Chapter II

COLONIAL GOVERNMENTALITY AND THE MAKING OF A COMMUNITY
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There is a consensus among scholars regarding the role of colonial state in giving impetus to the construction of collective discourses, be it Hindus or Muslims. ‘In making religion the primary factor in the definition of community, the British laid the basis for a discourse that claimed to represent the interest of loosely conceived social categories.’\(^1\) The colonial power needed to create a reliable body of knowledge on the colonized in order to harness them effectively. Hence, there developed an elaborate mechanism for enumerating peoples, resources, flora and fauna and several other things as part of colonial knowledge production. This mechanism of colonial state contributed to the formation of communities by recognizing religion as the unit for its social, political and administrative measures. ‘Religion was the colonial reference point and it was this practice which culminated in the formation of separate electorate.’\(^2\) Thus contesting identities were accentuated by the politico-administrative and documentary practices of colonial state, including novel institutional models and technologies of communication. Though colonial state was the primary point of reference for communitarian discourse, the print capitalism served as the main fount of its construction and dissemination.

Census Modality and Community

The census, introduced in India by the British in 1871, was instrumental in creating categories and fixing them within such imaginary

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boundaries that people themselves felt as real in course of time. In the pre-colonial phase, identities were multiple and not fixed. ‘Pre-colonial communities’ opines Sudipta Kaviraj, ‘which had fuzzy boundaries were replaced by discrete categories which could be enumerated exactly and which claimed exclusive identification by their members. These discursive operations induced people to participate in public sphere in terms of collective identities defined by the state. Modern governing practices thus reconstituted the meaning of community and ethnicity, producing a brand of modern ethnic consciousness in India.’

Interestingly enough, contrary to its policy in home country, the British brought a religious dimension in the census enumeration which began in 1871 and the categories of 'Hindu' and 'Muslim' were created without bothering what these categories infact constituted. The Decennial census cast the die making religion the central factor marginalising all other forms of social relationship. The census enumerators found the syncretic or liminal identities as troublesome and unmanageable and hence to be tamed and shaped. The census reports formalised the meaning of religion to mean a community comprising individuals bound by a formal definition and accorded characteristics based on the data garnered by enumerators. Thus, as Kenneth W. Jones observed, 'they [British enumerators] created a sense of community more detailed and more exact than any existing prior to the creation of census'.

The British, in their social engineering, paid little heed to the internal differentiation of class, linguistic, regional or sectarian factors.

We have already seen in the first chapter, the popular and fuzzy nature of Mappilas of Malabar in the pre-census period and this would help us to pinpoint the breaks in social constructions, which made the new community possible. The 1881 census of Malabar classify the people of Malabar in to

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three distinct Nationalities – Hindus, Mohammedans and Christians. Further these three Nationalities are subdivided into different castes. For instance, Mohammedans are subdivided into Arabs, Lubbais, Mappilas, Pathans, Syeds, Sheiks and 'Other Mohammedans' (not stated). Many of this divisions were absolutely absent in Malabar. In the table of 1881 Census the Hindu, Mohammedan and Christians and others were introduced as Nationalities. Thus Nationality is the overall category within which we have castes, subdivision of castes, sex, age, marital status, occupation, education and language. It is interesting to note, as Kenneth Jones observed, that 'the only area of the census without a religious dimension was the section on infirmities- the deaf, dumb, blind, lepers and insane'. To the census enumerators, the infirmities were beyond religion or nationality. Thus, a pointed out by Muraleedharan, ‘the Census Table achieves the effect that there are so many Hindu Kollan families in Malabar in 1881 as truth and the truth itself has become an axiom.’

Each category of Mohammedan Nationality was considered as a caste for the Census Report of 1871 says, 'The Mohammedan community of south has, strictly speaking, no caste system but the influence of Hindu brethren is apparent in several divisions among them'. Besides this caste division, the religious sects were also given as Sunnis, Shias, Wahabis, Farasis and others not specified. Sectarian affiliations like Sunnis and Shias were recorded till the census of 1931. Sometimes sect was treated as caste. The criteria of all

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5 Census of 1871 Vol. I, Madras, 1874, K.R.A. See Appendix No. I.
6 Ibid.
7 Kenneth W. Jones. op.cit., p.80.
10 See Appendix II.
these varies from region to region and from census to census, reflecting the concern of authorities at a given time. In short, religion, in the minds of census officials was not merely a basic category but a factor, which cut across nearly all of human existence.\textsuperscript{11} The pervasive character of religion did not disappear from later census reports, but only increased. Religion was further elaborated throughout a number of statistical tables and discursive sections of the report.

Very often, the census enumerators and other officials found it difficult to determine the religion of certain sects. For instance, about \textit{Marakkayars}, the District Gazetteer says, 'some of them used turban and waist clothes and their women kind dress exactly like Hindu women. There seems to be a growing dislike to the introduction of Hindu rites in to domestic ceremonies and the procession and music which were common at marriages, are slowly giving place to a simpler ritual more in resemblance with 'nikah' ceremony of Mussalman faith'.\textsuperscript{12} Such syncretic or liminal groups were compressed in to grand tables according to the 'common sense' of the officials.\textsuperscript{13} In other words, the modern taxonomic system of British created categorical identities leaving out crossings and overlapping spaces. There was no acknowledgement of any intermediate reality in this dichotomous mode of thinking.

Out of a vacuum, two distinct communities (or Nationalities)-Hindus and Mohammedans-were constructed and the lower castes like \textit{cherumars}

\textsuperscript{11} Kenneth Jones, \textit{op. cit.}, p.81.
\textsuperscript{13} A census number (census of Madras 1901) painted on a village temple in Tamil Nadu enumerated the deity inside, in the following way. Name: Ganesha, Religion: Hindu, Sex: Male, Civil status: Married, Age: About 200 years, Means of subsistence: Offerings from village (Census of Madras 1901, vol. 15, part I, Madras 1902.p.127). It clearly shows the arbitrariness or fuzziness of census data.
were incorporated in the mega category of Hindus. Earlier, they were referred to as 'animists'. The enumerators were hard pressed to make people fall in to either this or that category. They could not feel easy with the fuzziness of communities that they encountered. Thus, 'one of the major consequences of census was the use of a single term 'Hindu' to designate a population that ranged, so widely in belief, practice, identity and recognition'.\textsuperscript{14} Conversely, ignoring all the internal differentiation and stratification, a mega category of ‘Mohammedan’ was also constructed. These enumerated categories were significant in identity formation of communities. Once the British constructed such communities, communitarian narratives began to flourish by about the close of 19\textsuperscript{th} century, which shows that the natives unhesitatingly imbibed this construction. They now began to conceive themselves as members of enumerated communities bound by doctrinal creeds ignoring the diversities within the community itself. This perception of Indian society as an aggregation of religious communities also led to the representation of identity in idioms emphasizing difference, not commonalities, between Hindus and Muslims. Thus 'the census reflected the official British perceptions of Indian society rather than any social reality'.\textsuperscript{15}

The census also discussed the size of each religious community, its percentage of total population, relative and absolute growth or decline. The census of 1881 gives a table showing the increase/decrease in the percentage of Muslim population of Malabar in 1881 as compared with that in 1871.\textsuperscript{16}

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\textbf{District} & \textbf{1871} & \textbf{1881} & \textbf{Difference} & \textbf{Percentage} \\
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\textit{District} & \textit{1871} & \textit{1881} & \textit{Difference} & \textit{Percentage} \\
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\textsuperscript{14} Nicholas.B. Dirks, \textit{Castes of Mind}, Permanent Black, Delhi, 2002, p.255.

\textsuperscript{15} Bernad S. Cohn, "The Census, Social Structure and Objectification in South Asia" in \textit{Anthropologist among Historians and Other Essays}, OUP, Delhi, 2001, pp. 224-254.

\textsuperscript{16} Table 12, Imperial Census, Madras Presidency 1881, p.39. See Appendix III.
This gain of 12.5% in Muslim population was being explained in the following words: 'This is clearly due to some disturbing influence outside the gain by natural increase and that the influence is not far to seek. The extensive conversion to Mohammedanism of lower caste Hindus in Malabar has for some years been a matter of notoriety. The social distinction created by Hindu castes is very marked in parts of West coast district and some of the lower castes occupy a much degraded position. The advantage, which Mappilas enjoy in this respect, is obvious enough and this seems at last to have dawned on the lower caste Hindus'.

In this way the census analyst attributed the conversion to the republican character of the domestic constitution of Mohammedan society. It may be interesting to note that the population growth was also attributed by census analysts to the greater virility of Muslims due to their dietary habits and the practice of widow marriage. Makti Thangal, a Muslim reformer of 19th Kerala, used this census data to prove his point against the Christian missionaries. Quoting the census data of 1881 Makti Thangal wrote, 'In India between 1871 and 1881 censuses, the Muslim population has increased by 92 lakhs while the increase in Christian population is just below one thousand. It is an ample proof to the appeal of Islam as a religion. Here, following the formulation of the census analyst, Makti Thangal too upholds the republican character of Islam. This also shows the internalization of the census data by the subject population.

In census data, the conversion of certain animist groups to Islam was depicted as a loss of Hinduism and a gain of Islam. For, the census Report of 1881 with regard to the question of conversion of cherumars in Malabar

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wrote, 'This caste [cherumars], which numbered 99,009 in Malabar at the census of 1871, is returned at only 64,725. This is a 'loss' of 34.63% instead of the gain of 5.71% observed generally in the district. There are therefore 40,000 fewer cherumars than there would have been but for some disturbing causes- conversion to Mohammedanism'. The census of 1891 went one step further, 'The Mussalmans have increased in that district [Malabar] by 18% while the increase of Hindus is only 9.89%... If the Hindus and Mohammedans continue to increase at the same rates as between 1881 and 1891, their numbers will be equal in 121 years from February 1891'. This kind of calculations had its impact in the society especially in the backdrop of growing religious competition. On another occasion, the Census Report of 1871 commented, 'Islam is ever active in seeking for proselytes. In Tipu's time, thousands of Hindus in Malabar and Canara were forcibly circumcised and compelled to confer Mohammedan faith'. By about 20th century, the educated sections of Malabar increasingly turned to the census reports for an official view of their own world and this official view supported many of their hopes and fears.

It was by citing the census reports that communal organizations like Arya Samaj and Hindu Mahasabha, sought to strengthen their community through militant proselytisation and re-conversion in Malabar in the Post-Rebellion Period. In order to stop the drain of Hindu population, aggressive campaign of reconversion was launched in Malabar. Hindu leaders demonstrated growing concern over a possible diminution of their community through conversion and later through differential growth rate which favoured non-Hindus. For instance B.S. Moonje, in his report of 1923 on conversion in Malabar, used Census Report of 1921, to show the alarming rate at which the

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Hindu population decreased in Malabar. The Muslims also cited census data to prove their points. Referring to the Aryasamaj’s attempt to convert Ezhavas at Palghat, *Qaumi Report*, a muslim paper from Madras, wrote, ‘the political life of Mohammedans will be seriously affected, if 18 lakhs of Ezhavas become Arya Samajists, is as clear as day. Every Muslim must have felt the disadvantage on account of numerical inferiority. It is therefore the bounden duty of Mohammedans of the presidency to help the missionary society in their national and religious work’ [the conversion of Ezhavas to Islam]. This shows that each community was worried about its numerical strength, as addition to the community played an important role in deciding the proportion of representation in legislative bodies. Census provided the necessary data for raising such communitarian appeals. Similarly, V. Attakoya, in his presidential speech at the 33rd conference of *Maunathul Islam Sabha* of Ponnani, remarked, 'Today the Muslim population of Kerala is 21 lakhs... During the last 34 years, 18000 were converted to Muslims through this Sabha. But the Sabha lacks sufficient fund'. In this fashion, he was addressing the 21 lakhs of Muslims of Kerala and appealing for their benevolence for enhancing the numerical strength of the community.

In a similar vein, Krishna Aiyer wrote in *Mathrubumi* in 1931 that 'the number of Hindus was shrinking and the cause of that was conversion to other religions. As long as other communities were engaged in proselytisation, Hindus should not sit idle... and they had to chalk out device to avoid the lower castes embracing other religions'. Had there been no census data, nobody would have been able to know about the relative gain or loss of these different communities and to raise hue and cry over such issues. What Indian

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22 B.S. Moonje Report, 1922, File No.12, NMML, Delhi.
23 Qaumi Report, (Madras) 14th Nov, 1925. MNNPR, 1925, Octo-Dec. p.1476, TNA.
24 Mathrubumi, 29th April 1934.
25 Mathrubumi, 11 June 1931.
Social Reformer opined in 1922 is contextual in this regard. The paper wrote 'The greatest difficulty, however, is the Indian census and other official publication in which differences and distinction are emphasized and exaggerated and even sometimes discovered, when they have been forgotten or never existed'. All these prove that communal identities that developed in the first half of 19th century, was neither natural nor intrinsic to Hindu-Muslim relations, but rather it was a colonial construction.

Another variable measured in census was the degree of literacy. It drew comparison between various religious communities indicating their relative literacy. Literacy, education and religion were presented in considerable detail relating each to other and always stated relatively one religious community's progress against all others. Much of the communitarian narratives of Mappilas in the sphere of public education, were based on the census data. It was in tune with the census data of 1921 and 1931 that an article in Mathrubumi in 1932 analyzed the poor growth of Mappila education in Malabar. Malabar Educational Officer, Abdul Hameed, in his speech at the conference of Mappila teachers at Tirur, cited the census reports of 1921 to show the pathetic situation of Muslim women in the sphere of education. Again, it was on the basis of census data that Kerala Muslim Conference submitted a memorandum to Madras Educational Director, focusing the educational problems of the Mappilas. Speaking at the Kerala Muslim Conference held at Tellicherry on 22nd August 1931, the Chairman complained that 'not even a single Muslim High School existed in a

26 *Indian Social Reformer*, (Bombay), Nov. 4, 1922.
27 Kenneth Jones, *op. cit.*, p.82.
29 *Mathrubumi* 19th Aug. 1931. He said, 'out of 33 lakhs of people of Malabar, Muslims constitute 10 lakhs; out of 80,000 students at secondary school level, Muslims are 200; out 15000 girl students, Muslims are 10 or 12'.
30 *Mathrubumi* 25th Nov.1933.
district where there were ten lakhs of Muslims.\textsuperscript{31} Such communitarian demands could not have been made without the backing of census data.

The Census Reports also examined the wider occupational patterns and relative wealth of religious and caste groups. Community-wise distribution of people in various departments of government, also was provided in such reports. The census officials saw in economics as in so much else, a religious dimension. In the backdrop of such data, communitarian demands were aired by vernacular papers and community organizations. \textit{Yuvalokam}, a Muslim journal, in its editorial dated 17\textsuperscript{th} July 1929, alleged that 'the Muslims of Malabar, who formed one third of population of the district, were not at all adequately represented in public service. Just because there were more qualified men among Hindu and Christian communities, the Mohammedans should not be deprived of their rights'.\textsuperscript{32} Again, \textit{Kerala Muslim Majlis} Committee, in 1934, alleged that not a single judge from Muslim community was appointed in Madras High Court.\textsuperscript{33} \textit{Kerala Muslim Conference} held at Tellicherry on 22\textsuperscript{nd} August 1931 passed a resolution demanding reservation for Muslims in Government services and in local bodies.\textsuperscript{34}

The Decennial censuses provided the required stimulus periodically for the growth of communal/communitarian politics in Malabar/India. Though, the ground for communitarian politics in India was set by about 1870's itself, it was by the time of 1931 census, the idea of politics as the contest of essentialized and enumerated communities took firm hold of local and regional politics.\textsuperscript{35} The census was instrumental in igniting community

\textsuperscript{31} \textit{Mathrubumi} 23 Aug. 1931.

\textsuperscript{32} \textit{Yuvalokam}, Calicut, 17\textsuperscript{th} July 1929, MNNPR, TNA.

\textsuperscript{33} \textit{Mathrubumi} 14\textsuperscript{th} March 1934.

\textsuperscript{34} \textit{Mathrubumi} 25\textsuperscript{th} August 1931.

\textsuperscript{35} Arjun Appadurai "Number in Colonial Imagination" in \textit{Orientalism and the Post-Colonial Predicament: Perspectives on South Asia} (eds.), Carol A.Breckridge and Peter Van der Veer, OUP, Delhi, 1994, pp.314-345.
sentiments among Mappilas and various Muslim organizations and journals began to demand special consideration for Muslims in various domains. Kerala Muslim Conference in its first annual meeting held at Tellicherry on 22nd August 1931 passed a resolution demanding reservation for Muslims in local bodies. Similarly the same organization, in its second annual conference held at Calicut on 12th May 1933 passed another resolution demanding ten seats for Malabar Mappilas out of twenty nine seats reserved for Muslims in Madras Legislative Assembly. Yuvalokam, a Muslim journal from Calicut alleged that 'Muslims of Malabar who form one-third of population of the district were not adequately represented in local boards and municipalities and suffered many disabilities in consequence'. Such political demands were raised by other Muslims journals, which have been elaborated in another chapter on political identity of Mappilas. Thus, the census played a vital role in igniting the communitarian spirits among various group in Malabar. As G. Karunakara Menon observed in 1897, 'along with educational progress, there is a tendency among different classes, inhabiting this country, to split themselves in to separate communities. Thus, while formerly, the only recognized communities among us were the native and the Europeans, the consciousness of self-interest has now created several divisions among the former. The Mohammedans first claimed that they belonged to a different community and religion from those to which the rest of the people acknowledge allegiance, then came the native Christians who wanted to form themselves into a separate community with their special organs to ventilate their grievances'.

36 Mathrubumi 25th August 1931.
37 Mathrubumi 14th May 1933.
38 Yuvalokam, (Calicut) 17th July 1929. MNNPR, TNA.
39 See chapter 'Towards a Political Identity'.
Such communitarian demands were aired through organizations and the print media to extract maximum mileage from the colonial perception of religion as the primary factor dominating all aspects of indigenous society. Anxieties, which no doubt existed prior to the introduction of census, now took on a concrete form based on the authoritative evidence provided by the government itself. Muslim press and organizations cited statistics provided by the census, on the percent of jobs held by each community and on educational progress achieved by each community, in short, whatever they could find in the census to substantiate their case. On the other hand, Hindu counterparts cited census data to show the extent of Muslim conversion as the number of Mappilas increased unproportionally in each of the decennial enumeration. Thus census itself became an arena for conflict and manipulation in Malabar, as elsewhere in India.

Another purpose served by the census modality was the making of stereotypes out of castes and communities. While its effects could have been derogatory in the case of Mappilas of Malabar, it helped essentialising social factions. The continuous reproduction of such stereotypes in other types of colonial texts and ethnographic works shows the primacy that such representation achieved. As Bernard S. Cohn observed, 'Census was the necessary pre-requisite both for imperial gazetteer and for 'The Caste and Tribe Series'.

About the Mappilas, the Census Report of 1871 said, 'they [Mappilas] are almost entirely uneducated and their religious fanaticism is, under these circumstances, a source of danger to the public peace. Under the influence of religious excitement they are reckless of their own lives and of others and the presence of European troops in the district has always been considered essential to the preservation of peace'.

41 Bernard S. Cohn, op. cit., p.242.
report repeated the same idea- 'they [Mappilas ] are mostly traders, agriculturists, fishermen, sailors etc. They are bigoted in their religious belief and for the most part wholly uneducated'.\textsuperscript{43} This image of Mappilas was repeated in all successive censuses during the British period, which need not be elaborated here. The comment of Karunakara Menon in 1897, in Madras Review deserves mention in this context. He wrote, 'Although the European officials and those who are not well acquainted with Mappilas , are apt to treat the whole class as a set of disorderly, disreputable fanatics, the large majority of them are orderly, as peaceful as well-behaved as any other class of people'.\textsuperscript{44}

The most pervasive impact of this census modality upon the social landscape of Malabar or India was that it, rather than being a passive instrument of data gathering, created, by its practical logic and form, a new sense of category-identity in India, which in turn, created the condition for new strategies of mobility, status politics and electoral struggles in India. As observed by Arjun Appadurai, 'in the long run, the enumerative strategies of the British helped to ignite communitarian and nationalist identities that in fact undermined the colonial rule.\textsuperscript{45}

\textbf{Other Colonial Discourses and Making of a Stereotype ‘Fanatic Mappila’}

It is interesting to note that the Census Reports, District Gazetteers, Ethnographic Surveys, counter-insurgency Reports, missionary narratives- the entire gamut of colonial discourse on Mappilas tended to impinge upon one another. Observation about Mappilas was taken up from one publication in to another with or without the benefit of citation and without even bothering the structural changes that had taken place within a period of a century. The

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{43} \textit{Ibid.}, p.72.
\textsuperscript{44} G. Karunakara Menon, \textit{op. cit.}, p.490.
\textsuperscript{45} Arjun Appadurai, \textit{op. cit.}, pp.314-345.
\end{footnotesize}
remarks of Francis Buchanan in 1800 could be seen incorporated without alteration in almost all British records on Mappilas in the first half of 20th century. Through such repetitive discourses, the British constructed and perpetuated certain stereotypes about Mappilas. As observed by Mushirul Hasan, 'colonial knowledge perpetuated myths and conjured up stereotypical images of peoples and countries as part of an imperial design of fortifying the ideological edifice of empire'.\(^{46}\) It would be pertinent here to examine the genealogy of such colonial stereotypes about Mappilas of Malabar.

Representation of the 'other' (Mappilas) runs back to the early days of British colonialism in Malabar. As early as 1800 Francis Buchanan, one of the earliest British Officers, who provided a detailed description of Malabar and its folk, depicted Mappilas thus: 'Moplas of Malabar are both traders and farmers. As traders they are remarkably quite industrious but those in the interior parts of Malabar have become farmers and have been encouraged by Tipu in a licentious attack on the lives, persons and property of Hindus, are fierce, blood-thirsty bigoted ruffians'.\(^{47}\) Such pejorative terms like 'fanatical' 'rapacious' 'blood thirsty' 'wretched' were profusely used in almost all British official discourses right from 1792, when the British annexed Malabar. Mappilas were almost universally reported to be religiously fanatic, anti-social and unprogressive in character. This negativity is a discursive feature of writings produced within the colonial context. As per colonial commonsense, those people who resisted colonial incursion were 'barbaric' and 'fanatic' and the colonial power felt justified in their attempt to suppress them.


\(^{47}\) Francis Buchanan, *A Journey from Madras through the countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar* (Reprint), first impression 1807, Delhi, 1988, p.422.
As mentioned earlier, from the very beginning of their rule, the British were negative towards the Mappilas and favourable towards the upper caste Hindus. This animosity was due to the fact that the Mappilas had given their support to Hyder Ali and Tipu Sulthan, the most formidable enemy the British encountered in India, while the upper class Hindus had opposed Tipu. It must be in the wake of this that Alexander Walker, a member of Malabar commission, deputed to report on the insurrection of 1800 AD, was instructed to prohibit the diabolical caste [Mappilas] from coming in to it [Canara district] because ‘if permitted to settle them in Canara, stealing children, robberies and murder will follow’.\(^{48}\) Even the Imperial Gazetteer of India represented them as a ‘tribe remarkable for the savage fanaticism in successive revolts against Hindus’.\(^{49}\) All these representations illustrate how the structure of a master narrative appears again and again in the colonial discourses of successive periods. It also shows that the British officials approached his subject from a general position of dominance and what they said about Mappilas was said with little reference to what anyone but other British officials had said. What Homi K. Baba said in another context is pertinent here: ‘The same old stories of Negro’s criminality, the stupidity of Irish must be told again and afresh and are differently gratifying and terrifying each time. The repetition of colonial stereotype is an attempt to secure the colonized in a fixed position but also an acknowledgement that this can never be achieved’.\(^{50}\)

**Counter-Insurgency Narratives**


\(^{49}\) Imperial Gazetteer of India, Madras, 1881, Chapter VIII, p.438.

This becomes conspicuous, when we examine the counter-insurgency narratives of the British officers in Malabar.\textsuperscript{51} The social tension created by the British colonial policy in Malabar led to a series of violent outbreaks, which lasted about a century, from the 3\textsuperscript{rd} decade of 19\textsuperscript{th} century to the 3\textsuperscript{rd} decade of 20\textsuperscript{th} century. Ever since the first Mappila outbreak in 1836, the British government spent much time and energy in trying to comprehend the causes of these uprisings and suggest remedial measures. That is why the very first accounts of Mappila revolts in Malabar came to be written up as administrative documents of one kind or another; despatches on counter-insurgency operations, departmental minutes, reports of investigations etc. As Ranajith Guha rightly commented, 'the discourse on peasant insurgency made its debut quite clearly as a discourse of power'.\textsuperscript{52}

In Malabar, umpteen volumes of official records about the rural revolts of 19\textsuperscript{th} century as well as the mega revolt of 1921 are available and together they constitute a genre of 'Prose of counter-insurgency', which analyse the apparent causes and measures to be adopted for quelling these rural revolts. The earliest of such records was of H.V. Conolly, the district collector of Malabar from 1840 to 1844, who was murdered by Mappilas.\textsuperscript{53} Almost all records of the later officials including that of Hitchcock in 1921 impinge upon the report of H.V. Connolly. But among the different counter-insurgency narratives the most enduring and the one, which became a master narrative on Mappila riots, was the Report of T.L. Strange, the first commission on


\textsuperscript{52} Ranajith Guha, Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency in Colonial India, OUP, Delhi, 1982, p.2.

\textsuperscript{53} Extracts from the Correspondence on Mopla Outrages in Malabar (CMO) Vol.2. pp.175-195. TNA. Also see, K.N. Panikkar (ed.), Peasant Protest and Revolts in Malabar (PPRM) PPH, Delhi, 1990, pp. 89-390.
Malabar riots.\textsuperscript{54} It was Strange Report, which reified the colonial stereotype of ‘fanatic Mappila’.

The picture drawn by both H.V. Connolly and T.L. Strange was so one sided that the community was known only for its brutality and irrationality and the positive aspects were covertly or overtly ignored. The following statement of H.V. Connolly substantiates this point: ‘the \textit{Mappilas} of interior Malabar have always been a troublesome and dubious description of subjects. My records show that from the time we took possession of the country, they have been noted as men of dangerous habits and for many years, they were gang robbers and general disturbers of peace'.\textsuperscript{55} A similar negative tone could be seen in T.L. Strange report also: ‘The fruits of all this culture of Mohammedanism has necessarily been a deepening of pride, bigotry, intolerance and above all hatred of Kaffirs which characterise the members of this creed’.\textsuperscript{56} As pointed out by Gyanendra Pandey, the watchwords in the colonial accounts of native violence were terms like 'religion', 'fanaticism' and 'ignorance'. It cannot be inferred that both these officials depicted \textit{Mappilas} in this manner out of their own experience in Malabar, but they were relying on some previous official narratives. As put in by Edward Said, 'All interpretations are what might be called situational, they always occur in a situation whose bearing on interpretation is affiliative. It is related to what other interpreters have said either by confirming them or by disputing them or by continuing them. No interpretation is without precedents or without some connection to other interpretation'.\textsuperscript{57} Each official report on \textit{Mappilas} impinges upon the report of his predecessors. In the case of H.V. Conolly, he

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{54} CMO, Vol.I, pp.399-477.TNA.
\item \textsuperscript{55} Letter of H.V. Conolly in K.N. Panikkar (ed.), \textit{PPRM}, p.141.
\item \textsuperscript{56} T.L. Strange Report, \textit{CMO, op. cit.}, p.445.
\end{itemize}
was specifically depending on the accounts of Commissioner Richards, written in 1804.\footnote{Conolly's Letter, K.N. Panikkar (ed.), \textit{PPRM, op. cit.}, p.123.}

It was out of such ingredients found in all official reports and out of 'official common sense' about the people they governed that the image of 'fanatic Mappila' got embedded in the popular discourse of Malabar. What the colonial narratives sought to do was to give violence of \textit{Mappilas} a cause and the cause a name, fanaticism, thus emptying it of all other significance. Almost all accounts about divergent riots, which T.L.Strange analyses, begin with the common comment, 'no one can give a rational account behind this riot'. Or as about the Pandikkad outbreak of 1894, the official history of the district says that 'the saddest part of the whole affair was its want of reason'.\footnote{C.A. Innes, \textit{Malabar District Gazetteer}, Govt. Press, Madras, 1903 (Reprint 1951), Chapter II, p.87-88.} What is implied in this kind of narrative is that \textit{Mappilas} are basically irrational and their acts could not be assigned to apparent reason other than their fanatic spirit, ignoring the economic, social and political content of these outrages. Colonialism was thus absolved of its oppressive role and rebellions were attributed to the inherent irrationality of \textit{Mappilas}. The minutes by J.F. Thomas related to Mappila riots, clearly underlines this idea, as it states, 'if there is one point more peculiarly striking and of more marked significance than another in every record of Mopla outrages, is the entire absence of ill feeling towards government and its officers. Although the government is necessarily \textit{Kaffir} and its officers in the same eyes of every bigoted Mohammedan, neither in the proceedings of fanatics, nor of those who encouraged them is there any trace of ill will to the government, nor has the fanatic spirit been directed against the government'.\footnote{J.F.Thomas's Minute, CMO, p.482-83.} What these 19th century colonial narratives seek to do is to promote a picture of colonial state as a
wise and neutral power. It is almost clear that Mampuram Thangal, whom the government considered as the instigators of the revolts, in his 'Saiful Bathar' exhorted the Mappilas to fight against the 'farangi rule', realizing well that it was the 'white folks' who were supporting the oppressors of Mappilas. The murder of H.V. Connolly in 1855 and the attempt to murder C.A Innes prove beyond doubt that anti-British sentiments were strong among the rural Mappilas. Still, the officials absolved the colonial regime of any responsibility for making the Mappila's (peasant's) life too miserable to bear.

Again, fanaticism of Moplas is not a new phenomenon but it pre-exists even the British occupation of Malabar. Often the British officials repeated phrases like 'habitual anarchy of Mappilas' or 'innate character of Mappilas' that make for the history of Mappilas of Malabar. To them, this was the hallmark of a very low state of civilization and exemplified in those periodical outbursts of crime and lawlessness to which all wild tribes were subjected. 'The objective of this kind of discourse', as put in by Homi K. Baba, 'is to construe the colonized as a population of degenerate type on the basis of the social origin in order to justify conquest and to establish systems of administration and instruction.'

Another feature of this colonial 'Othering' was the representation of the rural revolts of Malabar as one of Hindu-Muslim riot and as a part of a continuum, a tradition, one of those convulsions which had frequently occurred in the past owing to the religious antagonism of Hindu and Muslim sections in Malabar. H.V. Connolly’s statement illustrates this point: 'The ancient enmity between Mopla and Hindu so strongly described by Mr. Commissioner Rickards in 1804, is far from being at rest; occasions occur but

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62 Homi K. Baba, op. cit., p.70.
too frequently to revive it'. T.L. Strange echoes the same idea when he wrote. 'The antipathy between Hindu and Mohammedan, prevalent everywhere, are very strong in these parts. A hatred and mistrust of each other of a very deep kind, has been engendered and bred between them'. Hitchcock too airs the same view when he observed that 'the two races [Hindus and Mappilas] were always in opposition and the result, lawlessness, violence everywhere'. Gyanendra Pande's dictum that communalism is a form of colonialist knowledge used to describe a kind of inborn, 'primitive', behaviour, characterised by religious bigotry and irrationality which the British believed was endemic to India, assumes significance in this context.

All these discourses reflect the colonial perception that religion or religious communities are the moving force of all Indian politics. The British held the notion that adherence to one or other of the religions was not merely a matter of belief but defined membership more generally in a larger community. To be Hindus or Muslims by itself explained much of the way Indians acted. 'Riotous behaviour, no matter what its actual character,' as G. Gyanendra Pandey observed in another context, 'was often made to express enduring antagonism between two opposed and self contained communities'. In other words, the origin of rural revolts lay in the peculiar religious sensibilities of the colonized people. In the case of Malabar, it was the Mappilas who used to provoke Hindus for 'the Hindu inhabitants were naturally mild and forbearing, if not provoked or driven to extremities and the

64 T.L. Strange Report, 1852, CMO, p.443.
provocation has always been on the Mopla side. The loyalty and obedience to British rule or Pax Britanica is the criterion for mildness and civilization while resistance and disobedience to it was the mark of barbarism. As per official perception, the criminals and plotters in all cases had been Moplas and the victims and those threatened in all, Hindus. In this kind of narratives, there is no mention about the class composition of both Hindus and Muslims involved in the riots. The economic status of both rebels and the victims are knowingly ignored. The rural revolts of Malabar, which essentially were peasant's resistance to their class enemies, were misrepresented as nothing but communal or racial protest based on sectarian or ethnic attitudes. What is wrong with this kind of explanation is not that it emphasized some of the communal elements in such combinations of rural masses, but that it underestimated or even ignored their class character.

Again, as per colonial narratives, violence always belonged to pre-colonial tradition. The imposition of British rule, the displacement of an earlier balance of power, the structural changes brought about by colonialism etc had nothing to do with Mappila riots. In other words, the pre-history of Malabar, as the history of the nation before the entry of British, was chaos. To Hitchcock, the chaos in Malabar started with Tipu who transformed Mappilas into a turbulent race. He says, 'The Mohammedan invasion let loose in the Mappila all worst passions that ignorance and suffering foster and provided him with the excuse of religion, if he thought any excuse is necessary'. Contextually, it is to be remembered that almost all press reports

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70 Ranajith Guha, op. cit., p.170.
71 Hitchcock, op. cit., p.8.
about Malabar Rebellion also echoed these sentiments and traced the cause of the rebellion back to Tipu.\textsuperscript{72}

The most striking aspect of these official narratives is the tendency to attach fanaticism or bigotry of Mappilas not with particular traits of the community but with Islam itself. For T.L. Strange states, 'The fruit of all this culture of Mohammedanism has necessarily been a deepening of pride, bigotry, intolerance and above all the hatred of Kaffir which characterize the members of this creed. These feelings are fomented and intensified by the circumstances that the higher order of priests in Malabar are of Arab extraction and that the intercourse with Arabia, where Mohammedanism exist in all its native force is thus directly kept up'.\textsuperscript{73} Fawcett, an officer in Malabar also attributed fanaticism of Mappilas to Islam by pointing out 'the extraordinary effect which Islam has on untutored races'.\textsuperscript{74} Francis Buchanan shared this sentiment when he commented: 'In this cruel and impolitic undertaking he [Tipoo] was warmly seconded by the Moplays, men possessed of a strong zeal and of a large share of that spirit of violence and depredation, which appears to have invariably been an ingredient in the character of the professors of this religion in every part of the world where it has spread'.\textsuperscript{75} The western mindset is reflected in all these observations. The British officials in general believed that the turbulent behaviour of Muslims had its origin in the very nature of Islam as a religion in Arabia. 'Most British officers came to India with their pre-conceived notions about the strong bonds that tied Indian Islam with Arabian peninsula, about Muslims forming a well-knit religious entity, acting as a monolith and keeping the desert faith pure in

\textsuperscript{72} See Chapter, ‘Representation of the Rebellion and its Aftermath’.

\textsuperscript{73} T.L. Strange Report, \textit{op. cit.}, p.445.

\textsuperscript{74} F. Fawcett, "War songs of Mappilas of Malabar", \textit{Indian Antiquary}, XXX (1901), pp. 499-505.

\textsuperscript{75} Francis Buchanan, \textit{op. cit.}, p.550.
the land of idol worshippers. These British writers perpetuated a repertoire of images, construing Islam as an emblem of repellent otherness.

The 19th century official common sense prevailed even in 20th century. During the 1921 Rebellion almost all British officials repeated the old stereotypes about Mappilas in their accounts. The remarks of a judge of Malabar special tribunal which tried the rebels of 1921 shows that British authority had not changed their opinion about Mappilas even after the lapse of a century. He states, 'for the last 100 years at least the Mappila community has been disgraced from time to time by murderous outrages. In the past they have been due to fanaticism. The Mappilas of Ernad and Walluvanad have been described as a barbarous and savage race and unhappily the description seems appropriate at the present day'. We find in this case that Ali Musaliyar and 37 of his men surrendered. This is remarkable (for it was never one in earlier rebellion) but the simple explanation is that they were no longer driven by mere fanaticism but simply by desire for insurrection. The rebels now are no longer 'driven' by mere fanaticism but simply by desire for insurrection. Not mere fanaticism but fanaticism compounded. Not unreason alone but unreason multiplied. It is the character of the rebel that explain rebellion in the east. It also tells that, over a period of a century, no visible change has occurred in the character of Mappilas, they were essentially a violent community who would always be liable to break out in to violence for no reason at all. Referring to the uprising of 1896, Hitchcock wrote 'The saddest part of the whole affair was its want of reason'. Even crime was

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76 Mushirul Hasan, op. cit., p.29.
77 Judgement appended in R.H. Hitchcock, op. cit., p.245.
78 Gyanendra Pande, Note no. 66, pp. 196-97.
79 Hitchcock, op. cit., p.13.
considered to have been performed without any agency and just as a function of habit or usage.\textsuperscript{80}

In this way the communal riot (Peasant revolts) narratives represented a form of colonialist knowledge used to explain violent outbreaks in terms of historic antagonism that the British believed, existed between different religious communities. What these narratives succeeded in doing was to help freeze popular perceptions of Hindu and Muslim identities by portraying animosities between the two as an historical inevitability. One can identify close similarity between the indigenous narratives including the vernacular press reports on 1921 Rebellion and that of the colonial narratives on the same, which shows that the former was a derivative discourse from the latter.

Thus, through Census Reports, District Gazetteers, Ethnographic Surveys, Counter-insurgency Reports, the stereotype 'fanatic Mappila' got embedded and it found its place in indigenous including nationalist discourses. Colonialist images and propositions surface with notable frequency in indigenous writings on Mappilas.\textsuperscript{81} What Edward Said commented about Brahmins in a different context seems to be relevant in the case of Mappilas too. ‘The Brahman [or Mappila] becomes a trans-temporal, trans-individual category, purporting to predict every discreet act of Brahman behaviour on the basis of some pre-existing Brahmanic essence... Each particle of Brahman tells of his Brahmanness, so much so that the attribute of being Brahmanical overrides any countervailing instance’.\textsuperscript{82} Even a negative representation could be a powerful unifying force for a divided Mappila community. Self hood is also shaped by ways in which others view ‘us’. The

\textsuperscript{80} See, Nicholas D. Dirks, \textit{op. cit.}

\textsuperscript{81} This has been elaborated in chapter on 'Representation of the Rebellion and its Aftermath'.

self-perception of *Mappilas* owed a great deal to this colonial discourse on them.

**Colonial Educational Policy and reification of Communitarian identity**

Another domain where the British intervention made lasting impact on the social life of Malabar was Education. The growing government preoccupation with special Muslim problems relating to education was integral to the colonial policy of balancing communities. By institutionalising separate facilities offered to Muslim interests in the form of 'Mopla schools' the government initiated a policy of segregation.

This special treatment of Muslim education was partly in consideration of the prevailing circumstances in rural Malabar. The rural *Mappilas* were under the grip of the traditional priests who considered any education other than Islamic learning irrelevant and heretical. English was dubbed as the language of hell and western education was considered a passport to hell. The traditional priests were dissuading the rural people from sending their children to school. As late as 1932, Kadampalath Moidunni Musaliyar of Ponnani, in his Friday sermon prayed thus: 'Oh lord, make us not of those who study in schools and accept government jobs'.

Even the study of Malayalam, which they designated as *Aryanezhuthu* was treated as anathema. A typical prayer of orthodox Mullas was 'Oh God! Make us not of those who speak Malayalam language well’. This induced many *Mappilas* to look unkindly on school education. At the same time, the educated among the *Mappilas* had realized the value of secular education in the competitive world of jobs but were reluctant to come out openly in favour of it. Besides, the ordinary *Mappilas* did not want their children to mingle indiscriminately with the non-Muslim students. It was in such a backdrop that the government devised a separate

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83 *Mathrubhumi*, 15th June 1932.
84 Any book printed in Malayalam was despised as *Ramayana*.
system of education to the *Mappilas*. Added to this was the concern of government about the increased rural revolts of Malabar during the latter half of 19th century. Most of the officials who tried to detect the causes of these revolts diagnosed that 'the best safeguard against the recurrence of Mopla outbreaks would be the spread of education in the caste.'

Meanwhile, the British government decided to change the method of their approach towards their Muslim subjects and made an announcement of special state patronage of Muslim education in 1870. The Government of India Resolution of 7th May 1871 made the following directions.

*a)* To encourage classical and vernacular languages of Mohammadan in schools and colleges.

*b)* To appoint Mohammadan teachers in English schools in Muslim dominated districts.

*c)* To assist Mohammadans to open schools of their own.

*d)* To encourage Arabic and problem literature in the University course.

Following the Hunter commission's directives, in 1885, Lord Dufferin introduced a Resolution, which is considered to be the Magna Carta of education in India. The Hunter Commission contained the following recommendations.

*a)* A special section be devoted to Mohammadan education in Annual Report of Public Instruction.

*b)* To provide scholarship to Mohammedans.

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86 Extracts from the Proceedings of Government of India, Education Department 15th July 1885, p.33.
c) To appoint Mohammadan officer to inspect Muhammadan education.\textsuperscript{87}

This first suggestion put a formal stamp of approval on separate treatment of Muslim case for education and it widened the gap between Muslims and other communities.

It was in tune with the Imperial Educational policy that the provincial Government initiated their educational efforts in Malabar. In 1871, the Madras government appointed a committee to look in to the matters of Muslim education in Malabar.\textsuperscript{88} As per the recommendations of the committee the government initiated a programme of providing secular education to Mopla boys from their traditional Othupallis attached to mosques. The Mullas, the religious instructors of Othupallis, were given special training to teach children elementary lessons in Arithmatic and Malayalam, along with Islamic subjects. The Government gave inducement to Mullas in the form of salaries and grants for each child successful at inspection by a Mohammadan officer. Though the Mullas were basically against providing secular education, they were lured by the money received through this new arrangement. As they had been getting a meager remuneration in the form of pidiyari (grains collected form individual house holds), the new system was so attractive to them. But the saddest part of it was that the Mullas were generally incompetent to teach anything but Arabic and that too only Quran. However, by 1872 itself, the government had sanctioned the establishment of separate schools for Moplas and wherever necessary Mohammadens should be taught separately from Hindus up to a certain point.\textsuperscript{89} Thus at the primary level atleast, separate schools in the form


\textsuperscript{88} C.A. Innes, op.cit., p.300.

\textsuperscript{89} G.O.No.288 dated 7\textsuperscript{th} October 1872, Government of Madras as cited in K.T. Muhammadali, \textit{The Development of Education among the Mappilas of Malabar 1800-1965}, Delhi, 1990, pp. 73-74.
of Othupallis were maintained throughout Malabar during the last quarter of 19th century and Hindus and other non-Muslims were excluded from such schools. Government schools meant for all were treated by Moplas as 'Hindu' school. Even these measures could not attract Mappilas to school education and a large chunk of them remained aloof from school education.

In the meantime, the efforts of the government to solve the Mappila violence did not succeed and Mappila outbreaks continued to occur at regular intervals in South Malabar. The government was advised by officials as well as the vernacular press to take necessary measures for the spread of Muslim education in Malabar. In the wake of 1894 Perinthalmanna revolt, the Madras Review observed, 'Mappilas as a class are steeped in ignorance. Ignorance always breeds fanaticism. It is therefore imperative that extension of elementary education should be recognized as being of prime necessity under existing condition of lower classes of Mappilas.'

Kerala Patrika of Calicut, referring to the same matter, remarked that ‘howsoever the Moplas may be educated unless they have a true conception of their religion; they will not lay aside their fanaticism’. For this, the paper suggested that religious instruction should be given in the schools along with secular education. Manorama of Calicut advised the government that ‘a man who is adept in Islam should be made to deliver religious lecture at least once a month in these schools in order that the Mappilas who sacrifice their lives on account of their wrong notion in respect of religious principle may desist from doing so.' The government sought the opinion of Himayathul Islam Sabha of Calicut in this regard, and the Sabha proposed to the government to

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90 Even as late as 1960's the Mappilas of southern Malabar held that apathy towards Government schools and preferred Mopla schools at elementary level.


92 Kerala Patrika, 19th January, 1895, MNNPR, TNA.

93 Manorama, Calicut, 7th January 1895, MNNPR, TNA.
concentrate more on education and appealed to open a free boarding school each in Ernad and Walluvanad Taluks for the Moplas.\textsuperscript{94}

Considering these types of advice, the government in 1894, officially recognised the \textit{Mappilas} of Ernad and Walluvanad taluks as backward classes for educational purpose, thereby Mappila students were entitled to get free education in elementary schools. Schools were separated from \textit{Othupallis} to free it from the clutches of \textit{Mullas} and were converted in to Aided Mopla schools, which were placed under the jurisdiction of local boards and encouraged by Grants-in-Aid.\textsuperscript{95} Around 14 additional Mopla schools with exclusively Mopla teachers were opened in southern Malabar. Almost 50\% of the aided Mopla schools were originally \textit{Othupallis} converted in to schools.\textsuperscript{96} A Mopla scholarship scheme was also introduced and to supervise Mopla education two additional inspecting officers were appointed. Through such measures, by 1921, the total number of public schools for Mappila boys rose to 558 and that of private Mappila schools to 421 in Malabar.\textsuperscript{97} Despite this phenomenal increase in number of schools, these schools served to perpetuate the segregation of the community. As the Malabar District Board President observed in 1898, 'after 1894, the Government established Mopla schools in Malabar and allowed grants double to that of ordinary schools. But these Mopla schools turned to be instruments for making the \textit{Mappilas} alien in their own homeland'.\textsuperscript{98}

Despite all these civilizing efforts through education, the Malabar \textit{Mappilas} broke out in Rebellion in 1921 and the vernacular press including

\textsuperscript{94} Confidential Report, Dist. No 514/M.G1 dated 6\textsuperscript{th} June 1894, TNA.

\textsuperscript{95} C.A. Innes, Note no. 85, p.300.

\textsuperscript{96} C.N. Ahmad Moulavi and KKM Kareem (eds) \textit{Mahathaya Mappila Sahitya Paramparyam} (Mal), (hereinafter MMSP), Calicut, 1978, p. 78.

\textsuperscript{97} \textit{Report on the Public Instruction in Madras Presidency} for the year 1921-22.

the nationalist papers made scathing criticism of the system of communal schools which foment the exclusiveness of the Mappilas. In a long article about the Rebellion in Malayala Manorama in 1921, Moorkoth Kumaran observed: "Now what we see in Malabar is special Mappila schools and special Mappila officers to inspect them. This system denies the opportunity for Mopla boys to study together with Hindus and to cultivate friendly relation with them. This is a serious defect. They should be taught in common schools with students of other religions and with the same textbooks. The post of special Muslim inspectors also is to be stopped. If these measures are undertaken, the Mopla fanaticism and halilakkam (frenzy) could be removed within a period of 50 years".99

Naveena Keralam, another Malayalam paper, raised their concern over separate schools thus: 'what we thought was that separate education and election to legislative councils were the means to widen gulf between Hindus and Muslims. When one sees that instead of making separate arrangements for religious instruction, separate schools are established so as not to allow children of two committees to learn and play together and to cultivate friendly relations, what can be thought of it except that it is a trick used to widen the gulf between two communities'?100 Manorama of Calicut expressed their off-repeated opinion that separate school would only intensify communal cleavage.101 Kerala Samchari also suggested that 'compulsory education in Ernad and Walluvanad, not in schools manned by Mopla teachers but in common schools, where they mix with other communities could alone prevent Mopla outbreaks'.102 Besides the print media, many intellectuals of the day including the 'nationalist Muslims' lashed out at those who advocated separate

99 Moorkoth Kumaran, "Jonakappaqda" article in Malayala Manorama, 17th September 1921, NMML, Delhi.
101 Manorama (Calicut) 21, July 1922 MNNPR, p. 838.
102 Kerala Samachari, 28th September 1921 MNNPR, p.399.
schools and asked the government for the total abolition of Mopla schools as an unworthy system which helped to perpetuate orthodoxy and communalism. At the 8th conference of Aikya Sangam held at Trivandrum, Abdul Hamid Moulavi, the Educational officer of Malabar made this point clear. 'In reality, it is not desirable for Muslims to have separate schools. In common schools, where Hindus and Muslims can study together, no kind of communal feeling will exist. As far as religious instruction is concerned, it could be imparted before school schedule'.

In spite of all these discourses against the communal school, Muslims were not ready to do away with the system of denomination school and Muslim journals countered all the allegations against communal schools. Malabari, a Muslim journal from Calicut, pleaded for the continuation of separate schools on the ground that religious instruction should hold pre-eminence in both sects of schools and observed that, 'if all Mopla schools worked like Himayathul Islam Arabic school at Calicut, the education of the right sort would gradually spread among the Mappilas. In the wake of this heated debate regarding the communal school, the Government appointed a committee to investigate the question of abolition of separate schools for Mappilas. Ignoring the popular sentiments against the communal school, the committee unanimously recommended to the Government that separate Mopla elementary schools should be retained. It also recommended for the implementation of compulsory education in South Malabar and for the appointment of Arabic teachers for religious instruction in government training school at Malappuram. Another recommendation was to form a textbook committee to compile books in Malayalam from Quran

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103 Mathrubhumi, 25th May, 1930.
104 Malabari, 23rd August 1922 MNNPR, TNA.
105 Report on Public Instruction in Madras Presidency for 1922-23, p. 29, TNA.
and *Kitabs*. All these were implemented with immediate effect.\(^{106}\) Two text books were prepared by this committee in 1924, *Hidayathul Muslimeen* by Vallanchira Kunhi Mohamed and *Muslim Sanmargadeepam* by Gafoor Sha, the Educational Inspector of Malabar.\(^{107}\) P.N. Mohamed Moulavi was appointed as religious instructor at Malappuram Training School, the only Muslim Training School in Malabar, to teach 'original religion'. An Oxford educated Muslim from Madras, Capt. Abdul Hamid was appointed as educational officer of Malabar. The British deliberately used the title *Moulavi* with his name to make him acceptable to *Mappilas*. In 1931, Capt. Hamid entrusted C.N. Ahmed Moulavi the task of teaching 'original religion' to the *Musaliyars*.\(^{108}\) These *Musaliyars*, who were to impart religious instruction in schools, were the only untrained teachers in schools. As early as 1925, *Al-Ameen* had invited the attention of authorities to the necessity of employing *Moulavi* teachers in Muslim schools. It held that if education should be compulsory without appointing *Moulavis* to teach religion, it would amount to an unwarranted interference on the part of the government in Muslim religious matters'.\(^{109}\) For female education, the government started 15 separate girls’ schools for Hindus and Muslims in the same villages of Ernad.

Thus what we witness in the 1930's and 1940's was a scenario in which throughout Malabar five types of schools co-existed – Hindu Boys, Hindu girls, Muslim boys, Muslim girls and *Adi-Dravida* Schools (for lower castes).

\(^{106}\) *Ibid.*

\(^{107}\)*MMSP*, pp.75-76.


C.N. Moulavi has given a narrative of his traumatic experiences at Malappuram Training School in his *MMSP* (pp.76-78). In the first class itself, the *Musaliyars* objected to his writing Arabic verses of *Quran* on black board as they believed that it was against their religion. The next day when geography teacher tried to enlighten them about the shape of earth, they stood adamantly with their old notion that earth was flat. When the drawing teachers drew the picture of animals on board, they objected to it on the ground that drawing of living things were forbidden in Islam.

\(^{109}\)*Al-Ameen*, 12\(^{th}\) July 1925, MNNPR, p.965.
This situation seriously affected the secular fabric of Malabar. The imperial government itself thought of abolishing the denominational school and they introduced the Champion Scheme in early 1930’s, which envisaged the abolition of separate, and exclusive education system of Muslims. It was in this background, the District Board President, K. Kelappan, in his public speeches in 1937 took the line that separate school for Muslims was opposed to Hindu-Muslim unity. About this Government secretary remarked, 'considering that separate Muslim schools are one of the chief objects of the leading Mappilas in the district and that an extra form has just been opened in the Muslim High School at Malappuram with considerable ceremony, he [Kelappan] is likely to set the Mappilas generally by the ears'.\textsuperscript{110} On August 22 1938, Malabar district board took the decision to abolish the communal school in Malabar within a period of ten years. As the government secretary foresaw, the Muslims began to raise a hue and cry over the issue of abolition. The Muslim members of the Board like Attakoya Thangal, Abdulla kutty and Muthukoya Thangal opposed the decision and argued for the continuance of communal schools.\textsuperscript{111} KPCC, in a resolution appealed to the District Board to repeal the decision as the majority of Muslims were against it.\textsuperscript{112} Condemning this decision of KPCC, Mathrubumi editorial said, 'it is non-sense to argue that separate schools are meant for protecting their religion and culture. It is difficult to perceive how communal schools that inculcate communalism in the young hearts, help to flourish nationalism... If it is the case, separate constituency, separate play ground and separate municipal councils and finally special royal rights will have to be allotted to the Muslims. Who knows KPCC may not argue that it is the real nationalism'.\textsuperscript{113}

\textsuperscript{110} FNR, dtd. 18\textsuperscript{th} June 1937, p.4-11, TNA.
\textsuperscript{111} Mathrubumi 24, Aug. 1938.
\textsuperscript{112} Mathrubumi 3, Sept. 1938.
\textsuperscript{113} Mathrubumi 12, Aug. 1938.
Despite such criticism, the Muslims generally stood against the abolition of communal schools. *Al Murshid*, a Muslim journal from Tirurangadi in its editorial opined, 'The decision [to abolish Mopla schools] would adversely affect the Mopla education in Malabar. The dynamism and enthusiasm which we see in Muslim education today is due to communal schools... Even KPCC has opined that the decision is against the policy of the Congress...This decision may help only to deepen the communal spirits in Malabar'.  

Even the anti-Islamic context of textbooks in common schools was being cited for legitimizing the claim for separate schools. Mahinkutty in his book observes, 'If you turn to any books in English accepted as text books in schools, you can see the hidden agenda of Christian Missionaries. Even the works of Milton and Shakespeare are not exceptions. Hence such works should not be taught in schools and colleges'. The first District Muslim League Council meeting held at Tellicherry in 1937 under Sulthan Ali Raja passed a resolution demanding the repeal of District Board decision to abolish separate schools. *Kerala Jamiyyathul Ulema*, the reformist ulema organisation also stood firm for the continuation of separate schools. KJU had sent a deputation under M.C.C Abdurahiman to meet Madras Education Director and the deputation made the following submissions to the government.

- a. Special Teachers for religious instruction in schools.
- b. A Board to frame curriculum for religious study.

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114 *Al. Murshid* (A.M), Tirurangadi, September 1938.
d. Introduction of Arabic in colleges.\textsuperscript{117}

The result of all these discourses was the continuation of the separate school system in Malabar throughout the colonial phase. In the 1940's the steps already taken to foster Mappila education were only continued except that compulsory elementary education was introduced in certain areas of Malabar.

The government tried to legitimize the special treatment of Muslim Education by showing their backwardness as revealed in the census and periodical educational reports. The Muslim organizations like KJU, Muslim Majlis and the Muslim league carried on their propaganda demanding special attention to educational problems of Mappilas, which of course were isolationist in principle. Thus, the colonial educational system in Malabar with its Mopla schools, separate Muslim teachers, separate Muslim inspectors, and separate curriculum, only helped to heighten the separate identity among the Mappilas.

Primary socialization, which takes place within the family, tended to foster religious identity in the minds of Mappila children. Elaborate rituals like Moulud, ratib, religious rituals like namaz, created the cultural milieu in which the Mappila child was initiated in to a religious identity. In the case of Mopla children because of these communal schools, secondary socialization did not help to dissolve this early influence. As K.N. Panikkar observed, 'what could have helped to overcome the prejudices imbibed by primary socialization was participation in open and secular institutions'.\textsuperscript{118} But the communal educational system introduced by the British in Malabar only helped to reinforce the identity that the Mappila child imbibed at the level of

\textsuperscript{117} \textit{Mathrubumi}, 26 March 1936.

primary socialization. In other words, at the level of secondary socialization also, the religious exclusiveness came to play among the *Mappilas*. Thus the British Educational System introduced in Malabar led to the sharpening of communitarian identity among *Mappilas*. 