

THE MOPLAH REBELLION, 1921

BY

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Retired Deputy Collector,
CALICUT, MALABAR.

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"Who can deny that the British Government in India leaves much to be desired? It has many defects and short-comings needing amendments and corrections. In spite of all their short-comings, I make bold to challenge any honest man to lay his hand on his heart and declare, calling God Almighty to witness, that we had, during historic times, any Government or a system of Government, which assured to the people anything approximating the security of life and property that we have enjoyed during the last century and a half, the general sense of personal freedom and liberty we now claim as our own, and the even-handed justice meted out to us."

K. U. NARAINA MENON.

A TRIBUTE

TO

CAPT. P. MCENROY. D. S. O., M. C.

For the conspicuous gallantry displayed by him at Pookkottur on 26th August 1921, on his march to relieve Malappuram, when he, with his small force not exceeding 125 men consisting of the Leinsters and the Special Police fought a pitched battle lasting five hours with a rebel horde of about 4,000 Moplah fanatics and routed them, inflicting 400 casualties among them. His success saved a difficult situation during the first week of the Moplah rebellion when Government forces were not available in sufficient numbers to check the rebellion, and also saved the Ernad Hindus from wholesale conversion to Moslem faith. On behalf of myself and my Hindu countrymen of Malabar, I offer to the HERO of POOKKOTUR and his small force our grateful thanks for their services on that memorable day.

Calicut, 1st May, 1923.

C. GOPALAN NAIR.

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Florican, Calicut, 20—2—23.'

DEAR MR. GOPALAN NAIR,

I have read your history of the Moplah Rebellion with great interest. I must congratulate you upon your industry in bringing together a great mass of material not easily accessible and upon the completeness and fairness with which you have set down the facts. I do not think that without access to official records which are still confidential you could have performed your task more satisfactorily.

Yours Sincerely,
(Sd.) R. H. ELLIS.

were sometimes issued on the day the events took place, oftentimes on the next day, and in some instances on the third day, so that I was not able, in spite of all my attempts, to fix the exact date of the occurrences in some cases. On pages 39 to 57 the communiqués have been copied as they are, and the date at the beginning of each para generally represents the date of the communiqués except where the dates of occurrence have been specifically mentioned. This explanation has become necessary in view of the impossibility to secure correct information until the official history is published. The facts have been correctly stated as published.

I have been able to secure photos illustrating different aspects of the rebellion, but must express my great disappointment that, in spite of all attempts, I was not able to secure a photo of Capt. McEnroy, the hero of Pookkotur.

I have to thank the Norman Printing Bureau for the printing and the get up of the book.

With these remarks, I place the book before the public and append hereto the opinion of R. H. Ellis, Esq., I. C. S., who was the Collector and District Magistrate of Malabar from 27th January 1922 to 12th December 22.

CALICUT,)

C. GOPALAN NAIR.

1st May 1923)

PREFACE.

As a pensioner, with ample leisure, at my disposal, I undertook the task of compiling the news, published from time to time in the newspapers regarding the Moplah rebellion which broke out at Tirurangadi on 20th August 1921, and with great diffidence, I venture to place before the public the account written by me, in the hope that this attempt at history-writing will be appreciated by the public.

The book has no pretensions to originality; it is simply a collection of materials arranged under different heads, from which the course of events during the period of insurrection might be followed.

It has no pretensions to be a history; it is simply a chronicle of events, a sketchy view based on the articles and news in the *Madras Mail* and the *West Coast Spectator*, to both of whom my acknowledgments are due. I am also indebted to the *West Coast Reformer* for Mr. Gandhi's Speech on 18th August 1920.

To a non-official, as I am at present, without access to official records, the chapter on 'military operations' presented great difficulty. No information was available except the very concise Press Communiques, giving information, but no details, of engagements between the Government Forces and the rebels. These communiques

APPENDIX I.

PAST MOPLAH OUTRAGES.

THE DELIGHTS OF PARADISE.—A SONG.

"The pleasures of wealth or of family are not equal to an atom of celestial happiness. Our most venerable Prophet has said that those who die in battle can see the houris who will come to witness the fight. There is nothing in this world to compare with the beauty of the houris. The splendour of the sun, of the moon, and of the lightning is darkness compared with the beauty of their hair which hangs over their shoulders. Their checks, eyes, face, eyebrows, forehead, head are incomparably lovely. Their mouths are like corals of gold, their teeth like the seeds of the thali flowers. It is not possible for the mind to conceive the loveliness of their breasts and shoulders. If they spit in the sea, the salt water becomes as sweet as honey, as fragrant as attar. If they were to come down to this earth, and smite, the sun, moon and stars would be eclipsed. Mortals would die if they but heard the music of their voices. When they wear red silk bordered with green lace of seventy folds, their skins, muscles and bones can be seen through. Such is the splendour of their body. If they clap their hands, the clash of their jewels will be heard at a distance of 50 years' journey. They clap their hands, dance and sing, as they come like the swans to the battle-field. If a human being were to see their beauty, their

dance, or their smile he would die on the spot. Gently they touch the wounds of those who die in battle, they rub away the blood and cure the pain, they kiss and embrace the martyrs, give them to drink of the sweet water of heaven and gratify their every wish. A horse caparisoned with precious stones will be brought and a voice will say:—Let my men mount: let them dance with the celestial houris. Then the celestial coverings will be placed on their heads, they will mount the beautiful horse which will dance and leap and take them to heaven, where they will live in unbounded joy.” West Coast Spectator July 6th '22.

This is the translation of part of a song composed in sacred memory of the 47 Sayyidakkals (martyrs) who in the first decade of the last century fell fighting in defence of a Mosque against the retainers of Para Nambi, a landlord of Malappuram; the great Malappuram Nercha (festival) is celebrated annually in their memory and every Moplah out on the warpath carries with him whenever possible a copy of the song, a portion of which is quoted above. This is the first recorded out-break during British Supremacy.

The next recorded outbreak was in 1836, and then the series continued until 1919, two years before the Moplah rebellion, with occasional intervals. A list is appended.

2. *November 26, 1836. Pandalur, Ernad.* Kallingal Kunholan stabbed one Chakku Pannikar of the Kanisan caste who subsequently died of his wounds. He also

wounded three others and was pursued by the Tahsildar and others. Shot on 28th Id.

3. *April, 15, 1837. Kalpatta, Ernad.* Ali Kutti of Chengara Amsom inflicted severe wounds on one Narayana Moosad and took post in his own shop, where he was attacked by the Tahsildar and Taluk peons and shot by the Taluk Police on the next day.

4. *April, 5, 1839. Pallipuram, Walluvanad.* Thora-yam Pulakal Athan and another, of Pallipuram Amsom, Walluvanad Taluk killed one Kellil Raman and then set fire to and burnt a Hindu Temple, took post in another temple and there they were attacked by the Tahsildar and his peons and were shot by a Taluk peon.

5. *April 6, 1839.* Mambattodi Kuttiathan severally wounded one Paru Taragan and a Taluk peon. Captured and sentenced to transportation for life.

6. *April 19, 1840. Irimbulli, Ernad.* Parathodiyil Ali Kutti severely wounded one Odayath Kunhunni Nayar and another, and set fire to Kidangil temple. He was shot dead by a Taluk peon on the following day.

7. *April 5, 1841, Pallipuram, Walluvanad.* Tumba Mannil Kunyunnian and eight others killed one Perumballi Nambudiri and another at Pallipuram, burnt the house of the latter victim, as well as four other houses. The Moplahs were attacked on the 9th idem and killed by a party of the 36th Regiment Native Infantry and Police peons.

8. *November 13th, 1841.* Kaidotti Padil Moidin Kutti and seven others killed one Tottasseri Tachu

Pannikar and a peon, took post in a Mosque, set the Police at defiance for three days, and were joined by three more fanatics on the morning of the 17th idem. They were attacked by a party of 40 Sepoys of the 9th Regiment N. I. and were all killed in the fight.

9. *November 17, 1841. Pallipuram, Walluvanad.* On the 17th of the same month some Moplahs estimated at 2,000 set at defiance a Police party on guard over the spot where the above criminals have been buried and forcibly carried off the bodies and interred them with honours at a Mosque. Twelve of these were convicted and punished.

10. *December 27, 1841, Ernad.* Melemanna Kunyattan, with 7 others killed one Talappil Chakku Nair and another and took post in the Adhigari's house. They rushed upon the Police and villagers who had surrounded the house, were killed, their bodies being brought to Calicut and buried under the gallows.

11. *October 19, 1843. Tirurangadi.* Kunnancheri Ali Attan and 5 others killed one Kaprat Krishna Pannikar, the Adhigari of Tirurangadi and proceeded at the suggestion of a seventh Moplah who joined afterwards to the house of a Nair in Cherur, and posted themselves in it. A Military detachment attacked the Moplahs on the 24th morning but upon the latter rushing out, the Sepoys took to flight. The fanatics were killed by the Taluk Peons and the villagers and the sepoy court-martialled.

12. *December 4, 1843.* A Nair labourer was found dead with ten deep wounds on his body and his murder was believed to be the work of Moplah fanatics.

13. *December 11, 1843, Pandicad.* Anavattat Soliman and nine others killed one Karukamma Govind Moosad, the Adhigari of Pandicad, and a servant of his; defiled two temples and took post in a house. Troops were deputed but the Moplahs rushed at them and were killed.

14. *December 19, 1843.* A peon was found with his hand and head all but cut off and the perpetrators were supposed to be Moplah fanatics.

15. *May 26, 1849. Ernad.* Chakalakkal Kammad wounded one Kannancheri Cheru and another and took post in a Mosque. The Tahsildar proceeded to the Mosque in the hope of inducing him to surrender but he rushed forward with a knife and was killed by a peon.

16. *August 25, 1849. Ernad and Walluvanad.* Torangal Unniyan killed one Paditodi Theyunni and with Attan Gurukkal and others killed three persons and took post in the temple at Manjeri: defiled the temple and partly burnt it. Ensign Wyse's party with the exception of four men who were all killed refused to advance and broke up and fled. Ensign Wyse was killed in this engagement. That night the fanatics proceeded to Angadipuram temple and were followed by a detachment H. M.'s 94th Regiment and another of the 39th Regiment, Native infantry. The insurgents came to the attack and were completely annihilated, leaving 64 dead

17. *October 2, 1850. Puziyakode, Ernad.* The sons of Periambath Attan, the Moplah Adhigari, had concerted with others to kill one Mungamdambalatt Narayana

Moosad and to devote themselves to death. Security was taken from nine individuals.

18. *January 5, 1851. Payyanad, Ernad.* Choon-dyamoochikal Attan attacked and wounded severely a clerk, named Raman Menon and shut himself up in the Inspector's house setting the Police at defiance. The Tahsildar tried to induce him to surrender but he rushed out and fired at the opposing party and was shot dead.

19. *January 17, 1851.* Three Moplahs were reported as contemplating an assault. Security taken.

20. *April 15, 1851.* Illikot Kunyunni and five others were reported as designing to break out and kill Kotuparambat Komu Menon and another. No evidence and they were discharged; but the information was too true.

21. *August 22, 1851, Kulathur, Wallavanad.* The above said, Komu Menon and his servant were killed by 6 Moplahs who with three others also killed Kadakottil Nambudiri and Komu Menon's brother Raman Menon. Severely wounded Mundangara Rarichan Nair who subsequently died. They set fire to Rama Menon's and Chengara Variyar's house. They then proceeded to Kulathur and murdered the old Kulathur Variyar and two servants.

Troops were requisitioned and the fanatics rushed out. Seventeen fanatics were killed. Four European Privates and one Subhadar were killed in the encounter.

22. *October 5, 1851. Nenmini, Walluvanad.* Tottin-gal Mammad and three other Moplahs designed to commit an outrage. Security taken.

23. *October 27, 1851. Irimbuli, Ernad.* Security taken from two Moplahs who intended to join the late Kulathur outbreak.

24. *January 4, 1852. Mattanur, Kottayam.* Chori-yot Mayan and fourteen others supported by a mob of two-hundred Moplahs butchered all the inmates, 18 in number, of Kalattil Kesavan Tangal's house and extir-pated the family, defiled the temples, burnt houses and finally fell on January 8th 1852 in a desperate attack on the house of Kalliad Nambiar.

25. *January 5, 1852.* Security taken from five Moplahs.

26. *February 28, 1852. Ernad.* One Triyakaltil Chekku and 15 other Moplahs of Melmuri and Kilmuri Amsoms set out "to die and create a fanatical outbreak." Security was taken from them.

27. *April-May, 1852. Ernad.* Two Cherumas after embracing Muhamadanism returned to their original faith. These Cherumas were then working for Kudilil Kanny Kutti Nayar who being a peon was transferred from Ernad Taluk to Ponnani and subsequently to Calicut to avert the impending danger to his life. The Cherumas were also transferred to other Taluks as their presence was considered a source of disturbance.

28. *August 9, 1852. Kurumbranad.* Three Moplahs took up a position in the house of a village accountant

(Puttur) and had resolved to die as *Sahids* (martyr). They wounded a Brahmin and were killed by the Police on the 12th August, two of whom received wounds.

29. *September 16, 1853. Angadipuram, Walluvanad.* Kunnunmal Moidin and Cherukavil Moidin murdered Chengalary Vasudevan Nambudiri and not getting any recruits, made their appearance on the top of a hill near Angadipuram. The Tahsildar proceeded there with his peons but the fanatics rushed on them. Eighteen shots were fired and the elder man was brought down wounded; the younger being unhurt fell on the peons and villagers by whom he was dispatched.

30. *September 12, 1855. Calicut.* Three Moplahs Valasserì Emalu, Puliyakunat Tenu, Chemban Moidin Kutti and Vellattadayyatta Parambil Moidin escaped from their working party of Jail convicts at Calicut and proceeded to Walluvanad. They roamed about the country and on 10th September reached Calicut, On 12th they murdered Collector Mr. Conolly at his Bungalow.

The assassins were shot on 17th September by a detachment of Major Haley's Police Corps and a part No. 5 Company of H. M's. 74th High landers.

A fine of Rs. 38,331-8-0 was collected from the villages implicated in the outrage and Rs. 30,936-13-10 paid to Mrs. Conolly.

31. *November 1855.* Two Moplahs, who had deserted from the Malabar Police Corps, were suspected of complicity with the murderers of Mr. Conolly and were

required to produce securities for good behaviour and were confined, on the failure to give securities, for 3 years. They were afterwards permitted to leave the country.

32. *August 1857, Ponnala, Ernad.* Poovadan Kunhappa Haji and 7 others were suspected of conspiring to revenge the supposed insult offered to their religion by the relapse of a Nair convert, and to make an attempt to rid the country of the Kaffirs (Europeans) representing that the Government was weakened by the mutiny in Northern India. The conspirators were surprised and taken prisoners and seven of them deported under the Moplah Outrages Act.

33. *Feb. 1858, Tirurangadi, Ernad.* A Moplah who purchased a piece of ground which was the scene of the death struggles of the Moplahs killed in the outbreak of 19th October '43, had built a small mosque there and had instituted a day for holding a festival. The number of visitors had increased and the feast assumed a threatening character. The Moplah purchaser and two Mullahs were deported.

34. *1860, North Malabar.* Two Moplahs were deported for short terms for threatening the life of an Adhigari.

35. *14th February, 1864, Melmuri, Ernad.* During Ramzan feast a Moplah named Attan Kutti in a fit of religious fanaticism stabbed and caused the death of one Notta Pannikkar whom he found in the house of a Tiyyan, his intended victim. Attan was sentenced to be hanged

as an ordinary malefactor, and his confederate deported, the village being fined to the extent of Rs. 2037.

36. *On 17th September 1865.* Three Moplahs were convicted of murdering one Shangu Nair of Nenmini Amsam, Walluvanad, and it was thought that the murder was committed from personal and private motives: but a religious cloak was thrown around the affair by the performance three days before the murder of a *Muvalad* ceremony at which several persons were present who knew of the intended murder. Six of them were deported.

37. *8th September, 1873, Paral, Walluvanad* Kunhappa Musaliar visited the Velichapad or Oracle of Tuthekil temple, struck him several blows with a sword and left him for dead. They proceeded to Kolathur and attacked a member of Kolathur Varier's family and mortally wounded him. Troops from Malappuram surrounded the house and the fanatics attacked them. Of the nine fanatics 8 were killed and one "a mere child" was wounded and afterwards recovered. The villages concerned were fined Rs. 42,000.

38. *27th March, 1877. Irimbulli, Ernad.* Avinji-purath Kunhi Moideen and four other Moplas designed to commit a fanatical outrage as a Nair had debauched the wife of one of the men. Two of the conspirators elected to leave Malabar for Mecca to which place they were sent and Kunhi Moideen was bound over for good behaviour.

39. *June, 1879, Paral, Walluvanad.* Kunnanath Kunhi Moidu incited 6 young men to commit an outrage but before accomplishing their object they were arrested. The ring-leader was deported and the other 6 bound over.

40. *Sept. 9, 1880, Melattur, Walluvanad.* M. Ali deliberately cut the throat of a Cheruma lad who had become a convert to Islam and had reverted. He then wounded a potter on the next day; he went to the house of one of his intended victims, when a watchman shot Ali in the breast and killed him. The amsom was fined Rs. 4,200 and 7 Moplabs were deported: nine required to give security.

41. *Oct. 31, 1883, Pandicad, Ernad.* Asarithodi Moideen Kutti attacked Pulikkal Raman with a sword and pursued him. He however, threw down the sword at the intervention of his brother and another Moplah. He was tried and acquitted on the ground of insanity.

42. *March 4, 1884,* A petition was received stating that Vakayil Moideen Kutti and another were conspiring to murder one Appathara Pattar. Enquiries were made, two ringleaders were deported and two had to furnish security to keep the peace.

43. *June, 18, '84.* Kannancheri Raman who had previously embraced and subsequently renounced Islam was attacked in a most savage manner by two Moplabs. He however made his escape. Three Moplabs were transported for life and three others deported. A fine of Rs. 15,000 was imposed on the amsom, out of which

1,000 was to be paid as compensation to Raman for his wounds.

44. *Dec. 28, 1884.* This proposal rankled in the minds of the Moplahs and one Kolakadan Kuttyassan and 11 others proceeded to the house of Raman's brother Choyikutti who was greeted by a volley of firearms carried by the Moplahs. Choyikutti and his son were wounded and the Moplahs set fire to his house. They left Malappuram and on the way mortally wounded a Brahmin and proceeded to Trikalur Temple. The troops and the police surrounded the temple and opened fire. They effected an entrance by blowing in the door, placing dynamite cartridges against it.

Of the twelve fanatics, three were still alive, but two of them were speechless and died immediately; the third man lived about twenty-four hours. The casualties among the Military were one private killed and one officer and one private wounded.

45. *1st May 1885.* A gang of Mappilas, consisting of T. V. Veran Kutti and eleven others broke open the house of a Cheruman (slave caste) called Kutti Kariyanand murdered him, his wife, and four of their children, and set fire to the house and a neighbouring temple. The victim had become a convert to Islam many years ago and had reverted to his original religion fourteen years ago. The Moplahs retreated during the night of 2nd May to their own country side, and in the early morning of the third they seized the house of a wealthy Nambudiri Brahmin landlord of Ponnundam, Ponnani.

On the afternoon of that day they were attacked by a party of the South Wales Borderers from Malappuram. They opened fire from a window in the top storey of that house at the military and wounded four of the men; upon this the fire was returned and as it afterwards turned out, the few shots poured in at the windows of the room to silence the fire killed all twelve persons.

46. *11th August, 1885.* A Mappilla named Unni Mammad entered the house of Krishna Pisharodi under the pretence of buying paddy. At that time the Pisharodi was bathing. Mammad Unni rushed past the attendants and with one blow of a hatchet, inflicted a mortal wound on Pisharodi's head. He was immediately seized and disarmed, and was after trial in the usual course eventually, hanged.

47. In 1894, a gang of Moplahs in Pandicad started on the war-path. They wandered about defiling and burning temples where-ever they could, besides attacking and killing such Nairs and Brahmins as fell in their way. The troops and the Police at last came up with them in a temple, when they sallied out with their usual fury and had all to be shot.

“The appalling tragedy of 1896 was unprecedented as well for the number of fanatics that took part in it as for the swift and terrible retribution that overtook them. The saddest part of the whole affair was its want of reason. The few survivors could point to no single grievance that would bear examination. On 25-2-1896 a gang of twenty Moplahs went out on the war-path from

Chembrasserri Amsom and for five days in ever increasing numbers terrorised the country-side; Hindus were murdered or their 'Kudumis' cut off, and they were summarily converted to Islam. Temples were desecrated and burnt. Houses were looted in the search for food, money and arms. Finally on March 1st hard pressed by the pursuit of the troops, the fanatics entered the Manjeri Karanammulpad's temple, determined to make their last stand in a spot hallowed in their eyes as the scene of the first triumphant act of the tragedy of 1849. Twenty soldiers were guarding the treasury on the hill opposite the temple, and with them shots were exchanged. At 9 A. M., the District Magistrate with the main body of the troops came up in great anxiety for the safety of the treasury-guard, and occupied a hill over-looking the temple from a distance of some 750 yards across a deep valley covered with trees and bushes. The troops opened fire at once, and the fanatics, instead of taking shelter, deliberately courted death offering themselves as a target to the bullets on the open platform of the temple 'howling, shouting, waving their arms and firing off their guns.' Advancing steadily with frequent volleys over the broken ground, the troops came near enough to the Moplah stronghold to call upon the fanatics to surrender. Hoarse cries of defiance were their only answer and pushing on, the soldiers entered the temple almost without opposition. A horrible sight met their eyes. Within the narrow precincts were filled up the bodies of ninety-two Moplahs. Some were still breathing, but the great majority were dead, and at least twenty had their throats cut.

from ear to ear. They had been murdered by their comrades to prevent their being captured alive. A small gang of seven 'Sahids' were still at large, but by March 13th they had all been arrested or shot by the Police and the outbreak was at an end". (*Malabar Gazetteer*).

49. In April 1898, the Moplahs rose in revolt in Payyanad. But the rising proved abortive and the fanatics surrendered without struggle at the exhortation of Pookoya Tangal from Malappuram.

50. In 1915 an attempt was made on the life of Mr. Innes, the District Magistrate, who had a narrow escape from being shot. The Moplahs concerned in this outrage and some other fanatics indulged in the usual course of murder and arson until shot down by the Special Police Force.

51. In February 1919, a gang of fanatics headed by a dismissed Moplah Head-Constable, began to give trouble. Following their usual methods they broke into and defiled the temples, killed almost every Brahmin and Nair who fell in their way and finally died in resistance to the Police Force sent out against them. In this one outbreak four Brahmins namely three Nambudiries and one Embrandiri, and two Nairs were put to death by the fanatics.

August 1921. The Moplah Rebellion.

APPENDIX II.

MR. GANDHI'S VISIT TO CALICUT.

Messrs. Gandhi and Shaukat Ali arrived in Calicut on 18th August 1920 and at 6-30 P. M. addressed a gathering of about 20,000 people on the Vellayil beach, Calicut.

MAHATMA GANDHI'S SPEECH.

SPIRIT OF NON-CO-OPERATION.

I do expect that we shall succeed if we understand the spirit of non-co-operation. The Lieutenant Governor of Burma himself has told us that Britain retains the hold on India not by force of arms but by the co-operation of the people of India. He has given us the remedy for any wrong Government may do to the people, knowingly or unknowingly, and so long as we co-operate with that Government we become the sharers of the wrong. But a wise subject never tolerates the hardship that a Government impose against their declared will. I venture to submit to this great meeting that the Government of India and the Imperial Government have done a double wrong to India and if we are a self-respecting nation conscious of its rights, conscious of its responsibilities and conscious of its duties, it is not proper that we should stand the humiliations that both these Governments have imposed upon us. The Imperial

Government have knowingly flouted religious sentiments dearly cherished by the 70 millions of Mussalmans.

THE KHILAFAT QUESTION.

I claim to have studied the Khilafat question in a special manner. I claim to have understood the Musalman feelings and I am here to declare that in the Khilafat question, the British Government have wounded the sentiments of Mussalmans, as they have not done before. The Gospel of non-co-operation is preached to them and if they had not accepted it, there would have been bloodshed in India by this time. I am free to confess the spilling of blood would not help their cause. But a man, who is in a state of rage, whose heart is lacerated does not count on the results of his actions. So much for Khilafat wrong. I propose to take you for a moment to the Punjab, the northern end of India and what have both Governments done for the Punjab? I am free to confess again that the crowds in Amristar went mad for a time. They were goaded to madness by a wicked administration but no madness on the part of the people can justify the spilling of innocent blood and what have they paid for it? I venture to submit that no civilised Government would have made the people to pay the penalty that had been inflicted on the Punjab. Innocent men were passed through mock trials and imprisoned for life. Amnesty granted to them was of no consequence. Innocent and unarmed men who knew nothing of what was to happen were butchered in cold blood without the slightest notice. The modesty of women in Jallian

Wala who had not done the slightest wrong to any man was seriously outraged. I want you to understand what I mean by outrage? Their veils were insolently removed by an officer with his stick. Men who had not done any wrong were made to crawl on the ground with their bellies and all these wrongs remain unavenged up to this time. If it was the duty of the Government of India to punish men for incendiarism and murder of innocent persons it was doubly their duty to punish their officers who were guilty of serious wrong. But in the face of these official wrongs committed with the greatest deliberation, we have the humiliating spectacle of the House of Lords supporting these wrongs. It is this double wrong, done to India, that we want to get redressed and it is our bounden duty to get it redressed. We have prayed, we have petitioned and we have passed resolutions.

Mr. Mohammed Ali, supported by his friends, is now waiting for justice in Europe. He has pleaded the cause of Islam, the cause of the Mussalmans of India, in a most manful manner. But his pleadings have fallen upon deaf ears. We have his word for it that whilst France and Italy have shown great sympathy for the cause of Islam it is the British Ministers who have not shown sympathy. It shows which way the British Ministers and present holders of Office in India wished to deal with the people. There is no good-will, there is no desire to placate public opinion. The people of India must have a remedy for redressing this double wrong.

The method of the West is violence. Whenever people of the West have felt wrong justly or unjustly, they rebel and spill blood. As I have said in my letter to the Viceroy, half of India does not believe in the remedy of violence. The other half is too weak to offer it. But the whole of India is deeply grieved and it is for that reason that I venture to suggest to the people the remedy of non-co-operation. I consider it to be perfectly harmless, absolutely constitutional and yet perfectly efficacious. It is a remedy, if properly adopted will end in victory. Victory is a certainty in it. And it is the age-old remedy of self-sacrifice. Are the Mussalmans of India who feel the great wrong done to them prepared for self-sacrifice? If we desire to compel the Government to the will of the people, as we must, the only remedy open to us is non-co-operation. If the Mussalmans of India offer non-co-operation to Government in order to secure justice on the Khilafat, it is the duty of every Hindu to co-operate with their Moslem brethren. I consider the eternal friendship between Hindus and Mussalmans as infinitely more important than the British connection. I therefore venture to suggest that if they like to live with unity with Mussalmans, it is now that they have got the best opportunity and that such an opportunity would not come for a century. I venture to suggest that if the Government of India and the Imperial Government come to know that there is a great determination behind this great nation in order to secure redress for the Khilafat and Punjab wrongs, the Government would then do justice to us.

The Mussalmans of India will have to commence the first stage of non-co-operation in real earnest. If you may not help Government, you may not receive favours from the Government. I consider that the titles of Honour are titles of disgrace. We must therefore surrender all titles and resign all honorary offices. It will constitute an emphatic disapproval of the leaders of the people against the actions of the Government. Lawyers must suspend practice, boys should not receive instructions from schools aided by Government or controlled by Government. The emptying of schools would constitute the disapproval of the middle classes of the people of India. Similarly have I ventured to suggest a complete boycott of the Reformed Councils. That will be an emphatic declaration on the part of the representatives of people and the electorate that they do not like to elect their representatives. We must equally decline to offer ourselves as recruits for the Police and the Military. It is impossible for us to go to Mesopotamia and offer Police or Military assistance. The last item in the first stage of non-co-operation is Swadeshism. Swadeshi is intended, not so much as to bring pressure on Government but to show the extent of self-sacrifice on the part of every man, woman, and child. When one-fourth of India has its self-respect at stake, when the whole of India has its justice at stake, we must forego silk from Japan, Calico from Manchester and French lace from France. We must resolve to be satisfied with cloth woven by the humble weavers of India in their cottage homes. A

hundred years ago when our tastes were not in foreign products we were satisfied with cloth produced by men and women of India. If I could revolutionise the taste of India and make it return to its ancient state, the whole world would recognise the cult of renunciation: that is the first stage in non-co-operation. I hope it is as easy for you as it is easy for me to see that India is capable of undertaking the first stage of non-co-operation.

I therefore do not intend to take you through the other three stages of non-co-operation. I would like you to rivet your attention properly into the first stage. You will have noticed that two things are necessary in order to go to the first stage—an absolutely perfect spirit of non-violence is indispensable for successes and only a little measure of self-sacrifice. I pray to God that He will give the people of India sufficient courage and wisdom to recognise the virtue of non-co-operation.

And I hope that in a few days we shall see some result from your activities in Calicut in connection with non-co-operation.

Mr. Shaukat Ali's address was confined to a special appeal to the Mussalmans with regard to the Khilafat question.

Mr. K. P. Raman Menon on behalf of the people of Calicut presented a purse of Rs. 2,500 to Mahatma Gandhi towards the Khilafat funds which gift was accepted with thanks. (*W. C. Reformer* dated 20th August '20).



APPENDIX III.

**PROCEEDINGS OF THE DISTRICT
MAGISTRATE, CALICUT.**

DATED 6TH FEBRUARY, 1921.

E. F. THOMAS, ESQ., I. C. S.,

District Magistrate of Malabar, Calicut.

Order under Section 144 C. P. C.

"The District Magistrate has received information that it is under contemplation to hold a series of Khilafat meetings in Ernad Taluk and that by the holding of these meetings there is immediate danger that the feelings of the more ignorant Moplahs will be inflamed against not only Government but also against the Hindu Jenmis of the Taluk, though the ostensible object of the meetings may be to preach non-violent agitation. It has been reported that there is a probability that the result of such meetings will be something more than a tendency to a disturbance of the public tranquility and that there may result riot and danger to human life: the District Magistrate is satisfied from his knowledge of the Ernad Taluk and of the tendencies of the Moplahs of that part of the District that the report is not unfounded and is confirmed in his opinion by the fact that one of the movers in this enterprise comes of a family with out-break traditions and has been suspected in previous outbreaks. Variankunnath

Kunhamad Haji is referred to. The other persons likely and reported to be concerned in organising such meetings are two ex-Vakils who must by their own act seek a livelihood by agitation regardless of what may be results. It is reported that a meeting is to be convened at Nellikuth on the 7th instant, and as this is a case of emergency it is hereby ordered that. Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji, 2. Madhavan Nair, 3. U. Gopala Menon and the local leaders of the Khilafat movement whoever they may be are prohibited from convening or speaking at any public meeting in the Taluk of Ernad (W. C. S. 8th Feb. '21).

APPENDIX IV.

MR. YAKUB HASAN'S ARRIVAL.

"West Coast Spectator" Dated 15th Feb. 1921.

Mr. Yakub Hasan arrived here by today's mail. Elaborate arrangements had been made for according him a fitting reception and accordingly there were present at the station a large number of Muhammedans and Hindus, who included all the leaders. A band of Khilafat Volunteers paraded on the platform to preserve peace and order.

ORDER SERVED.

Immediately after his arrival, Sub-Inspector Sanjeeva Menon of the Calicut town presented a copy of the following order of the District Magistrate to Mr. Yakub Hasan who refused to accept it and asked the Sub-Inspector to present it at his residence. Accordingly the order was served at his residence a little later. Mr. Yakub Hasan is accompanied by his wife. They are the guests of Mr. Zuahooralla Sahib during their stay in Calicut.

"Whereas it has been made to appear to me that as a result of several political meetings, (professedly on Khilafat and Non-co-operation) held in the Malabar District notably in Calicut, Manjeri, Tirurangadi, Kundotti, Angadipuram, Ponnani and Tellicherry and of the speeches made at such meetings, persons lawfully employed have been intimidated and annoyed in many ways

and obstructed in their peaceful pursuits and have been threatened with annoyance and obstruction and the feelings of the more ignorant inhabitants, Moplahs of the District, have been more likely to be inflamed against the Government and whereas in my opinion, the continuance of the holding of such meetings will have the immediate effect of disturbing the public tranquility and may very likely lead to riots and affrays, and whereas in my opinion, a speedy prevention of such meetings is in the circumstances desirable and whereas I am informed that a political meeting is to be held at Calicut on or about the 15th or 16th February, I do hereby prohibit the holding of the said meetings and strictly warn and enjoin on you not to take part in it."

Tanur, February 15. The very grand arrangements made here for the reception of Mr. Yakub Hasan was marred by the order of the District Magistrate prohibiting the holding of meetings here, which was tom tomed throughout Tanur this morning. A huge pandal had been put up to hold the proposed Khilafat meeting while arrangements have been made to feed a large number of people.

On the arrival of the train at this station, Mr. Yakub Hasan alighted from his compartment and shook hands with the leaders of the Mussalman community who had assembled on the platform. Before the train left the station, Mr. Yakub Hasan was garlanded.

ARREST OF YAKUB HASAN AND OTHERS.

A conference of leaders was held at the residence of Mr. Yakub Hasan, and it appeared to have been decided

to hold a Khilafat meeting on beach last evening in contravention of the District Magistrate's order, prohibiting such meetings.

ARREST.

Yesterday afternoon, the District Superintendent and the Deputy Superintendent of Police arrested Messrs. Yakub Hasan, K. Madhavan Nair, U. Gopala Menon and Moideen Koya and the following is the copy of the order served on them at the time of their arrest:—

“ Orders under sections 107 and 114 C. P. C. Whereas orders were served on, 1. Yakub Hasan, 2. K. Madhavan Nair, 3. U. Gopala Menon, 4. P. Moideen Koya lawfully promulgated under Section 144 C. P. C. prohibiting them from holding a political meeting at Calicut on or about the 16th instant and whereas it has come to my knowledge that the first mentioned in consultation with the counter-petitioners 2 and 4 and others has decided to disobey the prohibitory order thus lawfully promulgated will inevitably lead to a breach of the peace and disturb the public tranquility I now as provided by section 107 C. P. C. call upon the counter petitioners named above to show cause forthwith why they should not be bound over to keep the peace in their own bond and one surety each of Rs. 1000. Whereas the holding of such a meeting by counter petitioners will be contrary to law and to the prohibitory order served on the counter-petitioners and will inevitably result in breach of peace and whereas such breach of the peace cannot for the reasons given above be prevented except by the immediate arrest of the

counter-petitioners as provided by section 114 C. P. C., I do hereby order their arrest under the warrant issued by this Court."

They were arrested and produced before the District Magistrate. Four witnesses were examined for the prosecution and having declined to execute a bond or furnish sureties, the District Magistrate sentenced them to six months' imprisonment. They were then taken to Calicut Sub-Jail in two motor cars, escorted by the District Superintendent and Deputy Superintendent of Police.

With a view to prevent a breach of the peace, and to avert a contingency of any disturbance, soldiers in two motor lorries patrolled the town, while Reserve Police maintained peace and order. The town hall and the beach where meetings had been arranged to be held were also guarded by the Police. A large number of people had assembled in front of the Huzur when the four individuals were under trial. Last night, processions of Mohammedans passed through the streets repeating certain words from the Koran. On the whole, the crowd was orderly and well behaved.

A DAY OF HARTAL.

To-day has been observed as a day of hartal. There were huge processions during the whole day. Almost all the shops remain closed. Butchers were away from their stalls and mutton and beef could not be obtained. A procession of students, Mohammedans in particular, passed through some of the streets. The Government

School of Commerce and the Native High School remained closed in the absence of students. The Zamorin's College was also practically closed although a few of the classes worked with a very limited number of students. Most of the lawyers have abstained from attending Court. Great sensation prevails.

PRACTICE SUSPENDED.

It is understood that Messrs. A. Karunakara Menon, K. V. Gopala Menon and P. Achutan of the Calicut Bar and P. Ramunni Menon of the Ottapalam bar have suspended practice. (*West Coast Spectator* dated 17th February 1921).

APPENDIX V.
COUNCIL DEBATE.

18TH FEBRUARY 1921.

DIWAN BAHADUR M. KRISHNAN NAIR.

"I submit, Sir, that I deem it extremely unfortunate and extremely deplorable that at this time when the Reforms are coming into operation, when the Government of India are considering the desirability of repealing all or some of the repressive laws, the District Magistrate of Malabar should have thought it fit to exercise these provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code and, as I shall be able to show presently, bring trouble not only to himself but to the others also inclusive of the Government. I can very well understand, Sir, the District Magistrate's anxieties for preserving peace; I can also understand that with good reasons he might have prohibited the holding of any particular meeting in the Taluk which I mentioned, namely Ernad. But I cannot understand, Sir, why the District Magistrate should have issued such an order under section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code, prohibiting meetings and prohibiting these gentlemen, to address meetings in the town of Calicut. I have not heard of any disturbance in Calicut like those disturbances that sometimes occur in the Ernad Taluk and in some parts of Walluvanad Taluk. If instead of having issued these order he had allowed the meeting to proceed

as was done at the time when Mr. Gandhi visited Calicut some months ago. I myself was not present in Calicut then ; I was told that about thirty-thousand persons were present to hear him preaching non-co-operation, absolutely no harm would have taken place. As a matter of fact people listen to these speeches and go away and they forget them the next day. They look upon these things more or less as a fun. At any rate in this part of India, in the Southern Presidency, in Malabar particularly, of which I know more than other districts, no harm has taken place in consequence of the preaching of non-co-operation or the Khilafat. So that, the effect of what the District Magistrate has done is this. In consequence of this order there has been a large crowd in Calicut. The vakils have struck work ; I do not know whether the strike still continues ; I have no information. In fact, I may say at once, Sir, that I have not received any communication from the persons concerned. My information is from other sources. The vakils have struck work, the jutkawallas have ceased plying their jutkas and there is very great sensation. It is reported that schools and colleges have become empty and the order has created a great sensation and, as I said, quite unnecessarily. It may be said—I can very well understand it—how can the District Magistrate be blamed when these gentlemen on whom these orders were served by him, do not obey the order ? Is there any cause left to him but to imprison these persons ? Legally, I grant that that position under the Criminal Procedure Code is correct. But the District

Magistrate who is the representative of the Government in the district should take a more comprehensive and broader view than this, and, instead of creating, as I submit, trouble for others and for himself he should prevent the occurrence of trouble; and I sincerely and honestly believe that his action in having issued this order will bring plenty of trouble. It will excite the people and it will create the very trouble which it is intended to avoid. The trouble may even spread to the dangerous zone, the Ernad Taluk. I do not know Mr. Yakub Hasan personally. I am told that he is held in high esteem in some quarters and in very great respect in others. This action of the District Magistrate is likely to excite and rouse the Mappillas."

The Hon'ble Sir Lionel Davidson:—"The Government of Madras share the Hon'ble Member's regret that it should have been necessary at this time to take prohibitory action under the Criminal Procedure Code, but they cannot agree with him that the action was unnecessary. Perhaps the best method of illustrating the position will be for me to place before the house the substance of the communications which we have received during the past few days from the District Magistrate of Malabar. These I now propose to read, if you will permit me, Sir, for the current of the narrative will gain force if they are read out instead of being paraphrased.

"We had been aware for sometime past from the confidential reports of the District Magistrate of Malabar

that the position was getting more and more serious in respect of the Khilafat movement and the active manifestations of it. There is at least one question on that topic before this Council, which will, I hope, be answered tomorrow. Matters came definitely to a head on or about the 12th February when the District Magistrate found it necessary to issue orders prohibiting political meetings in Ernad and parts of Walluvanad, that is to say, the Mappilla area. The District Magistrate's telegram informing us of this ran as follows:—

“Intimidation prevails throughout the district. Further action imperative. Yakub Hasan and Rajagopalachari expected today, to tour district. Consider essential (to) prohibit meetings throughout the district and stop Yakub Hassan forthwith.”

“Our reply to that telegram was:—

“Regret general prohibition you propose is impossible, but Government have no desire to limit your discretion under Section 144 in preventing specified meetings or restraining Yakub Hassan or others from speaking on particular occasions.”

The reason why that reply was sent to the District Magistrate was that we feel, as we feel now, that the Senior Magistrate must be trusted to exercise discretionary power in regard to matters of a changing nature of which, we, four hundred miles away, can have no precise idea.

APPENDIX VI.

IN THE COURT OF THE DIVISIONAL MAGISTRATE, CALICUT.

ORDER UNDER SECTION 144 C. P. C.

8TH MAY 1921.

“Whereas It has been made to appear to me that Thayyil Assan Mulla and others of the Khilafat Committee intend to hold a public meeting for the purpose of preaching Khilafat and Non-co-operation and whereas in my jurisdiction the dissemination of Khilafat and Non-co-operation propaganda has resulted in the past and is likely to result hereafter, in riots directed by Mussalmans against Hindus as is witnessed by the fact that a case arising out of this self-same agitation is now under trial before me in which certain Moplahs are charged with having formed with thousand other Moplahs an unlawful assembly and caused damage to the Matom (a place of worship) and Kolapura in Kizhakothe Amsom and polluted the tank attached and thereby offended the religious sentiments of the Hindus of that locality and whereas there is reason to apprehend that if a meeting avowedly for the dissemination of Khilafat and non-co-operation doctrines is allowed to be held in Calicut, the fair trial of this case may be prejudiced owing to the religious feelings likely to be aroused, now, I considering that immediate action is necessary in order to prevent annoyance and injury to

persons lawfully employed, danger to the public safety and disturbance to the public tranquility, do hereby direct that no meetings shall be held ostensibly for the purpose of preaching or publishing Khilafat and non-co-operation doctrines in the Municipality of Calicut and the area within 5 miles of the Municipality limits and strictly warn and enjoin you not to take part in any such meetings and I direct that this order shall remain in force for a period of one month from to-day."

There was a crowd on the beach and as soon as they knew that orders have been served and that meetings could not be held as the result of the prohibiting order, they began to melt away with the result that by 6. P. M. there were only 400 Moplals squatting on the beach.

APPENDIX VII.

THE POOKOTUR INCIDENT.

(1. *West Coast Spectator* dated August 9th, 1921).

EXTRACT:—"Rumour has it also that the convulsion was due to the universal feeling of indignation felt by tenants against oppressive and tyrannical jenmis."

(2. *Madras Mail*, dated August 15th 1921.)

EXTRACT:—"Within the past few days stories have been in circulation, started, of course, by apologists of the N. C. O. and Khilafat movements, that the recent manifestations of lawlessness were almost wholly the outcome of landlordial oppression and tyranny, and, as may be guessed, these stories are aimed chiefly against the Nilambur Tirumulpad's family. As a matter of fact, the tenantry of the Nilambur Rajah's family have always been treated with the greatest consideration and it is common knowledge that *melcharths* are unknown among the tenants of this landed house."

(3. *Madras Mail*, dated September 7th 1921).

EXTRACT:—(From the Special Correspondent). "I was accorded an interview this morning by Elaya Tirumulpad of Nilambur, senior member of the Nilambur Rajah's family. It needed a good deal of persuasion to induce the Elaya Tirumulpad to tell his story.

• • • •

Some 16 or 20 days before the rebellion the Tirumulpad stated that between 200 and 300 Moplahs assembled together at Pookotur Kovilagam, of which the sixth Tirumulpad was the manager and *demande*d* their wages at 9 o'clock at night.* The 6th Tirumulpad appears by his unsympathetic management of Pookotur properties to have made himself exceedingly unpopular with the Moplahs, who are still on his track, determined to put an end to his life. The Moplahs became very turbulent. They threatened the manager and said that, even if he escaped to Nilambur they would follow on his track. The 6th Tirumulpad managed to escape to Nilambur via Manjeri at dead of night.

* * * *

The Pookotur Moplahs openly stated that they were after the blood of three persons, namely, the 3rd Tirumulpad, who is the general manager of the palace properties, the 6th Tirumulpad, the Pookotur Manager, and the Kariyasthan of Nilambur Mr. C. S. Lakshminarayanaier, against the last named of whom there seems to have been generally hostile feeling throughout Nilambur.

APPENDIX VIII *a*.

THE MALABAR POLICE.

THE POLICE RAJ.

West Coast Spectator dated the 16th May 1922.
Letter by Mr. Manjeri Ramaier B. A., B. L., High Court Vakil Calicut, under the heading "Malabar Affairs: Our Gratitude." "During the days of the rebellion, the Khilafat Raj put the Police Raj ignominiously to the flight. The proud Policeman was stripped of his weapons and of his prestige and forced to realise the hard and painful fact that mere adeptship in charge-sheeting was of no avail against the faith-frenzied charge of the muscular Moplah. Now that the Military have humbled him to the dust and the Moplah is too weak to rise, the Policeman again has scrambled back into his congenial task of indiscriminate charge-sheeting. Instead of the rattle of the artillery and Ordnance, we have the prattle of the courts of the Ordinance. Instead of shooting each other down they are now swearing against each other. The abnormal circumstances are such that perjury is at a premium. Some of them now try to make up for the fleetness of their calf muscles in running away from their posts of duty by the "Hextra" telescopic power of their million magnified vision, in claiming to have witnessed crimes committed while, if the truth must be told, they were running hours and miles ahead, with their backs to

the scene, at a speed which would put to shame champions of an Olympian race.

Police officials are, after all, men, and we have no right to expect the impossible of them. Thousands of crimes have been committed, many who have witnessed the crimes have had their own sympathy with the rebels, and they will not give evidence for the prosecution, and many crimes have been committed in darkness and in daylight with none witnessing save the rebels themselves. Even in the special courts there must be eye-witnesses who saw and identified the accused. A fairly large percentage of these are to be 'detected', and conviction must follow or else why the Police Department at all, and why promotions and other etceteras? A little imagination will supply you with the rest of the process of detection and proof, and men are afraid, even in cases where a particular accused is innocent, to give evidence for defence for fear of the dock inviting him soon after. The whole situation is a complex muddle in which all the power of prosecution and of pardon is concentrated into hands which are not always clean. There is also one other element to be taken into consideration. There are thousands of men who have grown fat on unholy loot. These do not feel safe until they have succeeded by continuous tempting in thrusting a good portion of the loot into the hands of some fallen angel who can stand between them and the courts, and, if necessary, provide innocent substitutes in their stead. The situation is fraught with the greatest anxiety. The evils of an unchecked Police

regime are too well known to need any description. In critical times like these, the evils develop a thousand fold until the whole machinery of Police administration becomes a by-word in the mouths of the people unless perchance a strong man, with a considerable touch of Haroun Al Raschid is at the helm, who knows the Police official inside and outside and all his arts."

APPENDIX VIII b.

Order in S. J. C. No. 129 of 1922 on the file of the Court of the Special Judge, Malabar Ordinance, 1922. Dated 21st August 1922.

Prisoners:—Chakkingalthodi Moideenkutti and 11 others.

Offence:—Waging War against the King and murder.

Finding:—Not guilty.

Order:—Discharged.

Para 9. Before setting out the evidence on the third and most important count, viz., the murders of the four Hindus, I may state that after all the prosecution evidence was taken, it was discovered that in another case viz., against Kakkat Veeran of Mannarghat and 20 others relating to the murder of four Hindus, two of whom are identical with two of the victims in this case, the Crown had put forward a different version of the mid-night orgy of slaughter in which the accused charged in this case are alleged to have taken part. I sent for and

exhibited the charge sheet No. 358 in S. J. C. 163/22 which is on Mr. Jackson's file. Vide Ct. Exhibit I. It casts a lurid light on the character of the police investigation into this transaction.

Para 12. It is difficult to imagine two stories which differ more widely. The only point on which there is any agreement is that Nechuli Krishnan Nair was murdered on the night of the 19th October.

Para 14. I consider it not a little remarkable that the Crown should have put forward two wholly different accounts of the murders of Nechuli Krishnan Nair and Neeringal Ravunni Nair such as that presented in this case and the one proposed to be proved in S. J. C. No. 163/22 supported by the evidence of two different sets of witnesses with the exception of one witness who has deposed to one version and is supposed to prove the other version as well.

Para 15. The existence of the charge sheet in S. J. C. 163/22 having been brought to the notice of the Public Prosecutor, he reports that he did not press this portion of the case. In view of the course adopted by the Crown, I consider that it will be a waste of judicial time for me to investigate how the charges came to be laid in these cases. I would however draw the attention of the District Magistrate to the haphazard way in which capital charges have been preferred and the very serious neglect in the supervision over investigations which this case discloses.

APPENDIX VIII B2

**IN THE COURT OF THE
ADDITIONAL SESSIONS JUDGE,
SOUTH MALABAR.**

SESSIONS CASE 2 OF 1923.

The 5 Accused.—Marat Kalathil Ayamed Kutti and four other Moplahs—were charged with the murder of one Govindan Nair on 30th October '21 near a channel known as Kakathodu in Porur Amsom in Walluvanad Taluk. In opening the case for prosecution the Crown Prosecutor made the following remarks.

“The history of the case is quite sad. It is a case, which, if you believe the Crown evidence, was strangled at its birth by the guardians of the peace. There is no calumny against the Police Force as a class. The Crown impugns the conduct of two of the members of the honourable Force. There is much to be said about their connection with this case which would be more intelligible to you after I lead the evidence for the Crown.”

The trial ended in the acquittal of the five prisoners and in his judgement the Judge deals with the conduct of Police Sub-Inspector Govinda Menon (Def. Wit. 1) in the following terms.

Para 26. “As I am dealing with the share of the Police in this case I may say at once that D. W. 1

Sub Inspector Govinda Menon has betrayed in the box his interest in the accused and his animus against the complainant. There is a clear instance of each. Now though complainant repudiates Exhibit I as a forced statement, D. W. 1 says it was a voluntary one. Complainant adheres to the story that he gave a complaint before the Vandur Police and even gave details of the dress of the officer to whom he gave it. So anxious however is D. W. 1 in this court to make out the complaint to be false that he actually forgets what he recorded whether voluntarily or under force, from the complainant in Exhibit I. It is beyond doubt that he entirely failed to make any enquiries into the case after getting the reminder note from his Inspector. What is even more suspicious is that he apparently studiously avoided asking who deceased's relations were or examining them, though they were clearly the people who having last seen the deceased alive could give him the best information. He coolly says that he did not think it an important point in this case as who last had seen the deceased alive. He also had to admit after first denying it that he wrote a letter to a certain Nambudiri after he had been examined by Mr. Thorne and received a reply. His answers on this point will show his regard for truth. "I did not write to him. I don't remember to have written any letter to that Nambudiri in connection with this case. I may have written him a letter. I wrote to him as I wanted to see P. W. 4." In re-examination he professed to have sent this letter under the orders of his superiors.

If so, why all this denial and shuffling? I have no doubt this letter was written with the object of getting the evidence of P. W. 4 broken up. He gave his evidence in the most unsatisfactory and evasive manner and I had frequently to warn him."

APPENDIX VIII B3.

**IN THE COURT OF THE
SPECIAL JUDGE, MALABAR.**

(RESTORATION OF ORDER) ORDINANCE, 1922

MAY 24TH 1922. CASE 74 OF 1922.

The Accused.—Mohamed Haji was charged with having waged war against the King. He was found not guilty and acquitted.

Para 16. The defence produced a circular (Exhibit I) which this witness (P. W. 2) did copy. This was a circular which was prepared at the warehouse and is in the hand-writing of Manjeri Ramaier. Accused therein exhorts the Khilafat Committees in the name of Congress and Khilafat to teach the people not to break the law. "Particularly if anybody does any harm to Government officials, the latter should be given all the possible help and protected. Especially Hindus should be carefully protected." The fact that this circular was prepared must have been in the knowledge of the Police, but this has been suppressed by the prosecution and a story substituted in its place which crumbled at the first touch of cross-examination.

Para 18. The defence has examined D. W. 5 to prove that the accused told P. W. 3 that he was going to Ponnani to prevent the rebels who had gone to Ponnani

from doing mischief but P. W. 3 denies this. It is clear however from the evidence of D. W.'s 1 and 2 that as soon as he returned from Ponnani on Monday and when he was blamed for leaving them alone at the warehouse the previous night, the accused stated at once that he had been to Ponnani to prevent mischief. Mr. Coultas says that the Inspector himself interpreted this to him. The Inspector's denial of this circumstance and of other circumstances tending to show the action of the accused in a favourable light, the friendly relations that existed between the Police and the accused so long as they were in the warehouse, and the grateful feeling everybody had for him at the time is one of the unsatisfactory features of the prosecution in this case. However this be there is no doubt that a grossly perverted version of the Ponnani adventure has been presented by the prosecution witnesses.

APPENDIX VIII. c.

DEBATE IN LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

March 3, 1923 *Madras Mail* 6th March 1923). Mr. Ramalinga Reddy, wished to know whether it was not a fact that in several places the Police without apprehending the rebels ran away and in some cases they even surrendered their arms.

MALABAR POLICE DEFENDED.

Mr. E. F. Thomas (nominated) at this stage rose to a defence of the police force in Malabar. He understood Mr. Ramalinga Reddy to say that the police force under him in the action at Tirurangadi had behaved in a cowardly fashion. That statement was not true. The police force at Tirurangadi had behaved with great courage.

Mr. Ramalinga Reddy offered a word of personal explanation. He was understood to have said that the police under Mr. Thomas behaved badly. This was not so. The police at Tirurangadi behaved well and he had nothing but praise for them, but his observations as to the police throwing down their arms was confined to the police in the other actions in Malabar.

Mr. Thomas accepted the explanation with pleasure. At the same time he wished to express as strongly as he could his disagreement with Mr. Ramalinga Reddy's

condemnation of the police in other places than at Tirurangadi. Until the speaker went on leave the police everywhere in Malabar did not only what was expected of them but much more. Throughout the rebellion the police undertook the most dangerous of duties. This was evident from the fact that 25 policemen were killed and a like number wounded during the rebellion. He should have preferred this defence of the police to have come from some non-official member from Malabar, but as one who served in Malabar for many years and had great affection for the district he felt it necessary to state that the police throughout the rebellion with a few solitary exceptions, did as much and more than was required of them.

APPENDIX VIII. *d.*

TOWN HALL MEETING.

Calicut, 10-3-'23.—An emergent public meeting of the citizens of Calicut was held yesterday evening in the local Victoria Town Hall to protest against the doubling of the salt-tax and to show their gratitude to Mr. C. R. Reddy, M. L. C., for his budget speech on Malabar matters in the Madras Legislative Council. There was a large attendance and the audience was comprised of all political parties.

On the motion of Mr. A. K. Kelu seconded by Mr. Raru, Mr. K. P. Raman Menon, High Court Vakil was voted to the chair.

* * * *

The second resolution ran thus:—

a. That this meeting of the citizens of Calicut do express their complete confidence in Mr. C. R. Reddy and do thank him cordially for his recent outspoken speech on Malabar affairs during the preliminary discussion on the Budget.

b. That this meeting do fully endorse his statements about the need for an enquiry into the conduct of the Police during the beginning of the rebellion in the interests of law and order in the District and absolutely dissociate from Hon'ble Mr. A. R. Knapp's remarks about

the behaviour of the Police at the beginning of the rebellion even after making full allowance for the difficulties of their position.

c. That this meeting do request and authorise Mr. Reddy to press for such a committee on behalf of Malabar during the budget discussion and after in the local Legislative Council in which case the public of Malabar are prepared to lead evidence.

Mr. Manjeri Ramaier in seconding the resolution said :—

“ From his experience in Tirur he could not find any policeman, excepting one Inspector, one Sub-Inspector and three Europeans. The 39 police Constables of that station were not at all seen in the neighbourhood but were coming out of their hiding places as the military came. The Policeman who was shivering all the while eating canjee said when the trial came that he saved the life of the Europeans. Mr. Ramaier challenged any one to say that his statement and that of Mr. Coultas were false. He then gave instance where a man was charged by the Police for murder while the accused was actually in Kolar at the time of the alleged offence : He mentioned about five cases in which the Police charged those with crimes who were in the Coimbatore Jail long before they were said to have committed the crimes. What Mr. Reddy stated could be clearly proved from extracts from judgements in the Martial Law Courts alone. From 21st August until the Military arrived on the scene it might be said the presence or absence of the Police did not make

any change in the situation. The Police protected themselves. If running away from their posts was their duty, they did it well."

When the resolution was put to vote it was adopted amidst loud acclamation. (*West Coast Spectator*, 13-3-'23.)

APPENDIX IX.

ATROCITIES.

These are classified below :—

- (a) Brutally dishonouring women,
- (b) Flaying people alive,
- (c) Wholesale slaughter of men, women and children,
- (d) Forcibly converting people in thousands, and murdering those who refused to be converted,
- (e) Throwing half-dead people into wells, and leaving the victims for hours, to struggle till finally released from their sufferings by death.
- (f) Burning a great many and looting practically all Hindu and Christian houses, in the disturbed area, in which even Mopla women and children took part, and robbing women, of even the garments on their bodies, in short reducing the whole non-moslem population to abject destitution.
- (g) Cruelly insulting the religious sentiments of the Hindus, by desecrating and destroying numerous temples, in the disturbed area, killing cows within the temple precincts, putting their entrails on the holy images and hanging the skulls on the walls and roofs.

1. *The Nannambra Atrocities.* On the night of 14th November 1921, a large body of armed Moplah

entered the house of Puzhikal Narayanan Nair, a wealthy landlord of Nannambra Amsom. They looted the house, carried off one of the girls and a boy captive, seized nine of the occupants and brought them to a neighbouring rock where they murdered seven of them. Five died at once, and two lingered for a few hours. The other two grievously wounded were left lying on the spot. A boy in the house—Madhavan Nair—was killed and thrown into a well. Narayanan Nair made his escape.

The Special Judge who tried the case against the Moplahs remarked, "to my mind this murderous attack indicate something more than mere fanaticism or lust for looting. There is no evidence that the murders were committed because the murdered persons refused to embrace Islam, or resisted the rebels, or refused to show property. The rebels seem to have meant to kill every male in the place whom they could catch hold of, and the only survivors were those who either got away or were left as dead. The abduction of a young girl and a boy shows the deliberate ferocity of the attack." (Judgement in cases Nos. 116 and 116 A of 1922.)

Narayanan Nair trusted his Moplah watchmen, whom he engaged to watch his house and they turned traitors. The Moplahs wanted to exterminate the family and very nearly succeeded in doing so. The girl was rescued from the hands of the rebels after a detention of six weeks and after suffering indescribable indignities. Horror of horrors !!!

Five of the prisoners were sentenced to capital punishment and five to transportation for life, and who knows how many remain free, who had joined the gang ?

2. *Murder of Retired Police Inspector Khan Bahadur Chekkutti and of Head Constable Hydross on 30th August 1921.* Remarks of the Special Judge, Malabar. Case No. 73/22.

“These were the two of the most brutal murders in the rebellion which cost the lives of two loyal Government officers who were killed for doing their duty and for their services to the Crown. It is difficult to say which of the two was the more dreadful and the callous crime. In Chekutti’s case the murderers had the decency to send away the women-folk before they finished the deceased off, but they were guilty of appalling barbarity in subsequently parading the head on a spear. In the case of Hydross the murder was carried out in the presence of his wife and children and in spite of the entreaties of the latter and the efforts of his wife to protect her husband.”

The evidence of the wife shows how a brave man met his end and the singularly brutal circumstances of the murder.

3. *Murder of Mr. Readman, Inspector of Police* On the night of 19th August, 1921, Mr. Lancaster, A. S. P., with Inspector Readman and a force of Police left Malappuram for Tirurangadi, but after going some eight miles, Mr. Readman was taken ill and had to be sent back in a cart, his orderly accompanying him. The

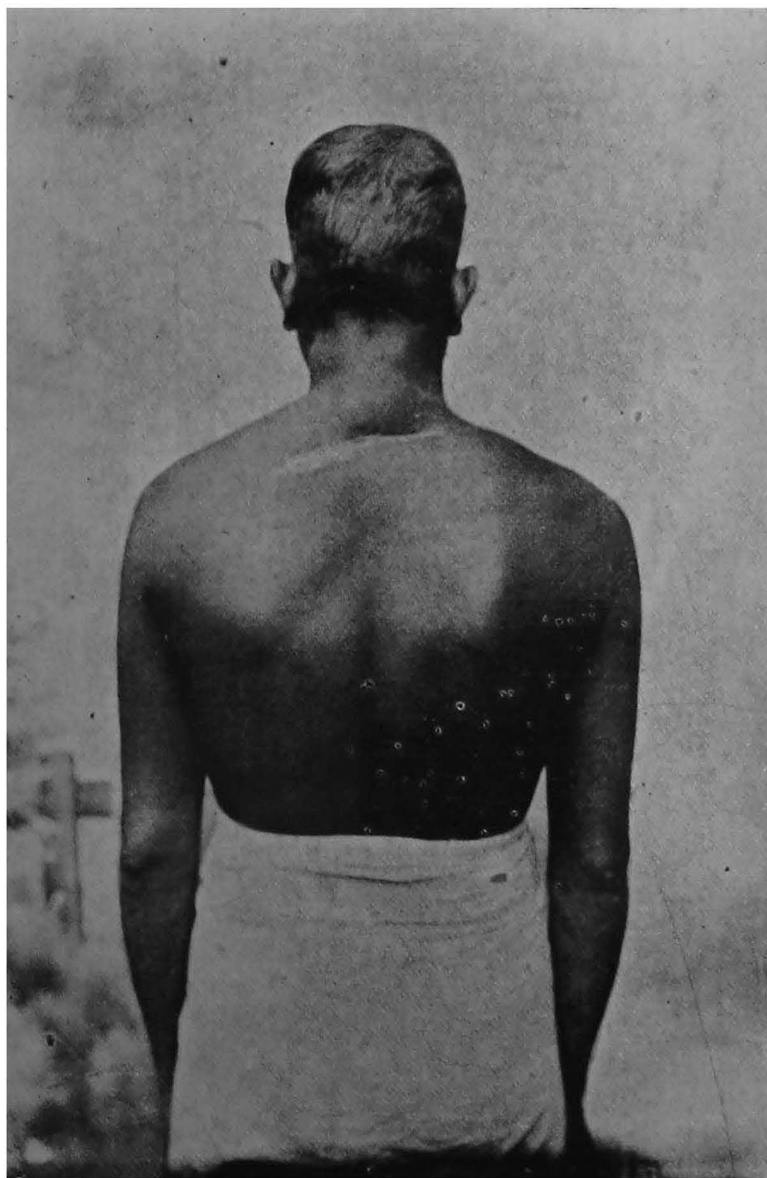
Inspector reached Malappuram early on the morning of the 20th and feeling better after a little rest sought leave to rejoin his men at Tirurangadi, but the request was not granted at that time. In the afternoon, however, he was informed that he could go if he was of the same mind, and he got ready at once, and was put into the Collector's car, the chauffeur being the only other occupant. The car was followed by three empty lorries in the leading one of which was orderly Kunhali. After it had traversed the first eight miles from Malappuram, this lorry was held up by a rebel gang who attacked and killed the occupants. The car conveying Mr. Readman got as far as the ferry, 12 miles from Malappuram and within two miles of Tirurangadi, when it was attacked by rebels, and it was here that Mr. Readman was killed. (M. M. October 3. 1921.)

4. *An Orgy of Murder.* Avokker Musaliar, a rebel leader, established himself with a large following in Muthumana Illom, in Puthur Amsom, Calicut Taluk in October and November 1921. Scores of Hindus were brought in from the country-side, some with their families. They were offered Islam. Such as accepted it were converted and detained or sent away at Musaliar's pleasure. Whoever refused Islam were incontinently and irrevocably ordered to be put to the sword. There is a sacred grove attached to the Illom and in it are a Serpent Shrine and a well. Condemned Hindus were marched to the shrine, beheaded and thrown into the well. Batches of victims were thus disposed of

in this way and about 50 or 60 dead bodies were found in it. One of the Hindus named Kelappan had a most miraculous escape and has lived to tell the story. He received two sword cuts on the back of the head and neck and fell down. Others have had their heads completely severed but he escaped decapitation by sheer luck. The rebels did not suppose that any life was left in him and one of them dragged him by the legs and pitched him into the well.

The well was almost full with dead bodies. Kelappan who was flung on the top of them managed after two hours to haul himself up with the aid of a creeper which was hung down into the well and hid himself in the clump of trees. He was refreshed by a little rain and quitted the grove after night-fall and slowly and painfully dragged himself along for a distance of 8 or 9 miles supporting his head which was hanging in front. He was found next morning at 8 o'clock in an exhausted state and was sent to the hospital by the Sub Inspector. He was under treatment for a month. (Judgement in Case No. 32 A of '22 dated 29th July '22).

5. *Chembrasserī Tangal's Performances.* There is a well situated about midway between Tuvur and Karuvarakundu on the slope of a bare hillock. Here the Chembrasserī Tangal's followers about 4,000 in number from the neighbouring amsoms held a great meeting. The Tangal sat in the shadow of a small tree. More than 40 Hindus were caught by the rebels and taken to the Tangal with their hands tied behind their back. They



KELAPPAN WITH WOUNDS ON BACK AND HEAD. *page 56*

were charged with the crime of helping the military against the rebels. Thirty-eight were condemned to death. Three are said to have been shot and the rest taken one by one to the well. Just at the brink there is a small tree. The executioner stood here and after cutting the neck with his sword pushed the body into the well. Many of the people who were thus thrown in were not dead. But escape was impossible. The sides of the well are cut in hard laterite rock and there are no steps. It is said that some people were crying out from the well even on the third day of the massacre. They must have died a peculiarly horrible death. At the time when this massacre was perpetrated it was the rainy season and there was some water in the well, but now it is dry. And any visitor can have a look at the gruesome sight. The bottom is entirely filled with human bones. Pundit Rishi Ram, the Arya Samaj Missionary, who was standing by my side counted 30 skulls. One skull deserves particular mention. It is still seen divided neatly into two halves. This is said to be the skull of an old man named Kumara Panikkar, whose head was slowly cut into two by means of a saw.—E. RAMA MENON, B. A.

6. *The Mannur Holocast. Press Communique, Calicut, 14th November 1921.* In the rebel raid at Mannur and Tenhipalam which took place on the morning of the 9th instant definite information has now been received that 44 Hindu men, women and children were slaughtered by the rebels. The raid was purposeless as far as can be ascertained; the only possible object could have been loot.

7. *Rubber Estates.* "The Moplah rebels looted the Police Station at Karuvarakundu and taking possession of arms and ammunitions, proceeded to Kerala and Pullengode. Messrs. Browne and Colbrooks got away safely, but only just in time. As soon as Mr. Browne left, the *Moplahs* Kerala coolies looted all the bungalows and took away everything of value. They then proceeded to burn all bungalows, factories and other buildings, pull up bridges, and break down culverts. The destruction has been most thorough.

"The coolies then cleared out with the loot, and the mob finished the work of destruction and sent a strong party after Mr. Browne up the Silent Valley path. They traced them by orange peel and their heel marks. However, they did not get him, and he arrived in Ootacamund safely.

All the estates have suffered the same fate. (*Madras Mail.*)

8. *Murder of Mr. Eaton* :—Mr. Eaton took the most direct and usual route to Kerala to join Mr. Browne. He took his chokra and three dogs. All might have been well had it not been for the dogs barking at something. This betrayed them. The Chokra climbed a tree and saw Mr. Eaton done to death. He only had time to fire three shots from his revolver before being set on and kicked to death by his own coolies, being mocked and jeered at during the process with such remarks as: "Did you not beat so and so? Then take that", and "Did you not do so and so? Then take that and that."

“After he was dead they decapitated him and took his head to the public road and placed in the centre thereof amid much demonstration, his body being thrown into the river. The Chokra was found by the Military during their operations. (*Madras Mail.*)

9. *The Nambudiri Sufferings*:—Over 700 Nambudiris, men, women and children of all ages and stages have sought refuge from the taluks of Ernad and Calicut and are now under the shelter of the Zamorin Rajah of Calicut. Many of them are reported to be staying at Mankavu and Chalapuram palaces. The illom of Cherukloll Nambudiri and the Chelri Madhan of Trikallore Devastanam were looted. Many illoms in the adjoining amsom of Karasseri were also destroyed or looted as also of Kanniparamba and Koorhakol amsoms, where even the houses of Nairs have not been spared. In addition to the above, Parapoor, Oograpur, Pulayakote, Sreekrishnapuram, Chathamangalam, Peruvembra, Koloti and Amritamangalam have suffered seriously.

Of the above, the events connected with Porkot Illom in Parapoor (Ernad Taluk) deserve mention. About 8 P.M. on the 21st about 600 rebels broke open the Nambudiri's house and a couple of them sat on the breast of Vasudevan Nambudiri, the heir-apparent, and held a sword to his neck commanding him to disclose the place where he had secured his valuables. On his telling them some of the rioters went upstairs and took possession of the whole and reported the receipt of the same to their comrades downstairs. The terror-stricken Nambudiri escaped to

the adjoining forests. Report has it that his belongings were worth over Rs. 10,000/-

The next morning at about 7 o'clock the rebels took possession of Madhathal Illom and looted it after sunset. The same night they looted the Illoms of Vattapuzha, Kulangara, Theyeri and the next morning the Illoms of Palakkal, Kottakal and Thalethodi also on the 24th when the refugees were cooking in Nermangat temple on their way to Calicut, the rebels, who were fully armed, surrounded the temple before entering it, rooted out the idol, broke it to pieces and attempted to convert several of the refugees to Islam. The refugees narrowly escaped to the Zamorin's Palace. The temple of Eswaramangalam and almost all the Hindu houses in the same desom were looted. Several of the Nambudiri women who have arrived are without their inevitable upper cloth, cadjan umbrella or *Thali* (ornament). Vasudevan Nambudiri of Chuzhalipurath Mana in Pannikot amsom Calicut Taluk, whose illom was looted refused to change his faith and was murdered forthwith.

About 300 Moplah rioters, who seated themselves on the railway line adjoining Trikazhikkot Swami's Mutt, sent about ten among them to the Swami and demanded of Rs. 300/-, but withdrew on payment of Rs. 100/- with the promise of taking the balance, after the arrival of His Holiness' Agent. At night they appeared, again looted the whole Madham and made good their escape with cash, jewels and other valuables.

News of Nambudiris from Nilambur, Kottakal and Manakada is equally heart-rending. Some of the Nambudiri women and children who are supposed to have escaped are missing. Over 600 Moplahs arrived at 4. P. M. one day at the house of Vettath Orupulasserri Nambudiripad ordered him to open the safe, and carried away as much as they could. Another gang opened the granary and took paddy and vessels.

The looting lasted for about six hours.

At Parhingot Manakal, near Kalpakancheri a similar looting took place.

The house of Tirunavai Vadhyans, the High Priest of the Nambudiris was also attacked.

In Poomalli Mana a sum of Rs. 4,000/- was paid. The rioters are also reported to have looted a granary here and to have carried away 12,000 paras of paddy.

In Chevoor Nambudiri's Illom the rioters were seen for four days, from the 20th to the 24th, and were given all that they demanded. The adjoining Atupurath Bhattethiripad was forced also to give up his Illom to the rioters.

In all the eight Illoms of Parappor Desom (Ernad Taluk) the rebels committed havoc, and the members of Pookotur Illom were the worst sufferers, having lost about Rs. 50,000/-. The rebels entered the temple belonging to these Nambudiris removed and broke the idol to pieces and killed a cow.

The Nambudiris of Thakkapuram Dsom have taken shelter in the Manḡkata Palace as their Illoms were looted. The Nambudiris of Narass Mana, Payapulli Mana have also suffered and Rao Bahadur M. C. Krishna Varma Rajah of Mankatā deserves a word of praise, for giving shelter and help to the refugees who have arrived there.

In Valiya Chemborni Mana (Ernad Taluk) about 25 Moplabs appeared for the first time on the 22nd and wanted one para of paddy and Re. 1/-. Several such gangs followed at intervals of a few minutes. A very large gang that came finally told the owners not to bother themselves by repeated disbursements in small quantities and looted about 15,000 paras of paddy from the granary. Most of the rebels are reported to be the Nambudiris tenants. (*Madras Mail* 5th September '21.)

10. *Flayed Alive.* Several recent reports show that between Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji and the Chembrasserri Tangal it has been decided that all Hindus residing in villages at the mercy of rebel bands, should be put to death unless they accept Islam. Instances are mentioned in which Hindus had actually been forced to dig their own graves before being butchered. It is also reported that diabolical reprisals are being perpetrated against all persons known or suspected of supplying provisions to the military and police, one report stating that the Chembrasserri Tangal had ordered a Hindu to be flayed alive for supplying troops with milk. In villages like Melattur, Melmuri, Karuvarakundu and Toovur, extermination of the Hindu population is being systematically

carried on, but young women and girls who find favour with rebels, are forcibly carried away. Hundreds of Hindus are daily pouring into Malappuram, Wandur, Manjeri, Angadipuram, and other places where the presence or the proximity of troops and police offers security, but as provisioning of even military is not an easy problem, as many as possible of the unhappy fugitives are being passed on to Calicut, Palghat and elsewhere. (*Madras Mail* 4th October '21).

✓ 11. *Kerala Patrika, Wednesday, March 1, 1922.*

The story of the death of Krishnan Nair will melt even the stoutest heart. He had rendered much help in arresting the rebels. This rankled in the mind of the Mopla and he was killed. First the skin was peeled off from his body, below the waist. He had to suffer this pain for some time. Then his two legs were cut off from the body. He had to suffer pain from this for some time. Ultimately his neck also was cut off. Thus it was that he was done to death. The other two were soon hacked to pieces. The three brothers who remained, fled and saved themselves when these were nearing their end.

✓ 12. *Report of a refugee:—“A pregnant woman carrying 7 months was cut through the abdomen by a rebel and she was seen lying dead on the way with the dead child projecting out of the womb. Another, a baby of six months was snatched away from the breast of its own mother and cut into two pieces. (Extract from a report of Mr. Devadhar.)*

✓ *A respectable Nayar lady at Melatur was stripped naked by the rebels in the presence of her husband and brothers, who were made to stand close by with their hands tied behind. When they shut their eyes in abhorrence, they were compelled at the point of the sword to open their eyes and witness the rape committed by these brutes in their presence. (Extract from a report of Mr. Devadhar.)*

13. *The Sack of Nilambur:*—Nilambur is the Head quarters of the wealthy and aristocratic family of Thacharakavil Tirumulpad a ruling chief in the ancient days.

At 8 A. M. on Sunday August '21, at which hour most of the Kovilagam guards were away, the Moplahs of Pookotur arrived in a very large body, armed with guns, swords and war-knives and rushed to the palace gate. The small palace guard offered but feeble resistance. One of the men a washerman by caste, fired on the Moplahs killing one man. He cut another Moplah down, but he was soon overpowered by the Moplahs who hacked him to pieces. The rest of the guard escaped into an adjoining house but the Moplahs pursued and butchered all the inmates including two women and a child. Seventeen persons were killed and two dangerously wounded in this house. In the meanwhile, members of the Nilambur family took shelter and shut themselves inside the ladies, palace, with the exception of the Elaya Tirumulpad who stayed in his own bungalow with his family. The majority of the rebels went into the Senior Tirumulpad's palace, and destroyed everything they found there. Property worth Rs. 35,000 was destroyed besides

the records for 8 years which were burnt. While the bulk of the rebels were engaged in this direction, a large mob rushed towards the ladies' palace, where men, women, and children, and servants and attendants numbering about 150 souls, had locked themselves in. Half a dozen doors were broken open by the rebels, and at last they reached the door of the building in which women and children had taken shelter. Meanwhile a rebel messenger came with some message which caused the gang to leave the ladies' palace and rush off to that portion of that palace which was being destroyed. After completing the work of destruction they went off in the direction of Pookotur, shouting and telling Nilambur people that they would return to the Kovilagam after looting the Manjeri treasury.

The whole of the family and servants were sent to the other side of the river into the forest. On the following day there was general looting and plunder all over the place and with the exception of the Kovilagam and about hundred houses which were guarded, all the neighbourhood was looted. (*Madras Mail* 17th September 21.)

STATEMENTS OF REFUGEES.

14. *Padmanabhan, Adhikari, Puthur, Calicut* :—
 “The Moplahs systematically looted all the houses, some houses being also burnt and destroyed. All the temples in the neighbourhood, about a dozen in number, have been destroyed and the idols completely broken.”

“Two of my uncle's sons and another relative and also 3 Cheruma servants were however caught by the

Moplahs and killed. It is difficult to estimate the number of people killed. It cannot be less than 300. Two wells have been filled completely and a third, partly filled up with dead bodies."

Numerous women, chiefly Thiyyas, have been violated but it is impossible to give details. One woman was captured along with her husband. The husband was beheaded and the woman was raped.

15. *Vellakiri Kuttipurath Gopalan Nair, Puthur, Ernad*:—At about 8 P. M. on the 14th Kanni (24th Sept. 21) Moplahs about 300 in number forcibly entered the house. In the meanwhile Karunakaran Nair managed to come out with one chopper and a stick with a sword inside. He fought with the Moplahs and killed 4 of them and wounded some. Soon after he ran to the gate. At that time a Moplah threw a spear on his head which pierced through his neck and he fell down and died. Moplahs looted all the property. My three houses were looted and one house burnt to ashes. There is a temple also that belongs to us. This temple was destroyed. From Vengara Amsom about 20 men have been killed. About 60 Hindus have been converted. Besides mine there are two other temples also in Vengara. All of them have been destroyed and idols broken and cows slaughtered.

16. *Kaipadhthu Kunjunni Nair, Koduvayoor, Ernad*:—There are about 50 Hindu houses there. Out of these, three houses have been set fire to and the rest have been more or less destroyed. Seven persons have been

killed and not less than fifty have been converted to Islam. Including small ones there are five temples in that Amsom and all of them have been destroyed and desecrated. Five young women to my knowledge have been ravished.

17. *Maniyil Paloli Krishnan Nair, Trippanissi, Ernad* :—I am 76 years old. The Moplahs compelled me to marry the poor woman who was staying with me and who is 56 years old. The marriage was performed according to Muhammadan rites. The Moplahs told us if any of us reverted to Hinduism, so long as even a male or female babe was left alive, our lives would not be safe.

18. *Chembazi Kutty Krishnan Nair, Adhigari, Peruvallur, Ernad* :—There are altogether about 200 (two hundred) Hindu houses in my Amsom. All the houses have been looted. More than 50 Hindus including women and Children have been converted to Islam. About 8 Hindus have been killed. There are four temples in that Amsom. All of them have been destroyed and desecrated.

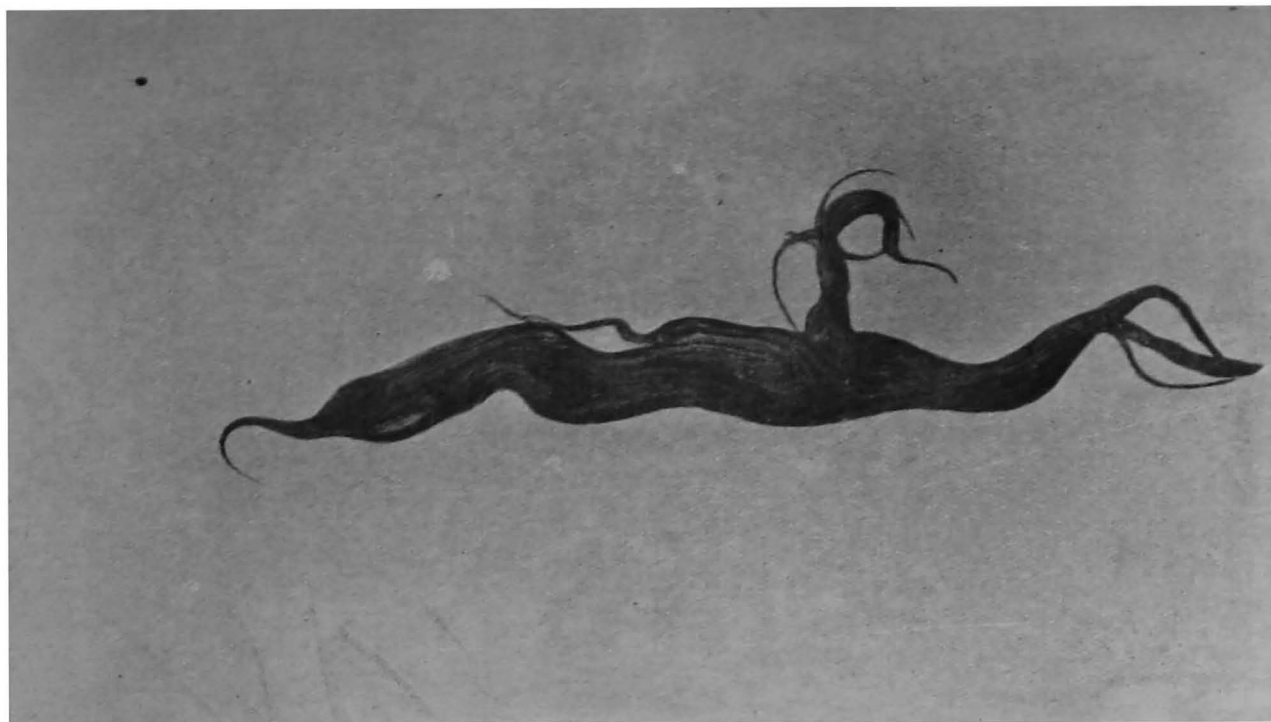
✓ 19. *Thiruthiyil Natuvancheri Narayanan Mussed, Adhigari, Valikunna, Ernad* :—In my Amsom not less than one hundred houses have been looted and not less than 60 houses have been set fire to. I have got two temples in that Amsom. Both of them have been destroyed. In my Amsom several men and women and children have been murdered by Moplahs. Dead bodies of children and grown up men and women were floating in the river. A Hindu woman about 70 years old was

burned to death, by setting fire to her thatched house. In that house there were 20,000 cocoanuts. The whole of them was burnt. All except the old women managed to run away. She could not run, and so she was burned to death.

20. *Puthukote Chathunni Nair, Puthur, Calicut.* On the 28th September the rebels came to my house. All my family people, except myself, fled in panic. As soon as they came, they tied my hands. My neighbour Thiyyerthotiyil Gopalan was also dealt with in the same way. The next day, Gopalan piteously cried to be allowed to see his mother. Then he was taken to the brink of a well in Nagalikavpurambu, on the western side of Muthumana Illom, and Gopalan was cut down, with a sword, by one of the rebels. The body was thrown into the well. I saw this with my own eyes. I consented to be converted to Islam. Then they made me recite some verses, in the Koran, and gave me some meals.

On the day I was converted, 6 men, belonging to the Pervayil and Chathamangalam amsoms were also converted. I saw two Nairs caught from Neeleswaram, and four Thiyyas caught from Kotuvalli being cut with the sword, on the brink of the before mentioned well belonging to the Kavu.

21. *Thelappurath Rama Kurup.* On the 8th Chingam (24th September) the Moplabs entered my house. They were about 60 or 70 Moplabs on the whole. Most of them were natives of that place and tenants. It was



**Heaps of Kuduma (hair tuft) removed during forcible conversion.
Found at Nirilamukh, Calicut taluk, placed against a wall and photographed.**

about 12 noon. They caught hold of me and stretched me on my back and placed the sword on several parts of my body and threatened to kill me. I cried out and called the name of Manpurath Thangal several times. Then one old Moplah asked them to leave me alone. All my moveables were removed and looted. I have sustained a loss of nearly Rs. 11,000. One of my temples also was destroyed. The idols were taken away and destroyed. In my Amsom 5 temples were destroyed. No less than 40 Hindus were converted to Islam. One of the nieces of mine was converted. 15 persons were killed in my Amsom by Moplahs. Out of these 3 are women.

Since giving this statement, this Gentleman has committed suicide.

22. *K. Govindan Nair, Adhikari, Thazhkode, Manasserri, Calicut.* In both these Amsoms together there are above 300 Hindu houses besides the huts of Cherumas. Without exception all the houses have been looted and all the moveables taken away by rebels. About 40 houses have been set on fire and burnt to ashes. In both the Amsoms together there are about 25 temples. Some of them have been burnt to ashes, others destroyed and idols broken and cows butchered in them. About the end of November on a single day 22 persons, all Hindus, were killed by Moplahs.

23. *Sankunni Unni Nair, Kannamangalam, Ernad.* All the Hindu houses in the Amsom were completely looted. As my people were the most important family in the neighbourhood the rebels wanted to convert them.

They came provided with barbers and jackets etc., to convert them. But my family received timely warning from a Nair servant. The Moplahs being enraged at the disappointment pulled down part of my house and set fire to the house of the servant who gave us warning. My Tarwad has altogether suffered a loss of about Rs. 30,000, The Iringalath Vishnu Temple which belongs to me was destroyed and partly burnt. The idol was smashed to small bits.

24. *Madhathil Vishnu Nambudri, Vilayil, Ernad.* On the 22nd August, about 9 A. M., about 10 Moplahs came to my house; most of them are my neighbours and tenants. Gradually the rebels began to increase in number and by noon there were not less than 500 Moplahs. I sent away the women and children through the back door and when the Moplahs began to enter the house, I myself ran away. I lost about Rs. 15,000 worth of property in the beginning and subsequently my house worth about Rs. 20,000 was set fire to and destroyed; most of my records have been destroyed. I was in Vaikom till now and came to Calicut 4 days back. I have to get rice from this camp. I am now staying in Vattur Illom at Chalapuram.

25. *Ramunni Nair, Adhigari, Olakara, Ernad.* On October 12th the rebellion spread to my Amsom in a serious form. Every Hindu house was looted of everything valuable. My amsom Kolkaran (peon), Chathu Nair, who did not flee, was beheaded. About half a dozen people have been killed and above 30 converted.

All the cattle have been killed and slaughtered in the amsom. I have myself lost about 30 cows besides bullocks and buffalows.

26. *Mangalasseri Vishnu Nambudri, Peruvallur, Ernad.* I have four temples:—The Keravallur Bhagavathi temple—Karimkali Kavu, Ettaparambil Vishnu Kshetram, Aiyappan Kavu, and these temples have been partly destroyed and the idols have been dug up and removed. Among my dependants, five women and two men have been slain, 5 persons, two Nairs and three Thiyyas have been forcibly converted into Islam.

27. *Vilayil Chantamara Pishrodi, Adhikari Vilayil, Ernad.* There are nine Nambudri Illoms in that Amsom. Moplahs entered all the houses and forcibly removed jewels of Nambudiri women; in the case of Nayar women also Moplahs did the same thing. All the women had to take shelter in the jungles and the Moplahs tried to hunt them out from the forests, but they did not succeed in finding them out. On the third day, Cheruvayur Amsom Adhikari's men came and rescued these women. There are six temples in the Amsom, all of them have been destroyed and desecrated and cows slaughtered in the premises and the idols were garlanded with the entrails and the skulls hung in various places in the temples. Six Hindus have been murdered and about 15 houses burnt by the rebels. About sixty persons were forcibly converted.

28. *Gopalan Alias Parakat Mupil Nair, Cherur, Ernad.* The Moplahs entered my house, removed all the

Note:—Chantamara Pisharodi has since been murdered.

moveables entered the temple close by, which also belongs to me, converted the Embrandri there to Islam killed eight persons from the temple premises, three women and five men. All the idols were destroyed and cows killed in the temple. I had about 40 heads of cattle including cows and calves. Some were killed and others taken away. I have, on the whole, lost Rs. 12,000 worth of property by the Mopla rebellion. Not less than 40 Hindus were converted to Islam from that Amsom. There are five temples in my Amsom. All of them have been destroyed and desecrated.

APPENDIX X *a.*

H. E. THE VICEROY'S SPEECH.

SIMLA SEPT. 3, 1921.

THE MOPLAH REBELLION.

"I shall not enter into a lengthy discussion of the events and conditions that led to this serious outbreak, which may be said without exaggeration of language, to have assumed the character of a rebellion, because I am well aware that you will have opportunities of discussing these matters in the course of your debates. I shall only make some general observations for your consideration. It is obvious from the reports received that the ground had been carefully prepared for the purpose of creating an atmosphere favourable to violence, and no effort had been spared to rouse the passions and fury of the Moplahs. The spark which kindled the flame was the resistance, by a large and hostile crowd of Moplahs, armed with swords and knives, to a lawful attempt by the Police to effect certain arrests in connection with a case of house-breaking. The Police were powerless to effect the capture of the criminals and the significance of the incident is that it was regarded as a defeat of the Police and therefore, of the Government. Additional troops and Special Police had to be drafted to Malabar in order to effect the arrests. The subsequent events are now fairly well known although it is impossible at present to state the number of the

innocent victims of the Moplahs. These events have been chronicled in the Press, and I shall not recapitulate them. The situation is to all intents and purposes, in hand. It has been saved by the prompt and effective action of the Military and Naval assistance for which we are duly grateful, although, some time must necessarily elapse before order can be completely restored and normal life under the Civil Government resumed.

But consider the sacrifice of life and property. A few Europeans and many Hindus have been murdered, communications have been obstructed, Government offices burnt and looted and records have been destroyed. Hindu temples have been sacked, the houses of Europeans and Hindus burnt. According to reports, the Hindus were forcibly converted to Islam, and one of the most fertile tracts of South India is threatened with famine. The result has been the temporary collapse of the Civil Government. Offices and Courts have ceased to function,—and ordinary business has been brought to a standstill. European and Hindu refugees of all classes are concentrated at Calicut and it is satisfactory to note that they are safe there. One trembles to think of the consequences if the forces of order had not prevailed for the protection of Calicut. The Non-Muslim in these parts was fortunate indeed that either he or his family or his house or property came near the protection of the soldiers and the Police.

The Extremists condemned :—Those who are responsible for causing this grave outbreak of violence and

crime must be brought to justice and made to suffer the punishment of the guilty. But apart from direct responsibility, can it be doubted that when poor, unfortunate and deluded people are led to believe that they should disregard the law and defy authority, violence and crime must follow. This outbreak is but another instance on a much more serious scale and among a more turbulent and fanatical people, of the conditions that have manifested themselves at times in various parts of the country, and gentlemen, I ask myself and you and the country generally, what else can result from instilling such doctrines into the minds of the masses of the people? How can there be peace and tranquillity when ignorant people who have no means of testing the truth of the inflammatory and too often deliberately false statements made to them are thus misled by those whose design is to provoke violence and disorder? Passions are thus easily excited to unreasoning fury. Although I freely acknowledge that the leader of the movement paralysed authority persistently and as I believe, in all earnestness and sincerity preaches the doctrine of non-violence and has even reproved his followers for resorting to it, yet, again and again, it has been shown that his doctrine is completely forgotten and his exhortations absolutely disregarded when passions are excited as must inevitably be the consequence among emotional people. To those who are responsible for the peace and good Government of this great Empire, and I trust, to men of sanity and common sense in all classes of society, it must be clear that defiance of Government

and constituted authority can only result in widespread disorder, in political chaos and in anarchy, and in ruin. There are signs that the activity of the leaders of the movement or at least of one section of it, may take the form of even a more direct challenge to law and order.

A clear warning.—There has been wild talk of a general policy of disobedience to law and in some cases, I regret to say, accompanied by an open recognition that such course must lead to disorder and bloodshed. Attempts have been made by some fanatic followers of Islam to seduce His Majesty's soldiers and the police from their allegiance and attempts that have, I am glad to say, met with no success. As head of the Government, however, I need not assure you that we shall not be deterred one hair's breadth from doing our duty. We shall continue to do all in our power to protect (peaceful and law-abiding) citizens and to secure to them their right to pursue their lawful avocations. And above all we shall continue to enforce the ordinary law and to take care that it is respected. It is the manifest duty of every loyal subject of the King-Emperor, as it is the interest of all who wish to live peaceful lives, with a security of protection against violence and crime, to oppose, publicly a movement fraught with such dangerous possibilities, and to help the officers of the Government in their task of preventing and suppressing disorder, and I and my colleagues are ready and anxious to do all that is possible to allay legitimate discontent and remedy the grievances of the people of India. (*Madras Mail, 5th September 21*);

APPENDIX X. b.

Statement by Sir W. Vincent.

(COUNCIL OF STATE DEBATE.)

Simla, September 5,

MOPLAH FANATICISM.

Sir William Vincent, on behalf of the Government said, that the real truth of the origin of the outbreak was that the Moplahs were ignorant, many of them poor and nearly all of them fanatical and entirely under the influence of a bigoted priesthood. As he understood them, many of them were descendants of Arab traders and soldiers, and after their entry in Malabar they began the conversion of students there to Muhamadanism. At the end of the rising in 1885, 20,000 arms, including 9,000 guns were recovered. The present rising appears to have been purely fanatical, though he had no doubt it had been accentuated by economic distress, ordinarily resulting in keen agrarian troubles but he had no information to lead him to believe that the Hindu landlords were responsible for this rising. There was no sympathy for the non-co-operation movement as such, because the Moplahs had little feeling for Mr. Gandhi's personality. Judging from the recent events there was certainly no sympathy for the movement of non-violent non-co-operation because the greatest violence had been committed.

Volunteer Organisations :—At the beginning of this year, there were certain speeches delivered and these had a considerable effect on the fanatical population of Malabar, which was singularly prone to out-breaks. In June there were reports of Volunteer organisations, and these organisations were going on secretly. In July there were provoking speeches on the Khilafat question which combined with the resolution of the All-India Khilafat Conference held in Karachi produced an impression among the Moplahs that the end of the British rule was at hand. The first instance of lawlessness was in that month. When the Police Officers went to arrest a man who was concerned in the breaking into the house of a Nambudiri, a large number of Moplahs arrived, and there was serious danger of a riot which was however averted. The Police at that time were powerless, and the Moplahs considered themselves victorious. Under the Moplah Outrages Act, the Government arrested three men and there was no trouble, but a party of police was left to search others. In the course of this search, certain Moplah Policemen after taking off their shoes, entered a Mosque. This information spread around, and a large force of Moplahs collected apparently to attack the police, but the attack was beaten off, he regretted to say, with loss of two officers. By this time, railway and telegraph communications had been cut off, and the outbursts of fanaticism in Tirurangadi that developed into a general rising worked up in Malabar, where Swaraj was declared and green flags hoisted on the offices. Mobs of five to ten thousand

were going about in small gangs, destroying rail-roads, harassing Hindus, especially high class Hindus and Nairs, whose houses they looted and whom they occasionally murdered. The total casualties were one British Officer and three British other ranks killed, one British Officer and three British other ranks wounded, two Assistant Superintendents of Police, one Inspector, and two Head Constables killed and one Constable murdered. Others narrowly escaped. Government could not be sure as to the actual death-roll among the people, but numerous Hindus had been murdered and some had been forcibly converted, under threat of death, to Muhammadanism. He understood that a Retired Inspector of Police was murdered, his head was cut off from the trunk, a spear was thrust into it, and it was taken through the streets. Temples had been desecrated and defiled.

Moplah Casualties :—Regarding the Moplah casualties, Sir William Vincent could give no figures, except that at Pookotur 400 had been killed, press reports indicated approximately 1,000 deaths. The figures he had quoted about Pookotur were by no means over-estimated, because the fight there lasted five hours.

The whole Moplah rising seems to be due to the preachings of extremist Khilafat agitators. But the Government had no reason to believe that things would develop seriously. If the Government had previously resorted to any measures, it would have been considered a campaign of repression. Now Sir Manackjee asked the Government why they did not take stringent measures

before. Surely the Council could not have it both ways. Last autumn when he stood up in the house, there was not a single man except perhaps one or two who asked the Government to take stringent measures. The Government of Madras were about to prosecute a certain individual in May for a speech delivered at Erode, but just then there was a meeting between Mr. Gandhi and the Viceroy, and rightly or wrongly the Government of India thought that it was only fair to give that gentleman *Locus Penitentiae* in the hope that he would abstain from preaching violence. Unless the Council and Legislative assembly were prepared to vote considerably larger sums of money than they had done at present for the internal defence of the country it was difficult to deal with risings of this character. As to the present position, he could say that all possible measures had been taken, and the situation was now well in hand. All possible measures had been taken not to prevent any unnecessary force, or anything which could be considered as severe, and instruction had been given to Military Officers not to cause any bitterness or humiliation, even though there might be rebellion. In conclusion, the Home member said, he wished to convey to the people, in Malabar, the sympathy and the regret of the Council and the Government for the lives lost, temples desecrated, and for insult and injuries to persons and property, appreciation of the services to the Naval and Military and all officers of the Crown and sympathy to the Madras Government.

APPENDIX X c.

The Governor's Speech.

The Madras Legislative Council met at 11 A. M. 1st Sept. 1921 in the Council chamber and there was a fairly large attendance. Sir P. Rajagopala Chariyar presided.

H. E. THE GOVERNOR.

H. E. the Governor addressed the Council as follows:—
Mr. President and honourable members,—Before the commencement of the ordinary business of the day, I think that honourable members may expect me to make some statement to them concerning the present situation in Malabar and in other parts of this Presidency, including our own city of Madras.

As regards Malabar, since martial law has been declared and the military are engaged in the task of restoring law and order, it is not proper for me to go into details. But I wish to emphasise the fact that it was the mere attempt on the part of the district authorities to enforce ordinary process of law that was signal for a sudden and wide spread outbreak of violence directed in the first place against Government, their officers and the whole apparatus of civil administration. Over a wide tract of country, in an incredibly short space of time, communications of all kinds were wrecked or obstructed, public offices and courts were attacked, and their records destroyed. Police stations were plundered of their arms and ammunition, and civil government was brought to a complete stand still. As a natural consequence, excesses

followed of which private persons were the victims. Though accurate and complete particulars are in the nature of the case impossible to ascertain at present, there can, I fear, be little doubt that the numerous reports of arson, extortion, robbery and even murder are only too true.

The suddenness and the extent of the conflagration point irresistibly to the existence of a wide spread and dangerous organisation whose leaders were only watching for an opportunity to attempt by violence to overthrow the existing government and to exploit for that purpose the religious fanaticism of the Moplah. It may be said that government have been remiss in not taking precautionary measures in advance. To that I would reply that the settled policy has been as far as possible to avoid exciting public opinion, in the hope that the effect of the reforms would be gradually to defeat revolutionary agitations. While we admit that at first, our forces were inadequate, I should like to express the grateful thanks of Government to the naval and military authorities for the promptitude and rapidity with which they responded to our appeals for assistance. It is unnecessary for me to say, as head of the Government, how deeply we deplore the terrible loss of life which has already occurred, not only among military and police officers and men but also among peaceful and law-abiding citizens. We deplore, too, the loss of life among the Moplahs, ignorant and misguided dupes of unscrupulous agitators. Our deepest sympathy must also go out in full measure to all those

who have been bereaved or left homeless through this outbreak, and the honourable members may rest assured that the Government are resolved to make the fullest use of all the resources at their disposal to restore law and order and to punish the guilty.

Serious as the position is in Malabar, I feel it my duty to warn honourable members that it is not Malabar alone that gives Government grave cause for anxiety. Throughout the Circars and more particularly in the deltaic district the same insidious propaganda has been at work, undermining constituted authority, preaching race hatred and seeking to instil into the masses, impatience of and contempt for constitutional authority.

In the Presidency town itself labour disputes, the merits of which we need not consider to-day have developed under the same malignant influences a chronic state of hostility between Muhammadans and Hindus on the one hand and the Adi-Dravidas on the other, which has led to a series of deplorable conflicts, accompanied by loss of life and the destruction of property and necessitating the repeated intervention of the forces of the Crown.

The duty of the Government is clear. We are resolved to enforce the observance of law and order in all parts of the Presidency, and shall support our district officers, if necessary with military assistance, in all legal measures they may have to take to ensure to our peaceful, loyal and law-abiding citizens, safety for their lives and property and security in the pursuit of their ordinary avocations.

Responsibility of Non-officials:—I have spoken of the duty of Government, but on honourable members, too, rests a responsibility. In my speech at the last meeting of the old council I pointed out how the propaganda which is associated with the name of Mr. Ghandhi must inevitably culminate in chaos and disorder. I myself did not then foresee how soon my forebodings would be justified.

I then spoke of the great experiment on which we were embarking. Not the least important object of the recent constitutional reforms was to lead the people of this country to identify themselves more closely with the government. A crisis like the present affords an acid test of the extent to which this object has been attained. It largely depends on every honourable member, and on his attitude at the present moment whether that experiment should be hailed as a success or condemned as a failure. But it is not enough that we should feel assured of their benevolent intentions. Your intentions must be translated into action. To you, as men of light and leading in your respective communities, I appeal, with all the earnestness at my command to rally to the Government, to organise an effective counter propaganda and to do all that in you lies to refute misinterpretations of the actions and motives of Government, and to encourage the people in resisting this intolerable terrorism which is the very antithesis of true liberty.

I have expressed to Hon'ble Members very clearly and very frankly my view on the serious state of things that exists in our midst at the present time. For the

credit of our Presidency, and for its progress and prosperity in the future I confidently rely on all loyal and right thinking citizens, whatever their race or community, to assist the Government in defeating the forces of disorder amongst us, and in securing that our Province goes forward by sure and constitutional steps till she gains the goal of responsible Government and assist the country to become in every sense an equal partner in the great Commonwealth of Nations which calls itself the British Empire. (*Madras Mail, dated 1st Sept. '21*).

APPENDIX X d.

Mr. Gandhi's Speech.

Mr. Gandhi addressed a public meeting on 15th September 1921 evening on the Triplicane Beach, Madras.

THE MOPLAH REBELLION.

It was open to the Government, as powerful as they were, to invite the Ali Brothers and the speaker to enter the disturbed area in Malabar and to bring about calm and peace there. Mr. Gandhi was sure that if this had been done much of the innocent blood would have been spared and also the desolation of many a Hindu household. But he must be forgiven if he again charged the Government with a desire to incite the population to violence. There was no room in this system of Government for brave and strong men, and the only place the Government had for them was the prisons. He regretted the happenings in Malabar. The Moplas who were undisciplined had gone mad. They had thus committed a sin against the Khilafat and their own country. The whole of India today was under an obligation to remain non-violent even under the gravest provocation. There was no reason to doubt that these Moplahs were not touched by the spirit of Non-co-operation. Non-co-operators were deliberately prevented from going to the affected parts. Assuming that all the strain came through Government Circles and that forced conversions were true, the Hindus should not

put a strain on the Hindu-Moslem Unity and break it. The speaker was however not prepared to make such an assumption. He was convinced that a man who was forcibly converted needed no "Prayaschitham." Mr. Yakub Hassan had already told them that those who were converted were inadmissible into the fold of Islam and had not forfeited their rights to remain in the Hindu fold. The Government were placing every obstacle in the way of the Congress and Khilafat workers to bring relief to desolate homes and were taking no pains to carry relief themselves. Whether the Government gave them permission or not it was their clear duty to collect funds for the relief of sufferers and see that these got what they required.

They did not yet know fully what measures the Government were going to take to repress the strength and rising of the people in this land. He had no reasons to disbelieve the testimony given to him yesterday that many young men were insulted because they wore Khaddar caps and dress. The keepers of the peace in India had torn Khaddar vests from young men and burned them. The authorities in Malabar had invented new measures of humiliation if they had not gone one better than those in the Punjab. (*Madras Mail, dated 16th September 1921.*)

APPENDIX XI.

Details of Suspension of Sentence and Fine.

VIDE CHAPTER III.

In chapter III the details of conviction, suspension and fines have been given up to the end of October, 1922.

Information up to 31st March 1923 is given below.

1. Number of persons whose sentence was suspended under suspension scheme ... 12,842
2. Total amount of fine inflicted ... Rs. 12,04,232
3. Total amount collected 2,93,821
4. Number of persons pending trial 221.

Information as to the number of persons convicted up to 31-3-'23 of offences committed in connection with the rebellion is not available, but the number of prisoners in jail on 19th April 1923, excluding those transported to the Andamans was 7900.

