market. This provided the marine items a business enterprise and the colonial state made the opportunity to make more profits.³⁰⁴ Nicholson pointed out that the marine fishery experimentation is to provide a large quantity of fresh fish at a cheap rate to the masses in the interiors of Malabar and Madras.³⁰⁵ The question was on the management of the fishery department on the West Coast. Nicholson's ideas were basically derived from the Japan fishery experimentation stations, which were practically difficult in the region mainly due to lack of knowledge and unscientific practices of fishing. The difficulty in the process of experimentation was also because fishermen could not afford the steamers or big sailers; they were mainly individual fishers who struggled for their livelihood. Nicholson pointed out that, experimentation stations would make the fishing communities more dependent on the big industrialist or capitalists, and they will lose their own individual freedom regarding fishing.³⁰⁶

³⁰²F. A. Nicholson, *Fisheries Investigation. Madras*, 28th February 1907, Report from 1899, pp, 61-65.

³⁰³ F. A. Nicholson, *Fisheries Investigation, Madras*, 31, December 1907, p, 80.

³⁰⁴F. A. Nicholson, *Fisheries Investigation*, 5th May 1908, p, 82.

³⁰⁵F. A. Nicholson, *Fisheries Investigation*, 5th May 1908, p, 83.

³⁰⁶CRA, Madras Fisheries Bearue, *Papers from 1899*, Vol 1, p, 88.

Figure 7: Fishermen from the Malabar region employing traditional native dhonies and nets for capturing fish.



Source: Edgar Thurston. *The Sea fisheries of Malabar and South Canara*, 1900, Plate No VII.

In 1897, the Indian Fisheries Act brought about significant changes in fishing activities in the region. The Act prohibited individuals from catching fish in certain rivers, especially private water bodies. The British authorities assumed control over public rivers and the sea in Malabar, and important rivers such as *Bhavani* (Ponnani), *Karimpuzha* (Beypore), *Valapattanam*, and *Thaliparamabu* (Cannanore) came under the purview of the British law. The rivers were classified into public and private water bodies, and fishing in public waters was only allowed with proper colonial authorisation.³⁰⁷ It states that

“Any person who erects or uses any fixed engine or constructs any weir for the purpose of catching fish in any of the said waters in contravention of these rules shall be guilty of an offence and shall be liable, on conviction to a fine which may extend to Rs. 100, and if after such conviction he repeats the offence he shall be liable to a further fine which may extend to Rs. 10 for every day in which the offence is committed after the date of the first conviction, A magistrate may, on

³⁰⁷CRA, Order No. 1157, Revenue, 15th May 1915. Report from 1899, p, 207.

conviction, order the seizure, forfeiture or removal of any fixed engines, erected or used in the commission of the offence and may also order the forfeiture of any fish taken by means of any such fixed engines or weirs”.³⁰⁸

The Indian Fisheries Act was introduced to regulate fishing activities in the rivers and seas, and to prevent fishing without proper authorisation. This led to a significant impact on the traditional fishing practices of the local communities. The presence of the British in the coastal areas resulted in the restructuring of the maritime spaces related to fishing. Sardine trade was a major business in Malabar fisheries. In 1907-08, the export of fish fertilizers from Malabar were high, the following table shows the numbers.

Table 15: Export value of fish fertilizer from Malabar to Japan and Ceylon from 1906-08.

Exports of fish fertilizer from Malabar	Japan	Ceylon	Total
1906-07	1142 tons	4580 tons	5722
1907-08	3302 tons	11,527 tons	14829

Source: CRA, F. A. Nicholson. Madras Fisheries, Madras, 13th July 1908.
Report from 1899, P 140.

Nicholson observed that although the sardine business was not a major part of the economy, there was a high export of fish fertilizer. The table shows that the export of fish fertilizer increased from 1906 to 1908, indicating the movements of sardine business in Malabar. The fish curers received more benefits than the catchers as the British agencies were interested in developing fishing yards in all coastal areas of Madras. Another colonial experimentation was establishing a fishing cannery in Tellicherry.³⁰⁹ The British authorities endeavored to enlist scientific officers to enhance the fisheries industry, but

³⁰⁸Fort St. George, Order—No. 1157, Revenue, 15th May 1915. P, 207.

³⁰⁹CRA, Madras fisheries Bearue, *Papers from 1899*, Vol 1, p, 148.

their attempts to establish a canning process in Tellicherry proved unsuccessful. Nevertheless, a temporary relocation of fishing cannery to Calicut took place in 1911. The establishment of an Experimental Station in Cannanore was expected to create new industrial opportunities for the fishing communities, but the officials faced difficulties in implementing it in the coastal areas where there was no proper system. The British conducted experiments in Cochin, which served as a model for other West Coast fishing areas. In Tellicherry, their efforts to introduce fisheries experimentation failed due to technical issues.

Fishing crafts and Experimentation in Malabar

James Hornell has identified four fishing crafts in four distinct coastal areas of Madras. He pointed out that each coast had different varieties of fishing crafts that existed. He classified four coasts, which are as follows,

- (a) The Catamaran Coast
- (b) The Dhoney Coast
- (c) The Boat-Catamaran Coast
- (d) The Canoe Coast.³¹⁰

This classification was mainly on the basis of the availability of boats for fish catching. The Catamaran Coast comprises various rivers in the presidency such as Kandaleru and Penneru rivers, Tirumalavasal port, Karaikal port, Nagore and Negapatam, and Point Calimere.³¹¹ The Dhony Coast comprises the areas from Muttipect to Tuticorin coastal areas.³¹² The Boat Catamaran Coast covers from Punnaikayal to Cape Camorin regions. They had separate net for catching fish known as Maddai Valai³¹³, the

³¹⁰CRA, James Hornell *Madras Fishery Investigation Report*, Madras Fisheries Bureau, Superintendent Government Press, 1910, p, 34.

³¹¹CRA, James Hornell, *Madras Fishery Investigation Report*, Madras Fisheries Bureau, 1910, pp, 35-44

³¹²CRA, James Hornell, *Madras Fishery Investigation Report*, Madras Fisheries Bureau, 1910, p, 44.

³¹³This net was used for mainly the capture of shoaling fish, particularly sardine and mackerel. See, James Hornell. *Madras Fishery Investigation Report (1908)*, Madras Fisheries Bureau, 1910, p, 52.

last one Canoe Coast defined as Malabar Coast, and there was uniformity in the fishing boats in Malabar.³¹⁴ There were two kinds of boats for catching the fish: flat bottomed, and the rounded below boats. The important rivers and ports on Malabar coasts are Ponnani³¹⁵, Beypore, Calicut,³¹⁶ Tanur, Tellicherry, Cannanore, Valapattanam and some parts of South Canara as well.

Table 16. Classification of Malabar drift nets (*Ohzuku Vala*)

No	Name of the drift nets	Fishes chiefly caught
1	Tirandi Vala	Large rays
2	Valia sravu vala	Large sharks and sawfishes
3	Elam sravu vala	Medium-sized sharks
4	Nariyam vala	Large-sized Ayakora, sharks, palamin, Kora
5	Oclu vala	Medium-sized seer
6	Kandadi vala	Small seer (varimin)

Source: CRA, James Hornell, Madras Fishery Investigation Report (1908), p. 81.

In Malabar, a drift net known as Ozhuku vala was popularly used for catching fish. There were six varieties in *the Ozhuku Vala*, namely, *Tirandi Vala*, *Valia Sravu Vala*, *Elam Sravu Vala*, *Nariyam Vala*, *Oclu Vala*, *Kandadi Vala*.³¹⁷ The various classifications in the drift net shows that the Fishermen were able to manage their livelihood with

³¹⁴CRA, James Hornell.1910. *Madras Fishery Investigation(1908)*, Madras Fisheries Bureau, p, 56

³¹⁵Ponnani, 18 miles north of Chaughat, which is situated at the mouth of the Ponnani River. Usually, boats drawing 5 feet are able to enter even at low water, there being in normal seasons 6 feet water at low tide of ordinary springs, with 1 feet rise to high water. It was an important port with a large trade in timber, tiles and cured fish. A number of large cargo lighters belong to the port; several boats from 20 to 40 tons were under construction when Hornell visited the Malabar, See, James Hornell, *Madras Fishery Investigation Report (1908)*, Madras Fisheries Bureau, 1910, p, 59.

³¹⁶Calicut and Beypore can be considered as important ports in Malabar. Both of the ports played important role in the export and import of various products. Beypore was considered the hub of Uru making (Boat making) for the sailing. It was the centre of selling local fish and a place for an inland local trade network. See, James Hornell, *Madras Fishery Investigation Report (1908)*, Madras Fisheries Bureau, 1910, p, 60.

³¹⁷James Hornell, *Madras Fishery Investigation Report (1908)*, Madras Fisheries Bureau, 1910, p, 80.

fishing. The British sources say that the fishermen lacked longboats for catching fishing and lost a lot of profits due to this. Most of the reforms in the region were to introduce new boats and methods for catching fish. The report of 1881, shows that maintaining fishing curing yards were not that successful due to failure in the operations. There were irregularities in collecting and selling fish in the yard. According to Edger Thurston, obtaining fresh fish from fishermen in Malabar posed challenges in many locations. It was reported that curers had developed their own methods for curing and selling fish in accordance with market demands, indicating reluctance to adapt to the new experiments introduced by colonial officials.³¹⁸ The British authorities acknowledged the possibility of enhanced profits and significant changes in the fisheries sector, leading to the creation of a specialised fisheries department. Earlier, fisheries were under the purview of the salt department, which primarily concentrated on providing salt for the curing process in Malabar. The lack of specific policies in Malabar meant that salt officials were not actively seeking profitability in fisheries. The oversight of fish curing yards was managed by the Assistant Commissioner, responsible for regulating yard timings, functions, details of ticket holders, and other related matters. There were grievances from the fishing community in Tanur suggesting that the new experimental policies faced challenges and issues on the Malabar Coast. The major grievances were,

1. The fishermen-curers were taxed Rs. 18 as a fisherman, and their wives Rs. 10 as curers
2. Each curer had to pay Rs 2 rent for each shed to the landowner. And they wanted the government to acquire the yard and become proprietors of the yard. The yards in Calicut were situated either on government land, acquired land, or private land.
3. The price of salt which was 12 annas per mound since 1892, now to Rs 1, making it less profitable.

³¹⁸Edgar Thurston, *The Sea fisheries of Malabar and South Canara*, p, 100.

4. The drying ground was not large enough; if it was to be enlarged, it would be necessary to buy up houses on one side and on the other side were the Moplah burial ground.

5. That they were not allowed to use old brine for curing small fish after it has been needed for big fish.³¹⁹

The majority of complaints were associated with fishing yards, as they impacted the daily routines and business of the fishermen. The British implemented various disciplinary measures in the yards and imposed severe penalties on ticket holders who caused disruptions. The principal punishments included,

1. The suspension for one year for the removal of cured sharks from the yard without the knowledge of the yard officer
2. Suspension for one month for removing dry fish without it being entered in the account
3. Suspension for one month for insolent behavior to the yard officer
4. Suspension for fifteen days for keeping old brine in the shed and keeping the shed in a dirty condition
5. Suspension until further orders for not resorting to the yard

Fish curing yards were under the strict control of colonial agencies, there were strict punishment if ticket holders caused irregularities, and misconduct in the fishing yard. R M Brookes, Inspector of the salt department describes the situation of fishing people in Ponnani,

“The weak was rather unfavorable for fishing, owing to the easterly winds along the Palaghat gap, which prevented the fishing classes from going out to sea for catching the larger fish. Sardines, which are the fish most appropriated by the fish-eating classes in these parts, and which had altogether disappeared from the

³¹⁹Edgar Thurston, *The Sea fisheries of Malabar and South Canara*, p, 118.

coast for the last few years, were caught here and there, and at some stations, in pretty large quantities. In former years, this time was the season of sardines as well as mackerel: and judging from the fact that they were not caught in any two adjacent stations alike on the same day. I am in a position to say that migration has not been complete.”³²⁰

The fishermen in Badagara, Cannanore were all *mukkuvans*, and the ticket holders in the yards were all Mappilas (20 ticket holders). The Mappilas were traders on the Malabar Coast and cultivators in the interior of Malabar.³²¹Thurston's visit to Malabar expressed certain grievances of fishermen in the region. He pointed out that *Mukkuvans* expressed their grievances to him, when he went on a visit to the region. One of the grievances was regarding the catching of fish in Malabar. Mappilas tried to start fishing with their own large nets. It created some issues in the region, the report says that,

“There is a net called *Chala Vala* or *Thattu Vala*, which is commonly used in catching fish *Ila* (*mackerel*).³²²The special feature of this net is that the meshes are somewhat larger than odam vala, it allows the first portion of the *Ila* to pass through but not the whole organ. When they find shoals of *Ila*, the Mappila fisherman surrounded the shoals with nets and make great noise by beating the boats. And the fishes are frightened and try to rush through the meshes of the nets and then are caught and incapable of retracing the steps. The noise made extends to a great distance and consequently, the other shoals go to the interior of the sea and do not resort to the shore or near it. The use of this net not only prevents shoals of smaller fish from resorting to the shore but also is a cause of the disappearance of the bigger and more valuable varieties of fish that chase and live upon the smaller ones. This net has been in use for the last five or six years and

³²⁰Edgar Thurston, *The Sea fisheries of Malabar and South Canara*, p, 123.

³²¹Edgar Thurston, *The Sea fisheries of Malabar and South Canara*. P, 133.

³²²*Ila* is fish type, commonly available in the Malabar Coast.

there has been decreasing in the catch each year. The fisherman requested the government should interfere in the use of these nets as a method of catching³²³

The experiments conducted in Salt land in Malabar raised certain concerns among the *Mukkuvans*. They held the belief that the implementation of curing yards would result in increased taxation and dependence on the British agencies. Conversely, the establishment of fishing yards presented greater opportunities for the Mappilas in comparison to the *Mukkuvans*. This was primarily due to the fact that a significant number of Mappila merchants possessed the necessary capital to invest in these yards, thereby enabling them to reap economic benefits. It is evident that the British occupied the salt dry land for the purpose of curing. *Mukkuvans* continued to rely on merchant classes for the sale of their fish, and it is occasionally observed that they did not derive any advantages from the new experimental endeavors initiated by the colonial state. The use of salt earth was largely used on the Malabar Coast for curing purposes. Once the fish curing yards were introduced, nobody allowed them to practice curing in their own way. It was legally punishable and the salt land was restricted for curing purposes. These regulations made difficulties among the *Mukkuvans* because they used the salt land for curing fish. Women were also involved in the fishing industry in Malabar, employed in activities such as fish preservation and collecting fish from fishermen.³²⁴ Women were involved in fish preservation activities in Calicut.³²⁵ Thurston pointed that Mappila merchant class took advantage of new experimentations in the Malabar Coast especially in the yard operations. Indeed, fishing and its business was not prosperous even after the experimentations. One of the grievances of the fishermen at Badagara and Cannanore

³²³Edgar Thurston, *The Sea fisheries of Malabar and South Canara*. Pp, 133-134.

³²⁴Madras Fisheries Bearue, *Papers from 1899*, Vol 1, p, 96.

³²⁵Edgar Thurston, *The Sea fisheries of Malabar and South Canara*, p, 134.

were regarding the Thattuvala (Fishing net), they submitted their problems to the Magistrate of Malabar district, it follows,

‘From time immemorial our means of livelihood has been fishing. We follow the old and established method of fishing prescribed by our ancestors. In the good old days, we were having a pretty good draught of the several kinds of fishes such as *Kora*, *Etta* (Catfish), *Azakoora* (Seir), *Avoli* (Pomfret) *Chiravu* (Shark), especially mackerel and sardine known as *Kudumbam pularthi* or which gives plenty and prosperity among the families. At the time of scarcity it is not always possible for the extremely poor people to buy and eat them. but, whenever there is a considerable quantity of fish, rich men among the fish curers who can afford to buy them, and it is distributed among the poor classes for getting it cured and for this they are enumerated either in kind or cash. The dry fish is afterwards sent to different places such as Ceylon, Mysore, Coorg, Coimbatore, and Madras. In other words, besides the several advantages of a good business for the fishing classes and the merchant dealing in fish, it does immense good to poor people at the large. A regular and heavy haul of sardine and mackerel during the proper season is a source of pleasure and prosperity not only to the public but for us too³²⁶

We can see that, in times of high fish prices, obtaining just two or three sardines cost one pie, while a single mackerel required two pies. During scarcity, when these fish were taken to the market, they were quickly sold. Unfortunately, the economically disadvantaged, both those living far from the market and even those nearby, found it difficult to afford. However, when there's an ample supply of these fish, their prices plummet in the market. For instance, a basket filled with around 200 sardines can be acquired for a single pie, sometimes even for no cost, and 25 mackerel can be purchased for two pies. Consequently, when fish prices are low, a family needing one rupee for daily expenses can comfortably manage with a maximum of 10 annas. Recognising the

326 Edgar Thurston, *The Sea fisheries of Malabar and South Canara*, p, 139.

valuable fertilizing properties of sardines for coffee plantations, the European merchants in the region took on the responsibility of producing a substantial quantity of this fertilizer, investing thousands of rupees each year. This effort significantly benefited the country; particularly the less privileged individuals who worked under these merchants, as well as the fishermen who also experienced substantial economic gain. The contractors involved in this profitable trade also reaped considerable advantages. They were facing some practical issues regarding the fish industries, especially due to the method of curing, restrictions on the public salt lands, taxes on salt etc. One of the fishermen reported to the magistrate regarding their issues. It indicates that, they were having problems with fish too, less availability of fish took their life into poverty and starvation. They pointed out that

“Now that there is scarcity of fish, especially of sardine and mackerel, the public who consume fish are put to great hardship and the poor fisherman, who were solely depending upon the seafaring life for their maintenance are day by day pushed to the dire of poverty, ever since the introduction of fish curing yards, the quantity of salted fish has fallen considerably low from diverse causes”.³²⁷

The two important reasons for the fall of quantity of dry fish in the Malabar, were

1. The very high price of salt issued from the yard, compared to the extensive sea beach, where the salt fishes were dried formerly.
2. The stringent rule prohibiting the removal of salted fish beyond the precincts of the yard for getting it dried.³²⁸

Introduction of *thattuvala* for catching fish also created issues in the fishing communities. It was introduced by some fishermen on the Malabar Coast for making fishing better and profitable. However, the result was not favourable to them; they could

³²⁷Edgar Thurston, *The Sea fisheries of Malabar and South Canara*. p, 140.

³²⁸Edgar Thurston, *The Sea fisheries of Malabar and South Canara*. p, 140.

not catch as many fish as old nets. The primary outcomes of *thattuvala* were: a decrease in fish supply, an increase in fish prices; the inability of the poor to buy and eat them, no fish manure preparation for two or three years, a decline in the fish curing industry, severe losses to contractors and European agents, and poverty among boat owners and fish curers.³²⁹ Colonial experimentations were not able to deal with the basic amenities of fishing communities such as modern boats, modern nets for catching etc.; colonial agents were interested to study fishing and fish as resources for making profits in the region. Fisherman reports that,

“In these circumstances, we most humbly beg your Honour will be graciously pleased to order the discontinuance of the thattu vala, which will be source of an everlasting welfare among the fishing classes”.³³⁰

One of the major difficulty among the fishing communities were the introduction of *thattuvala* in the sea. The amount of sardines decreased considerably after the use of this net. So, fishermen requested the government to withdraw thattu vala for fish catching. In 1896, the amount of sardines in Cannanore yard was 11,763, but in 1897, it reduced to 1158, which meant 90% lesser than the previous year.³³¹ It indicates that the introduction of *Thattuvala* created economic hardships for the fishing communities.

Socio- Economic conditions of fishing communities in Malabar

This section discuss the economic circumstances of the fishing communities in Malabar, encompassing the manner in which diverse coastal regions reacted to and acclimated themselves to novel modifications and endeavors. Furthermore, it scrutinises the economic plight of individuals engaged in fish preservation within the vicinity. In the era of colonisation, the British government instituted various regulations pertaining to

³²⁹Edgar Thurston, *The Sea fisheries of Malabar and South Canara*, p, 141.

³³⁰Edgar Thurston, *The Sea fisheries of Malabar and South Canara*, p, 142.

³³¹Edgar Thurston, *The Sea fisheries of Malabar and South Canara*, p, 145.

fishing, fishing communities, and the industry in Malabar, with the intention of augmenting profits for the colonial administration.

Tellicherry and Badagara

In Tellicherry, most of the curers were poor and depended on the Mappila merchants who gave credit money to them in return for fish from the sea at a lesser price. Labourers and fishermen borrowed Rs 50 to 100 as an advance from boat owners and net owners for catching fish. It indicates that most of the fisherman and fishing labourers were poor and depended on the capitalist or industrialist class in Tellicherry. In Tellicherry, it was observed that the task of curing was carried out by the women of the *Mukkuvans* community.³³² In such cases, the fisherman in Tellicherry struggled to support themselves financially solely through fishing. As a result, they had to rely on merchants or capitalists, and sometimes had to give up all the fish they caught in order to pay back debts. According to Govindan, the Assistant Fisheries Director, all the fishing boats in Tellicherry were owned by a few capitalists, not the fishermen themselves. This suggested that before fishing yards were established in Tellicherry, the fishermen were under the control of the wealthy capitalist class. Once the British introduced experimentation station at Tellicherry, most of the traditional practices of fishing communities were replaced. However, that capitalist class received benefits even after the experimentations. The *Mukkuvans* in Tellicherry, historically the fishing community in the Malabar Coast, faced lot of economic hardships during that time and it still continues. Govindan refers that,

“The *Mukkuvans* of Tellicherry were at one time—some forty years ago—the richest and most advanced among the fisher community on the Malabar Coast.

³³²V Govindan, *Fishery Statistics and Information: West and East Coasts, Madras Presidency*, Madras: Superintendent Government of Madras, 1916, p, 54.

They lived in well-built tiled houses, several of them being double-storied, owned landed and other immovable property worth many thousands of rupees, and also carried on trade in dry fish with Colombo and other places on the East Coast. Most of the males were literates and could read and write their vernacular, and a fair number of their young men also attended the English schools. At that time not only the fishing and curing industry but also the landing and shipping business of the port was in their hands, for conducting which they had large cargo boats of their own each costing a couple of thousand rupees. But for several years past the shipping and landing," the business has gone out of their hands, and with the exception of two or three individuals, none of this community is at present engaged in it except as lascars and coolies working in the cargo boats owned by Mappila merchants. As for fishing and curing these were allied industries; the men caught the fish and their women either sold them as fresh or cured or kept them till they had a good demand".³³³

In Tellicherry, there was no proper space near the beach to make fishing yards, therefore, curers were unable to manage the curing process properly. At that time, some Mappila merchants took advantage of situation and started to invest money on fishing yard industry. They used to take cured fish from the fisherman or their women, and sold it in the interior parts of Malabar for business. Later, they become the main ticket holders in the fishing yard.³³⁴ It indicates that the Mappilas had the advantage in the larger colonial experimentation policy, Govindan pointed out that,

“After some years the fisherwoman also became ticket-holders but it was too late as the Mappilas had by that time practically monopolised the curing industry, these women were therefore obliged to serve as labourers under Mappila curers and merchants. Many fishermen are not ticket-holders and being without the means of curing their catches with the labour of their women-folk as was done in

³³³V Govindan, *Fishery Statistics and Information: West and East Coasts, Madras Presidency*, Madras: Superintendent Government of Madras, 1916, p, 54.

³³⁴V Govindan, *Fishery Statistics and Information: West and East Coasts*, 1916, p, 55.

the days of their grandmothers, they are obliged to sell their fish to the Mappila and other ticket-holders at a very cheap rate”.³³⁵

Badagara is an important coastal region in Malabar, in which the fishing industry was an important economic resource. Govindan pointed out that only two Mappila curers are wealthy and few fisherman also did the curing business.³³⁶ He refers that,

“*Mukkuvans* curers are deeply indebted to one or other Mappila curers and have mortgaged their boats and nets; no interest is charged but lenders have a prior claim over mortgaged boats and their catches. Only Mappila curers engage hired labour at 5 to 10 annas a man and 2 to 4 annas a boy; no job rate is fixed; no men on permanent monthly wages are engaged”.³³⁷

Mukkuvans in Badagara, Cannanore mostly depended on the Mappila merchants for economic resources. They were not able to manage the fishing industry due to the unavailability of fishing yards in their area. They needed to depend on Mappila ticket holders for selling the fish, which shows that, fishermen are unable to earn enough profit from this.

2. Beypore and Calicut

Like other areas, here too, most of the fishermen were poor. The major difference in Beypore was that, fish was transported to the interior parts of Malabar from here. Govindan says that, Moreover there are no big boats and nets here and the fishermen use mostly the casting nets. No hired labour is employed.³³⁸ Calicut was another important fisherman settlement in Malabar, and various experimentations on fisheries had taken place in the region. The fishing community mostly consisted of the *Mukkuvans*, the Pudu Islams and a few Kollakars.³³⁹ But, fishing activities in the region was completely

³³⁵V Govindan, *Fishery Statistics and Information: West and East Coasts*, 1916, p, 55.

³³⁶V Govindan, *Fishery Statistics and Information: West and East Coasts*, 1916, p, 56.

³³⁷ V Govindan, *Fishery Statistics and Information: West and East Coasts*, 1916, p, 56.

³³⁸ V Govindan, *Fishery Statistics and Information: West and East Coasts*, 1916, p, 56.

³³⁹ V Govindan, *Fishery Statistics and Information: West and East Coasts*, 1916, p, 57.

depended on the debt, fishermen used to borrow Rs 200- 500 as advance loans from Mappila curers and merchants and sell their fish at 20% lesser than the market price. The financial independence of fishermen was constrained by factors such as seasonal fluctuations and insufficient fish availability. Affording curing tickets also presented a challenge. Traditionally, fishermen utilised the seashore for drying and curing fish. The introduction of fishing yards altered this practice, with a mandatory requirement for everyone to report to the designated areas. This shift reflects changes in the historical fishing landscape.

3. Tanur and Ponnani

Tanur was one of the important coastal areas and the *Mukkuvans* were settling there. It was a place of colonial fisheries experimentation. Govindan pointed out,

“Fishermen, who are mostly Pudu Islams (newly converted to Islam) and *Mukkuvans*, are generally poor and some are peculiarly helped by Mappila curers. There are no middlemen but curers deal direct with fishermen and buy fish at the market rate of the day. Curers purchase fish mostly for cash, and the account is settled once a week or rarely on credit with repayment after sale of the cured fish. Some curers lend boats owned by them to fishermen and share the catches. The fishermen are not bound and can sell their catches to anybody they like. Curers are mostly Mappilas and there are only a few *Mukkuvan* and Pudu Islam curers who are poor”.³⁴⁰

Ponnani, situated on the Malabar Coast, held significance as a vital fisher settlement. Functioning as a port, it served as a hub for both exports and imports. During colonial times, Ponnani emerged as a major port, playing a crucial role in trade activities. It was prominently utilized for exporting timber, fish, and various resources from the

³⁴⁰V Govindan, *Fishery Statistics and Information: West and East Coasts*, 1916, p, 58.

region. Despite the economic importance of the port, the fishermen in Ponnani were generally of modest means, primarily engaging in long line fishing.

“Fishermen are Pudu Islams and their economic condition is very poor with no capitalists among them. All are indebted to Mappila fish traders. The chief occupation is fishing but few own coconut topes. Most of the curers own boats and nets but the few without boats or nets work conjointly with those who possess boats and they get a share in the catches. For boats the owners are paid either Rs. 2 to Rs. 4 per mensem or a share in the catches”.³⁴¹

Colonial administration recognised the economic value of the fishing sector and sought to capitalise on it by building factories in strategic locations. These factories would have enabled the colonial authorities to extract fish oil and other products for export and to generate revenue for the government. Some fishing groups showed a willingness to form cooperatives as a means of organising and improving their economic pursuits. Fish oil was the major export item from various ports in Malabar, such as Ponnani, Calicut, and Cannanore etc. During 1911- 12, the British opened 42 factories in Malabar and South Canara.³⁴² V Govindan states that,

“After four years of constant talk and persuasion I have succeeded in starting a co-operative society among the fishermen of Tanur. The society was registered about the end of March and arrangements are being made to commence business. Fifty of the leading fishermen who own boats and nets have already joined the society and paid the first call on their shares. This is a co-operative nidhi and each shareholder has to pay a sum of Rs. 50 within 25 months by installments of Rs. 2 per month, and thus the members have to create capital by their own contributions. As the maximum number of shares is 200, this society will have a capital of 115 Rs. 10,000 in two years time provided the fishing season is good, and with this large amount it will be easy enough to put a stop to the sowcar's

³⁴¹V Govindan, *Fishery Statistics and Information: West and East Coasts, 1916*, p, 60.

³⁴²CRA, Annual Reports of Madras Fisheries Bureau 1908-1917, Bulletin Number 10, Supredendent, Government Press Madras, p, 58.

greedy transactions in the place. Most of these people will require only short term loans, and it is not unlikely that they will have money on hand to lend to other societies or banks”.³⁴³

There was formation of cooperative societies among fishermen in Quilandi, Tellicherry, and other locations. It is plausible to expect that, upon observing the successful operation of the Tanur society, fishermen in these areas expressed readiness to establish similar cooperative entities in their villages. Furthermore, there was a proposal to create a society specifically dedicated to advancing the interests of proprietors of fish-oil and guano factories. This suggestion garnered attention, prompting nearly a dozen factory owners from South Canara to engage in deliberations regarding its implementation. However, due to unfavorable fishing conditions experienced over the past two seasons, practical outcomes were yet to materialise from these discussions. Govindan explains about the comparative society in the coastal villages as an opportunity that existed for the establishment of a cooperative fisheries society. Local fishing rights were typically acquired through government auctions, often by individuals not belonging to the fishing community. In the previous year, these rights were acquired by an individual who also held a license for selling alcoholic beverages. This person not only imposed fees on each fisherman using the waters but also mandated that they exclusively support his liquor shop. To solidify his control, he demanded a deposit of Rs. 5 from each fisherman, which collectively exceeded his liquor license costs. Additionally, those who acquire these fishing rights create numerous problems for the fishermen, leading to legal disputes. For the fishermen, a transformative solution would involve granting those direct fishing rights under the condition that they establish a cooperative society. By working

³⁴³ CRA, Annual Reports of Madras Fisheries Bureau 1908-1917, Bulletin Number 10, Supredendent, Government Press Madras pp, 114-115

together in a cooperative manner and collectively covering the government dues, they could significantly benefit. This arrangement would alleviate their individual concerns and legal conflicts. Govindan emphasised that during a visit to the village, he conversed with some fishermen about this idea. However, they struggled to grasp the concept of cooperation. Interestingly, a few outsiders who overheard the discussion immediately understood the concept and expressed their agreement. Further interactions and discussions with the villagers were likely to enhance their understanding of the potential benefits of cooperation. It is worth noting that similar conditions existed in other villages in the southern region, suggesting a broader opportunity for cooperative efforts. It indicates that fishermen were interested in the small saving scheme; due to their financial hardships, they were unable to buy boats and nets with their daily wages, perhaps, and they thought that saving some money will help them to manage the necessity in fisherman life. In the twentieth century, the British endeavored to establish several educational institutions in the fishing community areas with the aim of improving their social circumstances. Nicholson advocated for the implementation of fishing schools in the presidency, drawing inspiration from the Japanese fisheries models. Regrettably, due to internal complications, this proposal was not put into action.³⁴⁴

The British introduced primary educational institutions in the coastal areas of Malabar where most of the people were *mukkuvans*. Govindan reported that,

“There were 23 pupils in the rolls; in addition to elementary education they are being taught technical subjects such as carpentry, preparation of twine and cotton for making nets, net mending. Application has been made to the Educational department to have this school recognised as a grant-in-aid institution. Some of the pupils have been engaged occasionally in the curing shed to assist in curing operations, and also sent out in the can carrier to buy fish in the sea for our yard. In order to teach them thrift—the want of which is the cause of everlasting

³⁴⁴Madras Fisheries Bearue, *Papers from 1899*, Vol 1, pp, 70-96.

indebtedness of the fishing community all along the coast, pupils of this school are being persuaded to make savings bank deposits in the local post office, and several boys above sixteen years of age have already opened such accounts”.³⁴⁵

The colonial government established schools near the fishing yards; sometimes schools and yards were constructed together. The idea was to create awareness and to teach the fishing practices among the boys. Half of the time students engaged in the school and later they would work in the fishing yard.³⁴⁶Tanur evening school operated for primary education among the fishing communities.³⁴⁷The Government fisheries training institute was opened on 14th July 1919 at Calicut. The object of the institute is to train teachers for elementary schools for fisherfolk. In addition to the training in pedagogy, arrangements were made to familiarize the pupil teachers with technical work carried on in the fisheries stations at Tanur and Chaliyam. A boat has been purchased and a fishery instructor has been appointed to instruct the pupils in fishing.³⁴⁸At the beginning of the year the Government sanctioned the opening of eight elementary schools for fisherfolk on the west coast. At the end of the year ten day and ten night schools were maintained on the west coast by the department. There were 565 pupils in the day schools and 364 in the night schools making a total of 929. Seventeen of the schools were newly started during the year under review. In some cases the schools were started by the villagers themselves and handed over to the department after they had worked them two or three months and proved the need for such schools in their villages ; in other places schools were opened by the department on the receipt of applications from the fisherfolk.

³⁴⁵Madras Fisheries Bulletin, Annual Reports from, 1908- 1917, p 117

³⁴⁶CRA, *Annual Reports of Madras Fisheries Bureau 1908-1917*, Bulletin Number 10, Supredendent, Government Press Madras, p, 119.

³⁴⁷CRA, *Annual Reports of Madras Fisheries Bureau 1908-1917*, Bulletin Number 10, Supredendent, Government Press Madras 134.

³⁴⁸ CRA, Administration Report, 1919-20, p 5.

As far as possible local men are appointed as honorary managers of these elementary schools and some of the local managers have rendered valuable service. Most of the schools are accommodated in temporary sheds in Malabar.³⁴⁹ The introduction of modern education among the fishing communities was considered as the poverty alleviation programme, but the lack of awareness and financial hardships could not make them to achieve as much expected.

This chapter concludes that the colonial administration in Malabar sought to incorporate scientific approaches into the fisheries by establishing experimentation stations. However, the impact of this scientific experimentation did not necessarily favor the traditional fishing communities, given that the control over the fisheries trade rested with Mappila merchants. The introduction of novel technologies and methods, such as longboats and deep-sea fishing, primarily served the British interests in maximising profits rather than contributing to the betterment of the fishing communities. Despite these changes, the fishing communities continued to encounter a range of challenges, including seasonal variations, diminished fish availability, damage to fish-catching nets, and problems with boats, difficulties in accessing fish curing yards, financial issues. The economic opportunities of certain sections of the fishing communities were also constrained by colonial policies, particularly those individuals who lacked access to capital and resources. The colonial powers innovative approaches created new markets for fish trade, opening up business opportunities such as Fish Curing Yards and the global exportation of fish oil. However, these endeavors mainly favored intermediaries or members of the capitalist class, with limited effects on the *Mukkuvan* community. Rather than directly participating in these experiments, fishing communities found themselves subjected to the regulations imposed by various fisheries acts enacted by the British.

³⁴⁹ CRA, Administration Report, 1919-20, p 5.

Conclusion

This study concludes that the British successfully regulated the port spaces in Malabar by controlling the port activities and their economic dimensions. The process of governmentalisation regulated not only the ports but also the communities engaged in port activities. Therefore, this study argues that the British strategically chose ports as regulated spaces to control regional resources and dominate Malabar's political economy. This thesis attempts to decipher various elements within and outside port spaces, including salt, timber, pilgrimage policies, and fisheries. It investigates the consequences of colonial maritime policies on various aspects, including ports, native merchants, shipping, the salt and timber trade, and pilgrimage activities. It also examines the British interventions within Malabar's fishing communities and elucidates the responses and grievances expressed by these communities in response to such interventions.

Existing research on maritime Malabar predominantly focuses on the economic and cultural aspects, often overlooking the significant dimension of British aspirations to establish imperial authority in the peripheries of Malabar through control over port spaces. This study highlighted that, in contrast to viewing ports as ordinary locations, the British attributed to them a unique administrative space within the region to regulate maritime activities. They intentionally established ports as crucial and essential domains of authority by managing and overseeing numerous elements within them. In Malabar, ports were strategically selected as pivotal centres to assert dominance over Indigenous populations and diverse trading communities.

This study commence with early colonial interventions in Malabar, such as Portuguese, Dutch, and early administrative interventions of British, and how they reshaped the socio-economic apparatus of the region. The arrival of the Portuguese in

Malabar led to a transformative political era marked by rivalry between them and local leaders for dominance on the coast. The Portuguese approach to managing the coastline underscored their emphasis on political and economic interests, often at the expense of administrative development. Although attempts were made to modernise ports by introducing better governance and regulations, these efforts excluded specific groups from participating in port-related endeavours. The fractured leadership among the Portuguese and their primary focus on the spice trade, particularly pepper, resulted in their dependence on regional rulers. Consequently, their influence over port activities remained limited, hindered by a lack of cohesion and strategic direction. This chapter explored the challenges encountered by merchants in Malabar due to Portuguese intervention. One notable consequence was the displacement of Mappila merchants, who experienced significant disruptions to their trading activities. Arab traders also found themselves displaced as a result of the Portuguese presence in the region. The intrusion of the Portuguese brought about a notable shift in trade dynamics, leading to substantial upheaval and displacement among these merchant communities. The arrival of the Portuguese led to a naval conflict in Malabar, with Zamorin admirals known as *Kunjali Marakkars* taking part in maritime warfare. Concurrently, the Mappila merchants of Calicut were engaged in a rivalry with Vasco da Gama when he began seeking a monopoly over the pepper trade within the Zamorin's court. Recognising Gama as a competitor, these Mappila merchants actively advised the Zamorin against granting any exclusive privileges to Gama. This was driven by their concern that such privileges could disrupt the economic stability within the merchant community in Calicut.

The Portuguese implemented the *Cartaz* system, a permit-based arrangement to regulate trade in their colonies and exert authority over the Indian Ocean commerce. Under this system, traders were required to obtain a *Cartaz* permit and adhere to specified

rules, often involving payments of taxes and duties. Despite being criticised for its restrictive nature and adverse impact on local economies, the *Cartaz* system persisted for centuries until its abolition in the late 18th century. Trade operations at the ports were managed by diverse merchant groups, among which the Mappila merchants held a significant role in trade and agricultural activities. These Mappila merchants were prominent players in the Malabar trade landscape. Their engagements with colonial powers can be interpreted as both commercial pursuits and as resistance against colonialism. They perceived the Portuguese territorial expansion as a threat to their religious beliefs, given the Portuguese agenda of promoting Christianity through their trade endeavours.

The Dutch interventions in Malabar begins with Herman Van Speult. In 1625, HV Speult, an Indian Councilor, directed his attention to the Malabar Coast. Upon arriving in Calicut, he was approached by the Zamorin, who invited him to join forces in a campaign against the ruler of Cochin. Subsequently, permission was granted to them to establish a settlement in Malabar. A significant condition of this arrangement was that the Zamorin intended to restrict the trade of pepper and ginger solely to the Dutch, prohibiting sales to other nations or even his own subjects. Under these terms, it was mandated that no Dutch citizen possess mature pepper for personal use. Vigilant oversight was to be maintained to prevent any unauthorised export of pepper from the land. At Ponnani, the Zamorin extended an offer to the Dutch East India Company to rent a spacious, fire-resistant stone dwelling located near the river. This facility would serve as a storage site for pepper, ginger, and other commodities. The Zamorin's subjects were to transport these goods to the settlement and bear the expenses of weighing them. The Dutch Company's representatives within this establishment enjoyed the protection of the Zamorian's authority. The treaty concluded with a clear provision specifying that any

deserters or wrongdoers should be handed over by the Zamorin to the Dutch Chief. In 1634, Dr. Pieter Vlack, a Dutch commander, journeyed to Malabar with the aim of securing the pepper trade. During this period, Indian merchants who transported pepper onto the ships enjoyed the privilege of having the initial choice from the merchandise on offer. This practice fostered an ongoing and favorable business relationship between these merchants and the Dutch. Later, in 1665, Zamorians agreed with the Dutch regarding the pepper trade in Malabar. However, the Portuguese and Dutch could not control the maritime spaces of Malabar, instead, their concerns were extracting pepper.

As discussed in the introduction chapter, colonial powers reshaped the socio-economic apparatus of the Malabar Coast. In 1715, a significant moment occurred when the Zamorin allowed Mr. Adams to build a warehouse in Chetava. This also meant that a British representative would be stationed there to manage pepper procurement and trade activities. This marked persistent efforts by the British to establish a strong economic and strategic foothold in the area through strategic partnerships and trade initiatives. Robert Taylor, the in charge of the company's operations in Tellicherry, granted authority to prominent figures such as Earl Cornwallis and Robert Abercomby. Their mission was to strengthen the company's presence in the region. This joint effort reached its climax on August 8, 1790, when the Bebee formalised the agreement by signing important documents with company representatives stationed in Tellicherry. A crucial turning point came when Mr. Rickard proposed a new approach to govern Malabar. He believed that the existing administrative framework in Malabar did not align with the goal of establishing a long-lasting influence. In response to the situation, Lord Cornwallis and Abercromby jointly established a Commission known as the Malabar Commission, comprising four members. The primary objective of this Commission was to thoroughly investigate the matters pertaining to the district and afterwards construct an appropriate

administrative framework. Robert Abercomby formulated a strategic proposal aimed at establishing a framework for the future governance of coastal regions in Malabar. He diligently devised a comprehensive plan, which he presented with careful deliberation, with the objective of establishing a foundation for coastal administration.

The second chapter argued that the British used ports as strategic spaces to regulate and control the maritime spaces through various maritime regulations in the ports of Malabar as part of their governmentalisation process. This chapter discussed the petitions and responses of various native merchants and coasting vessels regarding the introduction of merchant shipping acts and various other maritime regulations in the ports. This chapter elucidated the significance of three main ports in Malabar during the colonial era, namely Calicut, Cannanore, and Tellicherry. It explored how these ports served as crucial maritime hubs during this period.

The subsequent increase in the pilotage fees created financial burdens to the merchant class. The Merchant Shipping Act created merchant ship registration, safety, and pollution prevention requirements. The Act also detailed crew rights and obligations, passenger and cargo transit rules, and dispute resolution. The native merchants from Malabar submitted a petition to the governor-general regarding the new coasting fee for the vessels. The British government has filed a fine for the native coasting crafts in Malabar as per the Act of XXII of 1855. The 1855 Act XXII, which mandates pilot fees for vessels over 200 tons in certain ports, effectively prevented native coastal vessels from accessing harbours, causing significant disruptions to commerce between Malabar and Bombay. Merchants from Malabar argued that the Madras government's imposition of these restrictions on coastal crafts, like Pattimars, Kotcahs, and Battelabs under Tindal's supervision, serves to deter local coastal trade, resulting in the unemployment and impoverishment of many industrious individuals and their families. They criticised

the Madras authorities for their seemingly misguided approach to political economy, emphasising that a thriving economic system relies on well-directed industry and unrestricted commercial enterprise as the primary sources of wealth, and any deviation from this principle could lead to decay and ruin. In 1877, Messers Andrew and the corporation requested special concessions for Calicut port, particularly to avoid port dues. The Government of Madras granted these concessions, specifically for cargoes arriving at Calicut port from Calcutta, which included rice and grain. William Logan expressed concerns that exempting certain vessels from port dues would place a financial burden on the port administration, suggesting that such concessions should be avoided.

In 1883, J.H. Taylor, the Master Attendant of Madras, established a policy that only steamers would be permitted to follow the standard entry and clearance procedures for vessels. William Logan was granted an exception for Dhoney, which were small vessels typically used in the rivers of Malabar. In the same year, Richardson, the Port Officer at Calicut port, reported an incident involving the native vessel Sultanalee, which arrived at Calicut port at 4 pm and began unloading its cargo before the master attendant's office hours, prompting an order to prohibit further cargo discharge. In 1880, Watters, the acting Collector of Malabar, reported that the new regulations, particularly those concerning the installation of new lights on vessels as per the Merchant Shipping Act, were causing problems for native vessels. He noted that an Arab seaman encountered difficulties at the Calicut customs house because they were unable to obtain port clearance unless they complied with the new regulations regarding lights. However, obtaining the required lighting equipment was not feasible at that time in Calicut port.

This chapter offered a perspective on Malabar's maritime spaces, with an emphasis on timber and salt production. In Malabar, British regulations established the salt monopoly in 1807. The main law required proprietors to sell manufactured salt at a

mutually agreed-upon price. According to British sources, all salt sold to non-government officers by proprietors, landholders, residents, and manufacturers shall be confiscated and punished. The House of Lords received a report from Malabar collector Thomas Harvey Baber on April 2, 1830, outlining the socio-political and economic conditions in the colonies, particularly in Malabar and Canara. Indigenous people worked used salt as needed, before the colonial monopoly over Malabar salt. These activities were executed with '*Ooppadana*' or '*Salt Pans*' in English that paralleled the Coast. The monopoly caused price spikes of 300–400% across the country. Consumers might have paid 600–700% more. This monopoly caused native unrest. Baber noted the many complaints about this monopoly's expensive salt prices. HW Bliss, commissioner of salt ordered the government to establish a salt preventative force in Malabar to monitor salt production. According to him, allowing untaxed salt to enter west Coast ports on duty-free payment undermines the protection of salt income interests. They realised that Malabar salt management dispensaries prevented them from getting revenue. According to HW Bliss, the majority of revenue was lost due to salt storage failures. He suggested that the West Coast custom house be supervised by a new organisation of the salt department without increasing costs or that custom establishments be paid more, which would be costly.

The British administration also recognised the value of Malabar timber for shipbuilding in India, especially at Bombay dockyards. Mr. Mackonochie, a government surgeon in Bombay, aimed to promote national interests by collecting timber from Malabar for shipbuilding. Malabar timber was renowned for its quality, and the first ship built on the Malabar entirely used Teak from the Company's territories. This timber was not only used for construction but also provided iron, pitch, and tar, with teak tar being considered superior to European imports. The British classified Teak based on durability,

with Northern Teak being more durable than Southern Teak. The Bombay government instructed Meckonochie not to involve himself in mediating arrangements among local merchants regarding timber farms in Malabar, fearing it could provoke anti-colonial sentiments. Meckonochie believed in the conservation of valuable forests and noted their poor state. An engineer's report indicated severe forest depletion due to unauthorised timber cutting. The commercial resident in Malabar reported that the company's vessels were insufficient to carry all the timber from the coast. The British aimed to export Malabar timber to Bombay dockyards for ship construction, leading to government intervention in forest management and attempts to plant more Teak trees. Timber was exported through major ports like Calicut, Beypore, Cannanore, and Tellicherry, with British residents overseeing timber trade, inspecting quality, and managing shipments. The agreement granted Thomas Wilkinson, Colonel Alexander Dow, and Robert Rickards the exclusive privilege to cut timber and capture elephants in designated forests or jungles. They could transport timber freely by river or land, exempted from company tolls and duties. The tax on river-borne timber to Calicut was abolished, with no other customs fees imposed by the company. Those already in possession of timber must dispose of it at their own cost. Further timber cutting is strictly prohibited and is reserved exclusively for these farmers. This chapter looked into the net trade volume at the three significant ports in Malabar, namely Calicut, Tellicherry, and Cannanore. It explored how the trade activities played a pivotal role in shaping the political economy of these colonial-era ports. The trade volume in three major ports shows that the British used these ports as their core strategic and regulated space in Malabar.

The third chapter conducted an in-depth examination of the policies instituted by the British authorities regarding pilgrimage, focusing on their impact on the movement of pilgrims across the Malabar region. This analysis investigated in more detail the

health-related measures implemented by the British authorities over Hajj pilgrims. British Empire intervened in the Hajj pilgrimage due to internal pressure regarding infectious diseases in their territories. Starting from 1850, quarantine laws were rigorously enforced, with port officials led by the Master Attendant responsible for scrutinising passengers and ships. The British took a clear and institutionalised approach to managing quarantine regulations and pilgrimage rules. Before colonial times, there was no proper management for Indian pilgrims travelling to Mecca for Hajj. The British implemented suitable arrangements. Pilgrims found to have smallpox were detained at quarantine stations until they recovered, and their clothes were disinfected. From 1860 onward, the British introduced quarantine measures in ports and ships to prevent the spread of diseases among pilgrims in the Malabar. The instructions emphasised stringent quarantine rules for both port officials and passengers, including pilgrims travelling to Mecca from India. These regulations were reinforced by the Native Passengers Act of 1876, requiring ships carrying over 100 pilgrims to have a qualified medical officer on board. An Indian vice-consul was appointed in Jeddah to oversee the well-being of the pilgrims. In 1887, a resolution mandated that all steamers carrying pilgrims must have a Muslim doctor on board. Dr. Stiepowich, the sanitary inspector at Jeddah, reported frequent smallpox outbreaks on pilgrim ships arriving at the Red Sea. He noted that after quarantine in Camaran, infected individuals were reshipped to Jedda, spreading the infection to various parts of Hedjaz. In response, the Board of Health resolved to isolate and treat pilgrims with smallpox, preventing them from continuing their voyage until they were cured and their belongings disinfected. This detention might require pilgrims to forfeit their passage fees. The question of bearing this loss was raised, either by the pilgrim or the Ottoman Health Department. In 1871, the Turkish government issued a circular stating that ships arriving in Ottoman ports with smallpox on board should

disembark and isolate the sick in designated areas, cared for by sanitary doctors. If suitable locations were unavailable, the sick could be left on board as long as they were kept isolated from healthy individuals. Ships were typically subjected to sanitation and disinfection measures. In 1888, a new regulation came into effect, no longer considering smallpox as one of the diseases strictly requiring quarantine. Quarantine rules were established in ports including Calicut, Cannanore, Tellicherry, Beypore, and Cochin, following a government of India notification on September 9, 1872. Later, additional minor ports such as Ponnani, Badagara, and Quilandi were also included in these regulations. Following the introduction of quarantine rules nationwide, there were changes in arrival and departure procedures at various ports. For example, at Calicut, a ship arrived in November 1873 with a case of smallpox on board, leading to a ten-day quarantine period for observation. Similarly, another native vessel arrived in Cochin under similar circumstances on January 28th and was placed under quarantine as advised by the port surgeon. The pattimar Bhowany en route from Cochin to Bombay, stopped at Tellicherry on February 18th with six cases of cholera, resulting in quarantine at the nearby quarantine station.

In the late 1850s, the British government shifted its policy on the movement of pilgrims to Hedjaz, influenced by a Turkish requirement for passports upon arrival in Jeddah. To avoid Indian pilgrims being denied entry at Turkish ports, the British began issuing passports to their subjects, although this posed economic challenges. This policy change was prompted by political pressure from various quarters, leading to a departure from their previous non-intervention stance on religious matters. In 1885, there were very few applications for Hajj from marginalised areas in Malabar, with only one application recorded during that time. This was primarily attributed to two reasons: the poor economic conditions of the Mappilas and their reluctance to appear in public and apply

for passports. However, the situation changed later in Malabar, with a growing number of people expressing a desire to go on the Hajj pilgrimage. Data indicates that after 1885, there was a noticeable increase in passport applications. This increase in applications coincided with the implementation of vernacular notifications across Malabar. The modernisation of pilgrim traffic transformed these communities into a significant aspect of state affairs, leading to their inclusion in colonial documentation policies. Initially, Mappilas faced challenges in adapting to this new system, but pressure from local magistrates and collectors compelled them to become part of it. A crucial factor in their acceptance of this administrative change was the political alliance between the British and Turkish governments, which ensured that passports were required for individuals to disembark from the ships.

The collector of Malabar reported that most of the pilgrimage issues from the Eranad Taluk, which they called as the center of Mappila fanaticism, indicated that objections to the new passport system among some Mappilas were diminishing. This observation was based on a report showing the number of passports granted to pilgrims proceeding to Arabia in 1887. Interestingly, despite this change, there was an increase in pilgrim traffic from Malabar in 1886, which led to a decrease in Hajj pilgrim movements from the region. The Collector of Malabar reported concerns about pilgrims leaving due to the cholera outbreak, noting that the trajectory of pilgrimage had changed after pandemics, resulting in maritime regulations in the littoral regions. In 1890, the British made efforts to prevent the spread of plague in Malabar, with particular attention to the ships touching its ports. In 1887, the Deputy Collector of Malabar issued 63 passports to pilgrims, and passport applications were directly submitted to the Tahasildars. By the 1880s, the Muslim community in Malabar was content with the existing passport arrangement. However, in 1888, there was a decrease of 26 passports compared to the

previous year due to the prevalence of cholera, which made pilgrim traffic more challenging. The Collector reported that many interior regions in Malabar struggled to comprehend the new passport regulations, emphasising the need to publicise these rules in Malabar's vernacular languages. Additionally, there was a concern about who would be responsible for supervising the travel of Indian pilgrims following the introduction of passports. Later, the Government of India appointed Thomas Cook as the agent of pilgrims in India, and now they are in charge of pilgrim traffic. In 1883, Henry Drummond Wolff drafted regulations to protect Muhammadan pilgrims from India to Mecca, but these ideas received limited attention within the British government. Later, Lord Dufferin entrusted Thomas Cook and Company with overseeing the pilgrim business and introduced maritime regulations for pilgrims. The British government passed a resolution outlining the conditions under which Thomas Cook and Company would manage the movement of pilgrims from India to Jeddah and back. An important regulation concerned ticket issuance, where the government granted Thomas Cook and Company complete freedom.

The fourth chapter posited that the policies of colonial experimentation had a profound impact on the livelihoods of fishing communities and the traditional methods of fishery. This ultimately led to a re-evaluation of their ability to thrive along the Coast. This chapter tried to answer few questions on colonial fisheries policies in Malabar, such as how the colonial maritime policies impacted the *Mukkuvan* community and their responses to the colonial modernisation process in Malabar. Mr. H. S. Thomas initiated the first policies on Indian fisheries but could not complete his ideas for the development of Indian fisheries. He noted that fishing activities at the time typically involved boats going out in the morning and returning in the evening without extended fishing periods. Reports recommended a comprehensive study on fishing methods, conservation, and

revenue generation potential from fishing. Nicholson mentioned the introduction of the Irish method in the fisheries department to learn about techniques and methods of catching fish, boating, and fish preservation. Nicholson conducted visits to various places in Malabar, including Calicut, Badagara, Tellicherry, Cannanore, Kasargod, Cochin, and Tanur, to investigate fishing and curing methods, harbour characteristics, and the economic aspects of fishing. The fishing communities were not accustomed to modern fishing technologies, and British officials aimed to introduce new methods. There was a debate over the need for large boats for sea fishing, considering the affordability of these communities. Their traditional fishing trips were short-term, mainly due to the unavailability of larger boats to transport fish. The fisherman community's focus was on survival rather than profit, following the principle of '*Kudumbam Pularthi*' or taking care of one's family. Colonial fisheries policies failed to understand their way of life and attempted to impose modern ideas on their coastal lifestyle.

The British pursued modernisation with a focus on scientific knowledge and capital investment, considering the catching process primitive. The creation of fish curing yards led to the emergence of new capitalist ventures that sought to exert authority over the fishing communities. In Tellicherry, numerous fishermen came under the influence of boat-owning curers. The colonial approach was structured around four key aspects: experimental, observational, compilation, and clerical. Of these, the experimental aspect was particularly significant, involving the introduction of various new experiments in the fisheries. Nicholson highlighted that the establishment of experimentation stations could lead to fishing communities becoming more reliant on large industrialists or capitalists, resulting in a loss of their individual freedom when it came to deep-sea fishing. In 1897, the Indian Fisheries Act introduced significant alterations to fishing practices in the region. This legislation prohibited individuals from fishing in certain rivers, particularly

private water bodies. British authorities assumed control over public rivers and the sea in Malabar. Important rivers like *Bhavani* (Ponnani), *Karimpuzha* (Beypore), *Valapattanam*, and *Thaliparamabu* (Cannanore) fell under British jurisdiction. These rivers were categorised as either public or private, and fishing in public waters required proper colonial authorisation. Most of the grievances were related to the fishing yards because it was affecting the daily activities of fishermen and their businesses. British introduced several disciplinary actions in the yards and implemented strict punishment for ticket holders who create problems in the yards. R M. Brookes, the Inspector of the salt department, noted that fishing conditions in Ponnani were unfavorable due to easterly winds along the Palaghat gap, preventing fishing communities from venturing out to the sea for larger fish. Sardines, a staple for fish-eating communities in the area, had been scarce in recent years but were now being caught in varying quantities at different locations. This suggested that the sardine migration had not been uniform. During Thurston's visit to Malabar, he became acquainted with the grievances voiced by the *Mukkuvans*, the hereditary fishermen in the region. These grievances were rooted in conflicts with the Mappilas. Traditionally, the Mappilas had purchased fish from the *Mukkuvans*, but tensions arose when they attempted to engage in fishing themselves, using large nets. This shift in dynamics led to concerns among the *Mukkuvans* in Malabar. They feared that the introduction of curing yards and fishing operations would not only increase their tax burden but also heighten their dependence on British agencies.

The *Mukkuvans* believed that these changes would disproportionately benefit the Mappilas rather than themselves. In Badagara and Cannanore, fishermen expressed a significant grievance related to their fishing nets, which they brought to the attention of the Malabar district magistrate. The introduction of '*thattuvala*' fishing nets in the sea resulted in a substantial reduction in the sardine population, posing significant challenges

for fishing communities. This chapter discussed the socio-economic conditions of the *Mukkuvans* during colonial times and examined their responses to the interventions in the fisheries sector by the colonial authorities. The involvement of the British administration became evident through the implementation of several fisheries programmes and methods designed to optimise fish production for the purpose of profit.

There was the formation of cooperative societies among fishermen in Quilandi, Tellicherry, and other locations in Malabar. Upon observing the successful operation of the Tanur society, fishermen in these areas expressed readiness to establish similar cooperative entities in their villages. Furthermore, there was a proposal to create a society specifically dedicated to advancing the interests of proprietors of fish oil and guano factories in Malabar. The British were also interested in the introduction of schools in *Mukkuvan* settlements in Malabar. The Government Fisheries Training Institute was opened on 14th July 1919 at Calicut. The object of the institute is to train teachers for elementary schools for fisherfolk. In addition to the training in pedagogy, arrangements were made to familiarise the pupil teachers with technical work carried out in the fisheries stations at Tanur and Chaliyam. A boat has been purchased, and a fishery instructor has been appointed to instruct the pupils on how to fish. In some cases, the schools were started by the villagers themselves and handed over to the department after they had worked them for two or three months and proved the need for such schools in their villages; in other places, schools were opened by the department on receiving applications from the fisherfolk.

This study concludes that the introduction of governmentalisation in maritime Malabar sparked resistance and complexities among the diverse communities engaged in port activities. It finds that the British effectively regulated the port spaces of Malabar, particularly Calicut, Tellicherry, Cannanore, through a range of maritime interventions

from 1800 onward. By enforcing these regulations, they exerted control over the indigenous merchants, local trade, and other resources in the region. The implementation of these regulations not only impacted the operations within the ports of Malabar but also had ramifications for other related activities such as salt production, timber economy, institutionalisation of pilgrims, and introduced various fisheries policies on Mukkuvan community in Malabar. On the one side, the local merchants were pulled out from the port spaces, there were some intrusion of vernacular capitalist into the port economy. The example of Choukara Moosa as the agent of colonial state on the one side and intermediary of native merchants on the other side explained how some of the native merchants used the opportunity of colonial governmentalisation in the port and maritime spaces in Malabar. It was more when the British tried to introduce various fisheries policies in Malabar, especially when they introduced fish curing yards in the coastal areas, whoever having the capital could invest in the yards, this led to form a different native capitalistic interventions in the lifestyle of *mukkuvans*. The fishing community did not get enough capital to invest in the yard, or making new large boats, which made them to depend on the new capitalistic class in the fishing industry. Therefore, they were struggling with two ways in their daily fishing life, one is with new interventions by the colonial state in the fisheries and financial crisis generated by the new capitalistic merchants, who were giving moneylending to the fishing community to buy new boats, nets, other fishing equipment's etc. The colonial administration successfully regulated the port space, thereby enabling them to exert authority over the indigenous resources and other factors associated with the ports.

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APPENDIX III.

FORM D.

Application for a Passport.

- (1) Applicant's full name and age.
- (2) Father's name.
- (3) Profession or calling.
- (4) Permanent place of residence.
- (5) Place to which proceeding.
- (6) Purpose for which proceeding thither.
- (7) Whether to be accompanied by any members of his family. If so, the full name and age of each.
- (8) Whether the applicant is a British subject or a subject of a Native State in India and, if a British subject, whether he is so by birth or by naturalization in the United Kingdom or whether he is a statutory alien readmitted to British nationality under Statute 33 Vic., cap. 14, section 8.

Signature of applicant.

N.B. —All applications should be accompanied by a fee of one Rupee.

- (2) Only the names of wife, children and servants of the applicant should be entered in his passport. Separate passports should be applied for on behalf of adult relatives.
- (3) The applicant should invariably furnish two small unmounted photographs of himself and of any other person or persons proposed to be included in the same passport.
- (4) Such documents as are necessary to prove the applicant's nationality should accompany the application.
- (5) The application should be written clearly and legibly, preferably type written.

Passport from Malabar, 1881, Issued at Calicut
Ref: CRA, Pilgrimage File, F/No 840

2.1



PASSPORT.
FORT ST. GEORGE,
Political Department.

NAME.	Subject of what State.	Resident of what Place.	Nationality or race.	Profession.	Age.	Where proceeding to.	For what purpose.	Distinctive Marks.
Puthukudi parambil Ahmed.	British Subject.	Kazhanchi Calicut Saluk	Malabar (Mussulman)	Merchant (Sundry)	31	Mecca. Arabia	Pilgrimage	Feet, inches. Height, 5-6 1/2 Complexion. Light Eyes. Dark a mark on the right temple

This is to certify that the party above named is entitled to British Consular protection.

By order of the Honorable the Governor in Council.

Date of Pass port 16 September 1881.
Where granted Calicut

Collector and District Magistrate of Malabar.



PASSPORT.

FORT ST. GEORGE,
Political Department.

NAME.	Subject of what State.	Resident of what Place.	Nationality or race.	Profession.	Age.	Where proceeding to.	For what purpose.	Distinctive Marks.
Muzim Kudis Steak he chommed Porkham.	British subject.	Puthadi Aurham, Puthadi, Berham, Agnad Jaluk	Rowham (Mussalman)	Coffee-planter	55	Mecca in Arabia	Pilgrimage	Height, 5-8 Feet, Inches. Complexion, Dark Eyes, Dark Long nose.

This is to certify that the party above named is entitled to British Consular protection.

By order of the Honorable the Governor in Council.

Date of Pass port

Where granted

10 September 1881.

Calcutta.

82

Comptroller

Collector and District Magistrate of Malabar.



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Front Matter

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Modernity and Reformist Rhetoric among the Muslims of
Malabar

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Modernity and Reformist Rhetoric among the Muslims of Malabar

Shameer Ta

Abstract: This article focuses on the role of the Muslim reform movement and how it affected and introduced new ideas into the Malabar region of South India that altered existing Islamic religious traditions, and asks whether this reform movement was revivalist in form. To help answer this question, the article explores historical narratives surrounding the figure of Chalilakath Kunahmad Hajji (d. 1919), who is considered the founder of modern madrasa education in Kerala, and how these narratives underwrite theological differences. The article seeks to explore the role of Islam in Kerala and its social and cultural impact on Muslims of Kerala society. It also discusses the role of reformers in modernizing the Muslim community of Malabar.

Key words: modernity, reform, madrasas, Mappilas, Muslims

Introduction

Since the medieval period, traditional Islamic religious schools (*madrasas*) have played a significant role in shaping Islamic religious ideas in Muslim communities. The concept of madrasa education has also been a prominent discourse in postcolonial studies, in which the madrasa has often been characterized as a site for the promotion of religious fanaticism. However, madrasas have played a major role in the development of Muslim

Shameer Ta is a doctoral candidate in the Department of History, School of Social Science, University of Hyderabad, Telengana state, India. His areas of interest include maritime history, Indian Ocean studies, socio-cultural history of Muslims of Malabar, religious education among Muslims, colonialism and modernity and their impact on Muslim societies in South Asia. His doctoral research project focuses broadly on the port of the Maritime world and the essential characteristics of ports in the Malabar region during the British period in order to draw a brief history of colonialism and examine how the other colonial states reshaped maritime activities in the Malabar Coast. Ta completed his M.Phil in history from the Department of History, University of Hyderabad. His dissertation was on "Contested Reform and Modernity: A Transition of Madrasa Education in 20th century Malabar."

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Editor

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CHANGING PATTERNS OF MARITIME MALABAR: QUARANTINE REGULATIONS IN THE PORTS, SHIPS, PILGRIMS IN BRITISH MALABAR (1800-1900)

TA. Shameer

Port is primarily an economic concept and place of contact where people and goods, as well as cultures, are transmitted and interacted between land and maritime spaces. It is a knot point where ocean and inland transport lines meet and intervene. Port is a small part in the concept of littoral society, and it functioned as a connecting point between different cultures and people as Guido G. Weigend pointed.¹ Port and Coast were not an isolated concept in which extraneous activities were carried and connected which each other in some ways. There are studies which talk about the changes in the littoral world and political developments in the ports.² It is essential to define the port because the port is an instrumental part of the littoral space. According to Peter Reeves, the port should be seen as very particular social as well as economic and engineering structure and one that cannot operate without complex interaction both within the port and city.³ Bayly stressed that we ought to look at not just the participation of Europeans but the dominance of Europeans in the specific



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Certificate of Attendance

This is to certify that Shameer T. A. presented a paper titled ‘Fishing Communities and Colonial Modernity: Maritime Transformation of Subaltern Subjects in the South Asia’ at the Society for Global Nineteenth-Century Studies World Congress on ‘Comparative Empire’, which took place from 19 to 22 June 2023 at the Singapore Management University, Singapore. The presentation date was 22 June 2023.

Kevin A. Morrison

Professor Kevin A. Morrison, SFHEA, FRHistS, FRSA, FRAS
Distinguished Professor, Henan University School of Foreign Languages
Program Chair, International Society for Cultural History 2023 annual conference

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This is to certify that Shameer T.A. presented a paper titled
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PhD Scholar, Department of History, University of Hyderabad

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He / She presented a paper titled Bombay Raj and Hajj: Quarantine Regulations

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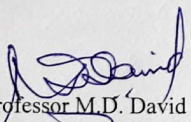
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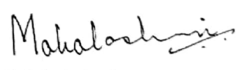
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This is to certify that **Shameer T. A. AM-30709**, attended the Eightieth Session of the Indian History Congress at Kannur University, Kerala, 28th-30th December 2019, and presented a paper entitled '**Changing patterns of Maritime Malabar: Quarantine Regulations in the Ports, Ships, Pilgrims in British Malabar (1800-1900)**' in Section III: Modern India.



Professor M.D. David
Sectional President
Indian History Congress

28th December 2019



Professor Mahalakshmi Ramakrishnan
Secretary
Indian History Congress



SL.NO: 083187

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SEMESTER GRADE TRANSCRIPT

REG.NO : 16SHHL05

SEMESTER : 1

EXAMINATION : M.Phil. History

MONTH AND YEAR : Nov 2016

NAME OF THE STUDENT : SHAMEER T A

FATHER'S NAME : ALAVIKUTTY/SOUJATH

COURSE NO.	TITLE OF THE COURSE	LETTER GRADE AWARDED	CREDITS	RESULTS
HS701	Historical Methods	A+	4.00	PASS
HS702	Historiography	A	4.00	PASS
HS703	Seminar Course	B+	4.00	PASS
** END OF STATEMENT **				

SEMESTER GRADE POINT AVERAGE (SGPA) : 9.00

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SEMESTER GRADE TRANSCRIPT

REG.NO	16SHHL05	SEMESTER	2
EXAMINATION	M.Phil. History		
MONTH AND YEAR	Feb 2019		
NAME OF THE STUDENT	SHAMEER T A		
FATHER'S NAME	ALAVIKUTTY/SOUJATH		

COURSE NO.	TITLE OF THE COURSE	LETTER GRADE AWARDED	CREDITS	RESULTS
HS750	Dissertation Submitted on 29 JUN 2019 ** END OF STATEMENT **	A	12.00	PASS

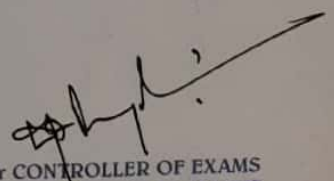
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O/o the Controller of Examinations
Examinations Section
Date: 09.11.2022

Ref.No.UH/Exam/CW/Ph.D/2022 726

OFFICE ORDER

Sub: Request for exemption of Ph.D. coursework.

Ref: 1. Request received from the Schools-Reg.

2. UH/Exams/PHD/2022, dt. 13.10.2022

3. PVC approval dt. 09.11.2022

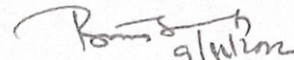
xxx

With reference to the requests received from the Schools as cited in the subject mentioned above, the following students are exempted from Ph.D. coursework with reference to (2) cited above and further recommendations of the DRC/RAC of the respective schools and approval of Competent Authority cited above. This is in view of the fact that they have already completed the required course work as per 2009/16 UGC Regulations during their M.Phil. course.

S.No	Enroll	Student	Subject	Name of the Institute (M.Phil awarded)
1.	18HUPH06	Khalid Memood	Urdu	UoH (Urdu)
2.	19HUPH12	Javaid Ahmed	Urdu	UoH (Urdu)
3.	14SEPH07	Aaula Dastageer	Economics	UoH (Economics)
4.	19SHPH02	Chitran D	History	UoH (History)
5.	19HUPH02	Riyaz Ahmad Najar	Urdu	UoH (Urdu)
6.	19HUPH01	Gulzar Ahmad Magray	Urdu	UoH (Urdu)
7.	19HUPH10	Gulnara Khatoon	Urdu	UoH (Urdu)
8.	16HEPH04	Asima Baral	English	UoH (English)
9.	17SAPH04	R Archana	Anthropology	UoH (Anthropology)
10.	15SIPH02	Ghadage Tushar Madhukar	Social Exclusion & Inclusive Policy	UoH (Anthropology)
11.	16HEPH03	Rameesa P M	English	Madurai Kamaraj University (English)
12.	21HEPH05	Medi Chaitanya	Philosophy	UoH (Philosophy)
13.	14SHPH06	Anand Damodaran	History	UoH (History)
14.	16SHPH05	Saptarshi Deb	History	UoH (History)
15.	16SHPH08	Ranjita Badaseth	History	UoH (History)
16.	18SHPH01	Shameer T A	History	UoH (History)
17.	18SHPH02	Neha Gautam	History	UoH (History)
18.	18SHPH05	Mir Kamruzzaman Chowdhary	History	UoH (History)
19.	19SHPH06	Kasala Jashwanth Prasad	History	UoH (History)
20.	16SIPD04	Shazia Khan	Indian Diaspora	UoH (Indian Diaspora)
21.	11SIPD02	Bidyalaxmi Devi Elangbam	Indian Diaspora	UoH (Indian Diaspora)

P.T.O

22.	12SIPD02	Neikesonuo Rame	Indian Diaspora	UoH (Indian Diaspora)
23.	10SIPD02	Subhadeep Kumar	Indian Diaspora	UoH (Indian Diaspora)
24.	10SRPR01	Joby Mathew	Regional Studies	Mahatma Gandhi University (General Social Sciences)
25.	14HEPH01	Krishanu Adhkari	English	EFLU (English)


Deputy Registrar
(Acad & Exams)

To
All Students Concerned

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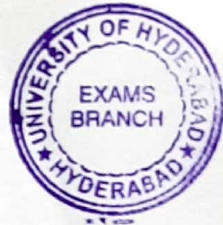
1. Dean, School of Economics
2. Dean, School of Social Sciences
3. Dean, School of Humanities
4. Head, Department of English
5. Head, Department of Philosophy
6. Head, Department of Anthropology
7. Head, Department of Urdu
8. Head, Centre for Indian Diaspora
9. Head, CSSEIP
10. Head, Department of History
11. Head, Centre for Regional Studies
12. Academic Section (SO)
13. E-Governance (Cell)



UNIVERSITY OF HYDERABAD

P.O. CENTRAL UNIVERSITY, HYDERABAD - 500 046 (INDIA)

SL. No.: 16330



PROVISIONAL CERTIFICATE CUM CONSOLIDATED GRADE TRANSCRIPT

Student Registration Number : 16SHHL05

This is to certify that **SHAMEER T A**
of **ALAVIKUTTY/SOUJATH**
award of the degree of **M.Phil. History**

son/daughter
has been declared qualified for the
after having passed the prescribed courses as follows:

Course No.	Title of the Course	Letter Grade Awarded	Credits	Month & Year of Passing
Semester : 1				
HS701	Historical Methods	A+	4.00	Nov 2016
HS702	Historiography	A	4.00	Nov 2016
HS703	Seminar Course	B+	4.00	Nov 2016
Semester : 2				
HS750	Dissertation Submitted on : 29 JUN 2018	A	12.00	Feb 2019

Cumulative Grade Point Average (CGPA) : **9.00 (NINE POINT ZERO ZERO)**
Division : **First Division with Distinction** Percentage : **87.50**
Final result declared on : **28-Feb-2019**

Date : **05-Mar-19**
Hyderabad

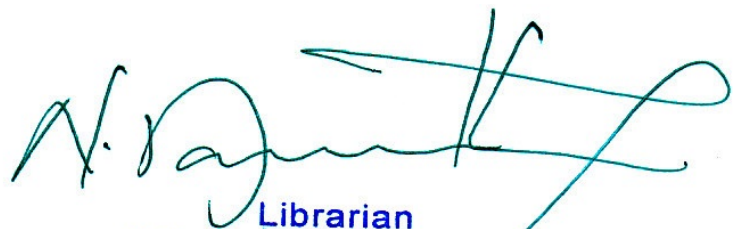
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Ports and British Raj: Governmentalisation of Maritime Malabar, 1800-1947

by SHAMEER T A



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