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Thalakkal Chandu: The Kurichiya Martyr of Freedom

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The original tribal inhabitants of our country are called Adivasis who are so various in their culture and tradition and widely dispersed across the subcontinent. They had enjoyed their life in the forest and practised shifting cultivation unfettered for centuries. But their peaceful life was disturbed by the new colonial administration under the British. Generally, tribal discontent was more frequent in British directly administrated provinces than princely states in India. The hilly terrains of the Western Ghats in South India are the prominent habitation zone of the indigenous tribal people since many centuries. They were engaged in shifting cultivation and collected products and spices from the jungles to be exchanged with local traders. Tribal people like Kurichiyas, Kurumars, Uralikurumas Paniyas, Adiyas and Kattunaikkans were the main tribal inhabitants in the Wayanad region of Malabar in the south western coast of Madras Presidency. Among them the Kuruchiyas and Kurumars were agriculturists engaged not only in *Punam* cultivation (shifting cultivation) but cultivated the land possessed by them. Their peaceful living was disturbed when British officers and revenue collectors started exploiting and oppressing them in Malabar after the introduction of the new revenue settlement by the Principal Collector William Macleod in 1802.

The early tribal resistance in Malabar was a part of the rebellion of Kerala Varma Pazhassiraja (1797-1805) in the jungles of Wayanad. The Pazhassi revolt had the characteristics of a peasant uprising and the same was fully supported by the tribal farmers in Malabar. In the words of Prof. K. Rajayyan, the common people especially peasants organised fight for a nationalist cause and patriots of the South organised an extensive and violent rebellion against British imperialism during 1800-1801.[1] This Pazhassi rebellion was also a part of this South Indian Revolt. In this study we examine the armed tribal revolt of Kurichiya tribal people under their guerrilla leader Thalakkal Chandu against the British colonialism in the jungles of Wayanad in British

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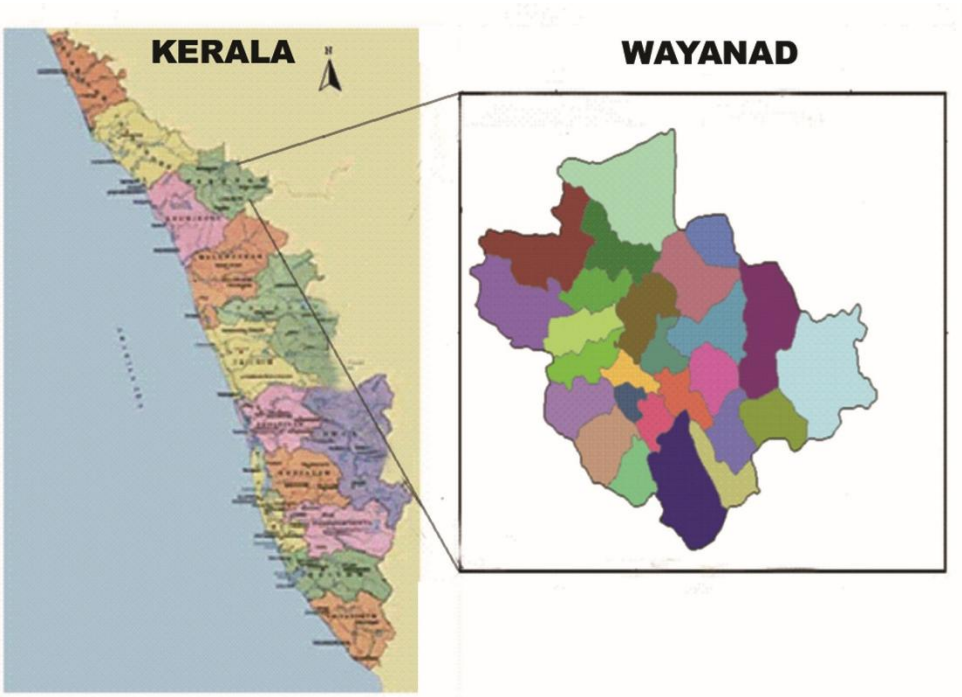
Malabar. Their resistance was a part of the anti-colonial struggle of the great nationalist hero Kerala Varma Pazhassiraja in Malabar. We have also paid attention to the military chief of Pazhassiraja, Edachana Kungan Nair, who received extensive support from Kurichiya guerrillas under Thalakkal Chandu in the anti-colonial agitation.



One of the significant facts of the resistance of these indigenous tribal people was that, this was the first tribal resistance against the British rule in the nineteenth century South India. Most of the other important tribal unrest and violence were occurred only in the second half of the nineteenth century. The Santhal rebellion of 1855, the Koli revolt of 1873, Birsa rebellion of 1895 and so on are the instances of major tribal uprisings in India. In the collection of tax, generally the tribal people did not get the relief and tax exemption from the colonial rulers as they had received relief from the early native rulers. British rule brought a high degree of disruption and suffering among the peasantry which was, it seems likely, more prolonged and widespread than had occurred in Mogul times.[2]

Malabar was administered the Mysorean rulers in the second half of the eighteenth century. In the third Anglo-Mysore war (1790-92) English East India Company defeated Tipu Sultan and Malabar was annexed to the British as per the Treaty of

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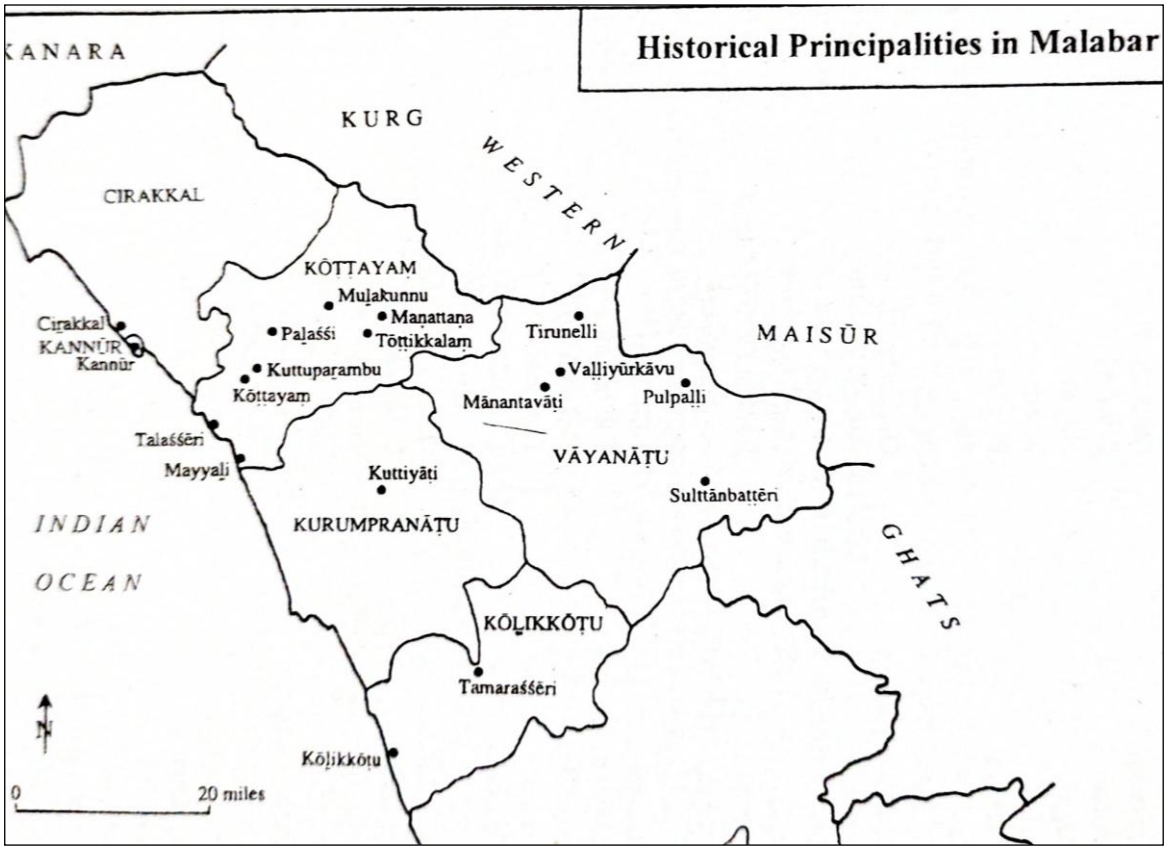
Srirangapattanam in 1792. But, on account of the strategic importance Tipu Sultan retained Wayanad taluk till his death in 1799.



Source: Margret Frenz, *From Contact to Conquest*, New Delhi, 2003, p. 180

Kurichiya and Kurumar Tribes in Wayanad

The Kurichiya and Kurumar tribal community have been inhabiting in the jungles of Wayanad plateau since time immemorial.[3] The Kurichiyas considered themselves as the high caste among the tribal sections and assumed the status of 'Malai Namboodiries' of Wayanad.[4] Unlike other forest dwelling tribal groups, the Kurichiyas and Kurumars were settled agriculturists, who cultivated both commercial and food crops in their land. They engaged in *Punam* Cultivation in the forests of Wayanad.[5] As excellent bowmen, in the forests they engaged themselves in extensive hunting using bows and arrows.[6] In the Madras Census Report of 1891, H. A. Stuart noted that the Kurichiyas as the hunting caste of Malabar.[7] The Kurumars were called 'Muppanmar' (superior) by other tribal groups, which show their eminent position among other tribal groups.

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The Kurichiyas collected toddy from toddy palm, which they used for drinking during religious ceremonies. The Kurichiyas practiced joint family system and a strong customary law controlled their social and religious life. Matrilineal descent is the key rule deciding the composition of the basic organization viz. *Mittom* (*Tharavad*). Every Kurichiyan by birth is a member of his mothers *Mittom*.[8] The head of the *Mittom* was the senior male member known as *Pooppan* or *Karnavan*.[9] They observed strict caste pollution and considered themselves polluted by the approach of even other hill tribes. British officer F. Fawcett testified that the Kurichiyas were remarkably innocent, truthful and trustworthy people.[10]

The Population of Kurichiyas in Wayanad 1881-1931

Year	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931
Number	7,887	9,876	9,642	9,722	7,465	7,112

Source: A.A.D. Luiz, *Tribes of Kerala*, New Delhi, 1962, p. 110

At least since 12th century CE, Nairs settled in Wayanad plateau from the plains of Kottayam and Kurumbranad states in North Malabar. The Kurichiyas were the tenants of these Nair chieftains in Wayanad and they had made periodical payments to the Nair landlords. These landlords also functioned as *Deshavazhis* (administrators of the villages) by receiving payment from the tenants under their jurisdiction including Kurichiya tenants. The Varayal Copper Plate had mentioned the services to be rendered by the Kurichiya tenants to the landlords. It is recorded that Kurichiya tenants had to make payment of *Kottupattom, Punavaram, Nilavarum* (feudal tributes) and share of forest products like cardamom, honey, wax, pepper and so on to the landlords.[11] The Kurichiyas had to perform some religious functions in the local shrine of Bhagavathi, the main shrine of the family of the landlord. A feudalistic agrarian system based on inferior right of tenancy and superior land lordship was prevalent in tribal economy of Wayanad.

Pazhassiraja and Wayanad

Kerala Varma Pazhassiraja was originally a prince in the *Padinjare kovilakam* (Western branch) of Kottayam dynasty at Pazhassi in North Malabar, so he is popularly known as 'Pazhassiraja'. During the Mysorean invasion of Muslim generals of Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan most of the Malabar rulers escaped to Travancore for

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safety, but Pazhassiraja was one of the very few princes stayed in Malabar by resisting Mysorean invaders. Wayanad plateau was under the defacto and dejure rule of Kottayam royal family since many centuries. Wayanad was divided into *Nadus* (smaller divisions) and placed them under Nair chieftains for purpose of administration.[12] Some of such families whose settlement was effected by Kottayam rulers in Wayanad were Kuppathode Nair, Kalpetta Nair, Thariode Nair, Edachana Nair, Varayal Nair and Vemoth Nambiar.

Pazhassiraja was at war with the British when he was expelled from his authority of Kottayam in North Malabar and deprived of his natural right of tax collection from Kottayam territory by the English East Company. Besides, when Company brought the lands of Nairs under revenue assessment in Malabar, many of them joined the revolt of Pazhassiraja.[13] Pazhassiraja had supported the farmers in Wayanad and Kottayam by giving them land, seed, cattle and money for the improvement of agriculture. When the British attacked the palace of Pazhassiraja in 1795 Pazhassiraja and his militiamen shifted their fight to the jungles of Wayanad plateau considering suitability of guerrilla warfare and support of the tribal people. The attention of the British turned to the jungles of Wayanad when Pazhassiraja shifted his scene of fight to Wayanad in 1796. The impenetrable forests of Wayanad gave him protection and he could easily get the assistance of tribal communities especially Kurichiyas and Kurumars in the jungle.[14]

Revenue Settlement of Major William Macleod in 1802

After the abolition of Second Malabar Commission on 30the September 1801, Major William Macleod was appointed as the new Principal Collector of Malabar. Extensive civil and military powers were conferred to Major Macleod and his assistants to bring the refractory elements under control in Malabar.[15] Macleod realised that, the revenue collection from Malabar was low compared to other districts of the presidency. So, Macleod introduced a new tax assessment in 1802 in Malabar, which was a great blow to the poor farmers. In his opinion the government could very well demand 35 to 40 per cent of the agricultural produce from the farmers.[16]

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In order to revise the revenue settlement, under his instruction the *Parbuttis* (Village Officers) had conducted a sudden survey, which was totally unscientific. It was not possible for the officers to assess the land correctly and average produce of trees was calculated arbitrarily.[17] The village officers were given only 40 days to complete the survey for the purpose of revenue assessment. This snap survey resulted over assessment of land and even owners of the land were wrongly fixed. The wrong assessment of revenue fixation was the result of false information provided by corrupt and incompetent *Prabutties*.[18] Actual produce was overestimated by the officers and the burden was borne by unfortunate cultivators.

The new rates introduced by Macleod was a heavy burden on the tenants of Malabar especially the the Kuichiya and Kuruma tribal farmers of Wayanad. In his assessment he increased the taxation for each individual by 20 per cent in gold *fanams* and by 10 per cent in silver *fanams.* [19] The government's share of rice production increased to 35 to 40 per cent.[20] He calculated the yield for one coconut palm at 48 nuts instead of a realistic estimate of 24 nuts. This increase was based on seriously incorrect assessment and it made the condition of the peasants including Kurichiyas and Kurumars more precarious. Besides, he wrongly calculated the produce per Arecanut 200 nuts, Jack-tree 12 jack fruits, Pepper vine 7.5 pounds of pepper.[21] The assessment of Macleod on land was so high that people were forced to sell their moveable property to pay the tax of the previous year. The calculation of Macleod was very high when compared to the assessment of average produce of various trees. His successor Robert Rickards observed that, "if the principle of collection of 40 per cent of the gross produce was indiscriminately applied agriculture would no longer be an object worth pursuing".[22]

Estimate of Average Produce of Trees in various Revenue Settlements 1802

	William Macleod (1802)	Robert Rickards (1803)	H.S. Graeme (1822)
Coconut	42	19	24
Arecanut	200	126	150
Jack Fruit	12	5	-
Pepper	7.5 lbs.	6 lbs	-

Source: Major Macleod, *The Jamabandy Report of the Province of Malabar in 1802*, Government Press, Calicut, 1811, p. 5. ; H.S. Graeme, *Report of the Revenue Administration of Malabar dated 14th January 1822*, Malabar District Press, Calicut, 1898, p. 70 and Thomas Warden, *Revenue System in Malabar dated 16th June 1813*, Collectorate Press, Calicut, 1916, p. 7.

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Macleod's Rate of Exchange

Macleod revised the rate of exchange of currency in Malabar arbitrarily and unrealistically. He revised rate of exchange in favour of government so, balance was always due for him even after the farmers paid their heavy assessment into the treasury. The peasants of Malabar had paid their tax in Fanams, but the government kept the account in Star Pagoda and Rupees on the basis prevailing rate of exchange.[23] He had fixed the rate of exchange without due regard to the quality of pure gold and silver in each coin. The introduction of the new rates of exchange by Macleod hit hard the farmers of Malabar. By the publication of the table, the value of gold Fanam fell from 3.5 to 4.5 per Rupee and Silver Fanam from 5 to 5.5 per Rupee; and 12.5 to 14.5 gold Fanam per Star Pagoda and from 17.5 to 19.5 Silver Fanam per Star Pagoda.[24] Due to this new rate of exchange the peasants had to pay 20 per cent more in gold Fanam or 10 per cent more in silver Fanams, for their produce they got the value at the old rates only.

This high increase in rates of exchange and unjust assessment forced the Kurichiya farmers to sell all their movable property just to pay the tax. The new tax assessment of Macleod shattered the economy of Malabar, which was already destroyed due to the invasion of Mysore rulers. This unjust revenue policy of Macleod created a ferment and the whole Malabar District was up in arms. The exorbitant demand of the government forced the famers and land owners to support the rebellion of Pazhassiraja. The new revenue policy of Macleod had seriously affected the Kurichiya and Kuruma farmers of Wayanad. So, they wholeheartedly supported the military operations of Pazhassiraja in the jungles of Wayanad.[25]

The Guerilla War Tactics of Kurichiyas

Pazhassiraja had close association with the Nair and Nambiar chiefs in Wayanad before his war with the British rulers. He could easily mobilize a Nair army and a Kurichya tribal warriors with the help of these landlords. The Kurichiyas and Kurumars were very proficient in using bows and arrows and skilful in guerrilla warfare in the jungles, which was not accustomed to the British army. In the anti-British fight in the jungles, Kurichiya and Kurumar bowmen used to take position in the extreme heights of the trees to alert the army of Pazhassiraja on the British

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military movements from far away locations. The Kurichiyas have superior ability to hide in the trees and providing signals to the army of Pazhassiraja by throwing arrows. The British army men could not resist the poisonous arrows of Kurichiyas in the thick forests of Wayanad. In 1800, the British appointed Sir Arthur Wellesley, later the Duke of Wellington as the Commander-in Chief of the British army in Malabar to defeat the army of Pazhassiraja. But he could not resist the guerrilla tactics of the Kurichiyas in Wayanad.

Thalakkal Chandu: The Tribal Warrior

Thalakkal Chandu was the head of the Kurichiya army in Wayanad. He was a member of Karkkottil Kurichiya *Tharavad* in Thondernad *Amsam* in Kunjome near Mananthavady. He belonged to Thalakkara branch of the Karkkottil Kurichiya *Tharavad*. This Kurichiya *Tharavad* had close connection with pro- Pazhassi Edachana Nair family.[26] The close relationship between this Kurichiya and Nair *Tharavads* provided a strong support to anti-British struggle of Pazhassiraja. The members of the Edachana Nair family were the great supporters of Pazhassiraja in Wayanad and this family sacrificed its five members in this struggle. They are Edachana Emman, Edachana Othenan, Edachana Komappan, Edachana Ambu and Edachana Konthappan.

After the new revenue settlement of Major Macleod, the oppression of the British revenue collectors in the Kurichiya villages was very severe. Moreover, because of the reason of the availability of paddy in the Kurichiya houses, armed police and revenue officers raided their houses frequently to capture paddy and other items forcefully. This frequent raids were in addition to the excessive collection of tax from the Kurichiya families. This kind of oppression made their life very miserable. Though the Kurichiyas have produced enough paddy in their fields, they were forced to live in famine and poverty due to the capture of food grains by inhuman revenue officers. One of such incidents of exploitation and oppression have resulted the Kurichiya tribal attack of British military post at Panamaram on 11th October 1802.

Kurichiya Attack of British Military Camp in 1802

Forceful collection of paddy and other valuable items from the houses of the Kurichiyas by the British revenue collectors was the immediate reason for the

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Kurichiya attack of British military camp at Panamaram. A few days before the attack of the military Camp of the British, one of the British revenue collectors visited the house of a Kurichiyan near Panamaram to capture paddy from this house. Edachena Kungan, the head of the Nair military contingent, who was present in the locality killed the revenue officer in retaliation of his unlawful raid of the tribal house.[27] After this incident, under the leadership Kurichiya leader Thalakkal Chandu, around 150 Kurichiya militiamen with bows and arrows joined with Edachena Kungan to resist the British. They have decided to attack the British military camp because they feared a strong retribution from the side of the British army on account of the murder of the British peon. The continuous forceful collection of grains from the poor houses of Kurichiyas had already infuriated the tribal people so, people spontaneously joined with the rebels.

The army detachment stationed at Panamarm fort was the First battalion of the 4th Bombay Infantry under Captain Dickenson and Lieutenant Maxwell.[28] They were 70 soldiers engaged in the suppression of the Pazhassi rebellion. The Kurichiya militiamen under Thalakkal Chandu and Edachena Kungan attacked the military post at the night of 11th October 1802. In the attack all detachment of 70 army men including Captain Dickenson and Lieutenant Maxwell were killed. After the attack the rebels seized 112 muskets, 6 boxes of ammunition and Rs. 6000 from the military post. All the buildings of the camp were destroyed and the Kurichyas burned the cantonment at Panamaram after their raid.[29] In the attack five Kurichiyas were killed and 10 of them injured. This attack and defeat had created great embarrassment to British administration in South India.

Pulpally Proclamations of Rebels

Immediately after this incident, Edachana Kungan had made his famous proclamation from Pulpally temple to the people of Wayanad to take up arms against British colonial oppression in 1802. In repose to his call about 3000 men mainly Kurichiyas and Kurumars under Thalakkal Chandu assembled in the temple with their arms. These men were divided into different groups and assigned to various places in Wayanad for the resistance. A Contingent 500 people have been sent to Valliyurkave temple in North Wayanad to deal with the army of the Company. Agaian in October

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1805, the rebels chiefly Kurichiyas and Kurumas assembled at *Pulpally Murikkanmar* temple under the instruction of Pazhassiraja, Edachana Kungan and Thalakkal Chandu. The Kurumas have positioned with arms from Kurichiyat to Pakkom and Pulpally for a final attack in response to this second proclamation.[30]

The army from Bombay Presidency had suffered a lot in this malaria fever stricken taluk of Wayanad. When they became more weak and inefficient, they were recalled considering the opinion of Major General Wellesly and replaced them with Madras troops by the beginning of 1804. Most crucial decision in the suppression of Kurichiyas was the formation of a native army called *Kolkars* by Capt. Watson. Kolkars were well aware of geography of Wayanad like Kurichiyas, so they could trace the rebels in the forest more easily. Some tribal people other than Kurichiyas were included in the *Kolkar* army men of 1200, who rendered most conspicuous service to deal with the rebels. The Sub-Collector of North Malabar, Thomas Harvey Baber effectively used *Kolkars* in suppressing the revolt. On 16th June 1805 Col. Macleod offered rewards for the apprehension of prominent rebels and confiscation of their property.[31]

Kurumar tribal people were also excellent bowmen who jointed in the rebellion of Pazhassi Raja. They were very rude to the policies of the British and believed that the British government would extirpate them if they were not expelled from Wayanad.[32] Pallur Emmen Nair had strong influence among the Kurumars in South Wayanad and under his influence this Kurumars laboured as foremost among the rebel ranks.[33] The Kurumars attacked Churikunjee (Churikuni) post in early 1805 near Meppadi in South Wayanad, but it was immediately suppressed. On 6th September, Pazhassiraja could narrowly escape from the hands of *Kolkars* when a Kurumar tribal guard of Pazhassiraja gave an alarm by sending an arrow.[34] Knowing the topography of Wayanad jungles the tribal people could easily move inside the woods. But the obstacles in the forests delayed the movements of British army and *Kolkars*, that favoured the escape of the rebels.

Martyrdom of Thalakkal Chandu

The Kurichiyas and Kurumars were the strength of the Pazhassi army even in the last months of the revolt. When the reinforcement and supplies to the rebels were

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stopped by the government from the plains and Mysore side to Wayanad, it was the Kurichiyas and Kurumars, supported the rebels with food and arms. The grave law and order situation prompted Sub-Collector T. H. Baber to personally take the duty of military operations on first November 1805 in Wayanad. The rebels required the tribal soldiers to again take up arms in the name of Murikkanmar, the tutelar deities of Wayanad.[35] In the following encounter the British army captured the Kurichiya leader Thalakkal Chandu after a fierce battle on 14th November 1805.[36] The British had great wrath towards Thalakkal Chandu as he was the leader of Panamarm military camp attack in 1802. As a sign of retaliation he was brought to the same Panamaram fort after overnight cruel torture. Then in early morning on 15 November 1805 he was publically executed in a big tree in front of the military camp to terrorise the rebels.[37]

The death of Thalakkal Chandu was a great shock to Pazhassiraja and Edachana Kungan in Wayanad. Even after the death of Thalakkal Chandu, the Kurichiya and Kuruma soldiers continued their support to Pazhassi rebels. Kurichiya soldiers encountered with Baber's army in many places of north Wayanad. Finally the British brought more army and established small military posts in various locations of jungles to counter the sudden attack of tribal rebels. Besides, the secret information from the native spies regarding the military preparations of rebels in the jungles helped the British army to defeat the rebels in the forests. Finally on 30th November 1805 Pazhassiraja was killed in an encounter at Mavilamthode in Pulpally near the forest of Mysore. Along with T.H. Baber and Lt. Col. Hill, 50 sepoys and 100 *Kolkars* participated in this encounter. Thus, the British suppressed a decade long the native anti-colonial resistance in South India.

In the early resistance of native people against the British rule in India, the tribal communities were in the forefront. In south India, Thalakkal Chandu is the most known tribal leader of armed struggle against the British. It was only because of the efficient leadership of Thalakkal Chandu that he could organise Kurichiyas and give self confidence to them in Wayanad to challenge the mighty British power in the jungles. Unlike other parts of Malabar, the number of Nair soldiers was very limited in the forest region of Wayanad, so Edachana Kungan Nair depended mostly on Kurichiya soldiers in his anti-British fight. If the support of Thalakkal Chandu was not

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there in Pazhassi struggles, the army of Pazhassiraja could have been defeat much earlier by the British. In all the military operations of Kerala Varma one can observe the presence of Kurichiyas under Thalakkal Chandu in Wayanad. In short, this is the time to recognise the great sacrifice of our tribal fellowmen in India's long struggle for freedom.

Endnotes

1. K. Rajayyan, *South Indian Rebellion: The First War of Independence 1800-1801*, Mysore, 1971, P.20
2. Kathleen Gough, 'Indian Peasant Uprisings', *Economic and Political Weekly* ,Vol.9(32), 1974, p. 1392.
3. A. A. D. Luiz, *Tribes of Kerala*, New Delhi, 1962, p. 44
4. P.K. Misra and D. B. Sastry, 'Claim of Higher Status sans Power- A Case Study of the Kurichian or The Malai Namboodiri of Wynad', in *The Eastern Anthropologist* 30:4 (1977), p. 395
5. Punam cultivation was also known as shifting cultivation, where Kurichiyas cultivated paddy, *Chama* (*Panicum sumatrense*), *Muthari* (*Eleusine coracana*)and so on by clearing the forests. After one year of cultivation they leave that land vacant and shift the next year's cultivation to another part of the forest.
6. Before ceremonial hunting they propitiated their god *Malakkari* to get the prey. *Thulappathu* (Malayalam month *Thulam* 10) was the most auspicious day of Kurichiyas for hunting.
7. Edgar Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of South India* Vol. IV, New Delhi, 1975, p. 125.
8. Though a married woman lives with her husband and children in husband's house, she always retains her right to property in her *Mittom*. She will return to her natal *Mittom* on the death of the husband. The residents of the *Mittom* would consist of uterine brothers and their unmarried sisters of the matri-clan; the children, especially the male children and their mothers may live with their fathers/ husbands during the later's life time. See P.R.G. Mathur, *Encyclopaedia of Dravidian Tribes*, Vol-II, The International School of Dravidian Tribes, Thiruvananthapuram, 1996. P.160
9. As the head of the *Mittom,* Karnavan is responsible for all religious and welfare activities of the members of the *Mittom.* He settled all the disputes and acted as the trustee of the ancestral shrines in the *Mittom.*
10. Thurston, opcit., p.128.
11. Information from Varayal Copper Plate inscription is cited in K. K. N. Kurup, *Peasantry, Nationalism and Social Change in India*, Allahabad, 1991, pp.86-87
12. C. Gopalan Nair, *Wynad Its People and Traditions,* New Delhi, 2000, p. 19 (First published in 1911)
13. K.K.N. Kurup, *William Logan: A Study in the Agrarian Relations of Malabar*, Calicut, 1981, p.7.
14. S. Ramachandran Nair, *Freedom Struggle in Colonial Kerala*, Trivandrum, 2004, p.23.
15. Malabar Collectorate Records (hereafter MCR) , Revenue, Kozhikode Regional Archives, Vol.2311, F. No. 77.
16. C. A. Innes and F. B. Evans *Madras District Gazetteers-Malabar*, Madras, 1951p. 328
17. MCR,Vol. 2311, F. No. 80.
18. A. P. Abdur Rahman,, 'Macleod's Paimash and the Malabar Rebellion of 1803', *Journal of Kerala Studies*, 4, 1 (1977), p.662.
19. One English Pound(lb)=0.454 kg., 1 English *maund*=40 seers (34.05 kg), 1 Madras *Candy*=222.205 kg. One *Fanam* is equal to 4 As. One Silver *Fanam* – 3 *Annas* and 2 *paise,*
20. Margret Franz, *From Contact to Conquest: Transition to British Rule in Malabar 1790-1805*, New Delhi, 2003, p.106
21. Major Macleod, *The Jamabandy Report of the Province of Malabar in 1802*, Government Press, Calicut, 1811, p. 5. (Calicut Regional Archives)
22. MCR, Vol. 2311, p. 82.

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23. 80 Kaas= 1 Madras Fanam, 12 Madras Fanam= 1 Rupee and 3.5 Rupees= 1 Star Pagoda.
24. MCR. Vol.2313, F. No. 156
25. When Malabar collector Thomas Warden introduced new revenue settlement in Malabar in 1813, he specially considered the needs and situation of tribal people in Wayanad and even the geography and climate of Wayanad. See Thomas Warden, *Revenue System in Malabar dated 16th June 1813*, Collectorate Press, Calicut, 1916, p. 6.
26. V.K. Santhoshkumar, *Edachana Kungan: Jeevithavum Porattavum*,(Mal.) Wayanad, 2020, p. 51.
27. William Logan, *Malabar Manual* Vol.I, New Delhi, 2000, p. 539
28. Logan, Ibid, p. 540
29. W.J. Wilson, *History of the Madras Army* Vol.3, Madras, 1883, p.149
30. Pakkom near Pulpally is the main exclusive location of Kurumas in Wayanad since many centuries.
31. The reward in *Pagodas* (One *Pagoda*= A gold coin equal to 3 ½ rupees) for the apprehension of the rebels are as follows. 1.Kerala Varma Pazhassiraja-3000, 2. Vira Varma Raja-1000, 3. Ravi Varrma Raja-1000, 4. Pallur Emmen Nair-1000, 5. Edachena Kungan-1000, 6. Pallur Rayarappan-300, 7. Edachena Othenan-300, 8. Edachena Komappan-300, 9. Edachena Ammu-300, 10. Karverryallay Kannan-300, 11. Yogimula Machan-300, 12. Itty Combetta Kelappan Nambiar-833 (sic).
32. Logan, p. 549.
33. Logan, p. 549.
34. Logan, p. 545.
35. Logan, p. 546.
36. Logan termed the capture of Thalakkal Chandu as an important event in Pazhassi rebellion.
37. In 2021, Prime Minster of India Sri. Narendra Modi has announced 15 November of every year as *Janjatiya Gaurav Divas* to commemorate the role of tribal people in India's struggle for freedom. This date is coincided with the date of the martyrdom of Thalakkal Chandu on 15 November 1805.

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