CHAPTER VI

ULAMA AND THE

MAPPILA-BRITISH CONFLICT: LATER PHASE

The dawn of the 20th century was a critical period in the history of world Muslims. It was a time when the Islamic world was drawn into the whirlpool of international politics. The dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire and the Khilafat issue that followed, stirred the Muslims all over the world. The Mappilas who had already been in the path of tenancy agitation got ignited and united by the new issues. The coalesced Tenants, Khilafat and Congress activities contributed sleepless nights to the British authorities in Malabar. The British attempt to suppress the movements led to the revolt of 1921.

The tenancy and the Khilafat were the two serious problems before the people of Malabar in the beginning of the 20th century. Many attempts had been made to find solutions to the tenant problem. In 1909 and 1919, Hidayat ul Muslimin Sabha, a Mappila socio-cultural Trust of Manjeri presented two memoranda before the Governor of Madras relating to the difficulties of the Mappila tenants and appealing for the redressal of their hardships. On 23rd April 1912, a petition from Ponnani Taluk was sent to the Governor in

1 The copy is available at the library of Hidayath ul Muslimin Sabha Manjeri.
Council through the Collector of Malabar demanding increase in the value of goods and against the bidding of *melchart* before the actual expiry of *kanam.*

Side by side with these attempts, some steps were also initiated to unite the tenants through *Kudiyan Sangham* (Tenancy Associations). In 1916, *Malabar Kudiyan Sangham* was formed with M P Narayana Menon and Kattilasseri Mohammed Maulawi, two leaders of the Indian National Congress as President and Secretary respectively. Its branches were set up all over Malabar within a short time. The leaders of the Association presented the tenants’ problems on all Congress platforms.

On 28th and 29th April 1920, in the district conference of the Congress held at Manjeri, K.P. Raman Menon presented a resolution demanding legislation to determine the landlord-tenants relation and to protect the tenants’ rights. The landlords in the conference strongly objected to the resolution. In spite of the objections the resolution was passed.

The First World War caused a lot of confusion of allegiance among the Muslims. The Ottoman Khalif fought against Britain as an ally of Germany. The British Prime Minister Lloyd D. George sought the support of the Muslims and declared that the war was not against the Ottoman Khalif; and

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2 Reve. Dept. (conf.) 2nd January 1914, No: 9. TNA.
4 *The Hindu*, 1st May 1920.
whatever happened, the independence and sovereignty of the Khalif would be protected. Accordingly, Muslims all over the world supported Britain in the war. Taking the statement at its true sense, on 1st September 1914 the Mappilas of Calicut assembled at Himayatul Islam Sabha Hall and appealed to the Mappilas to join hands with Britain in the war and to make prayers by offering *Fathihah* in each mosque for the victory of Britain. But Britain went back on its commitment and the post-war treaties destroyed the Khilafat. Thus Britain deceived the world Muslims.

Tempers in the Muslim world were running high over the injustice of Britain on the Ottoman Khalif. The Mappilas of Malabar also took it as a serious aggression upon their faith. The Mappilas of Malabar, like the Muslims of other countries, had allegiance to the Khalif. The Muslims wanted to restore their spiritual head to its former position. For the purpose, they started the Khilafat Movement. In India, Maulana Mohammed Ali, Shoukat Ali, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Abul Kalam Azad and others initiated the Movement. Mahatma Gandhi with the hope of massive Muslim support and Hindu-Muslim unity in the national movement joined hands with them and

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6 The first chapter of the *Quran*.
8 Treaty of Sevres of August 1919 dismembered the Ottoman Empire.
10 During the Balkan war of 1912, Mappilas of Malappuram, Perinthalmanna, Mannarghat and Mampad offered special prayers for the success of Turkey. Mappilas had their moral support with Ottoman Khalif. *Judl. Dept. GO No.2040*, (conf.), 9th December 1912. TNA.
propagated the Khilafat message along with its leaders all over India. He said, "Today the British imperialism represents Devil. Lovers of God cannot compromise with Devil."\textsuperscript{11}

The Central Khilafat Committee declared Friday, 17\textsuperscript{th} October 1919 to be observed as the Khilafat day. Along with other parts of India, Malabar also joined in the Khilafat Day observance by closing shops, giving charity to the poor, taking fast, and offering special prayers after \textit{Juma}\textsuperscript{12} for the restoration of the Ottoman Khilafat.\textsuperscript{13} The message of the Khilafat Movement was that the Muslims needed a strong Khalif. Only a free India could help such an attempt to realize the aim and so Mappilas should strive for the freedom of the country.\textsuperscript{14}

In the Congress conferences at Manjeri and Ottapalam, Khilafat and tenancy questions were discussed. Komu Menon presented the Khilafat resolution in the Manjeri conference on 28\textsuperscript{th} April 1920, which urged the British Government to restore the Ottoman Khilafat or else Muslims and Hindus would not co-operate with the government.\textsuperscript{15} Thus, even before the All India Congress Committee adopted the scheme, Mappilas of Malabar had already started Non-co-operation as a resistance movement.

\textsuperscript{12} Friday congregation prayer.
\textsuperscript{13} P. P. Mammad Koya Parappil, \textit{op.cit.}, p. 150.
\textsuperscript{14} K. Madhavan Nair, \textit{Malabar Kalapam} (Mal.), Calicut, 1971, p. 47.
\textsuperscript{15} A. K. Pillai, \textit{Keralavum Congressum} (Mal.), Tiruvananthapuram, 1983, p. 405.
On 18th August 1920 Gandhiji and Shoukat Ali arrived at Calicut\textsuperscript{16} to attend a Khilafat meeting. An enthusiastic mass of about 20,000 people attended the meeting.\textsuperscript{17} There, Gandhiji declared his\textsuperscript{18} non-violent Non-co-operation method of protest\textsuperscript{19} and a Malabar Khilafat Committee was formed with Kunhi Koya Tangal as President, T. Hasan Koya and U. Gopala Menon as Secretaries.\textsuperscript{20} Subsequently, large numbers of local committees were formed. A number of local meetings and volunteer training camps were organized under the Khilafat committees. Besides, they published and circulated the \textit{Muhimmat-ul Mumineen}\textsuperscript{21} and translated version of the \textit{Turk-i Muwalar}\textsuperscript{22} among the people. The \textit{Khilafat Patrika}\textsuperscript{23} also brought out exhorting messages to the people.

As Khilafat was mainly a religious issue, the \textit{ulama} took its lead.\textsuperscript{24} In January 1921, a mammoth meeting of the Mappilas was held in Calicut at the initiative of Mahmud Tangal, the highest religious authority among the Mappilas of Malabar, which pledged to support the Non-co-operation and

\textsuperscript{16} \textit{Madras Government Home (pol.)}, (conf.) F. No: 307. TNA.
\textsuperscript{17} Khan Behadur C. Gopalan Nair, \textit{The Mappila Rebellion} 1921, Calicut, 1923, p. 20.
\textsuperscript{18} \textit{The Madras Mail} 8\textsuperscript{th} August 1921.
\textsuperscript{21} A Khilafat treatise written by Aminummantakath Pareekutty Musaliar.
\textsuperscript{22} A work of Abul Kalam Azad.
\textsuperscript{23} A journal started from Varkala in 1920 by A. Muhammad Kunju. But only its six issues were published.
\textsuperscript{24} S. F. Dale, \textit{op.cit.}, p. 211.
Khilafat cause. Thus by February 1921 the Khilafat and Non-co-operation Movements forged ahead in several parts of Malabar.

The British government was shocked to see this development in Malabar. The government took measures to curb the development. Public meetings in Ernad Taluk were banned. Prominent leaders were forbidden from addressing the Khilafat meetings. It was in the wake of such developments that the district Khilafat committee decided to organize two meetings at Tanur and Calicut on 15th and 16th February 1921 respectively. As scheduled, Yaqub Hasan reached Calicut to address the meetings. But he was arrested along with U. Gopala Menon, K. Madhavan Nair and Ponmadath Moideen Koya on charges of violating the prohibitory orders. They were sentenced to six months imprisonment. There was great protest against the arrest of the leaders. Hartals, protest meetings, boycotts and demonstrations were held everywhere in Malabar.

In the Ottapalam conference (23rd-26th April 1921) separate sessions were arranged for tenants, Khilafat, students and ulama meetings. The government took repressive measures against the conference and even

26 GO Home (pol.) Dept. No: 185/1925. TNA, See also, Sukbhir Choudhary, Mappila Uprising (1921-1923), Delhi, 1977, p. 19.
28 K. Madhavan Nair, “Malabarile Mappila Lahala” in Mathrubhumi, 3rd May 1924.
assaulted the leading delegates. The leaders reminding them of the vow of non-violence consoled the agitated mass.\textsuperscript{31} Despite all the British atrocities, the Khilafat committees mushroomed all over Malabar under the guidance of the \textit{ulama}.

\begin{quote}
, On 15\textsuperscript{th} August 1921, a notice in the name of \textit{ulama} was circulated among the Muslims of Calicut requesting them to purchase only \textit{khadi} dress for the coming \textit{Bakrid} festival.\textsuperscript{32} The release of the arrested leaders on 17\textsuperscript{th} August 1921 turned the people of Calicut to a festive mood. In a huge reception meeting held at Calicut beach, the excited people burned their foreign goods in public and took an oath to use only the \textit{swadeshi} goods.
\end{quote}

Thus, by August 1921, Malabar witnessed an unprecedented growth of anti-British feeling on the one hand and the concerted attempts of the authorities to suppress the movements on the other. Having failed to check the mass movements, the officials requested the government for more vigorous steps\textsuperscript{33} and it culminated in the revolt of 1921.\textsuperscript{34}

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\textsuperscript{31} K. Madhavan Nair, \textit{Malabar Kalapam} (Mal.), \textit{op.cit.}, p. 82. \\
\textsuperscript{32} P. P. Mammad Koya Parappil, \textit{op.cit.}, pp. 149. .
\textsuperscript{33} Home Dept. (pol.), File. No: 241/1-7, 1921, 20-8-1921. NAI.
\textsuperscript{34} K. N. Panikkar, \textit{Peasant Protest... op.cit.}, p. XXVII.
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Kerala Majlis ul Ulama

In South India, the Indian Majlis ul Ulama was the counterpart of Jam'iyyat ul Ulama- I Hind of the north. It was founded first in Tiruchchirappalli of erstwhile Madras as its head quarters. Its first conference was held at Erode on 2nd and 3rd August 1921. Stalwarts of Jam'iyyat ul Ulama- I Hind like Maulana Sayyid Hussain Ahmad Madani, Maulana Mufti Kifayatullah, and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad led the different sessions of the conference. Besides, many well-known ulama from different parts of South India and about 150 Mappilas from south Malabar attended the conference.

The conference decided to start an identical organization in Kerala with Vakkam Abdul Qadir Maulawi at its head. Thus at the instance of the Maulawi, the Ottapalam conference (23-26th April 1921) discussed the issue seriously and an ulama session was held on 25th under the Chairmanship of Sayyid Murtaza Sahib. Forty-one ulama and seven hundred delegates attended the conference. Besides Muslims, some Hindu leaders also attended the session. The session decided to form an organization of the ulama called 'Kerala Majlis ul Ulama'. The organization had the aim of

36 E. Moidu Maulawi, Charitra...op. cit., p. 29.
39 M. Gangadhara Menon, Malabar Rebellion op. cit., p. 131.
supporting the freedom movement under the Indian National Congress. It elected Maulawi Sayyid Alawi Tangal as Permanent President and Vakkam Abdul Qadir Maulawi and Sheikh Mahin Hamadani as Vice Presidents, E. Moidu Maulawi as General Secretary, Kattillassery Mohammed Maulawi, K.M. Maulawi and Maulawi Arabi Shamnad as Joint Secretaries. It passed the following resolutions.

- To contribute a portion of zakath to the Khilafat and Smyrna fund.
- To adopt a policy of non-violent Non-co-operation towards the government.
- All Muslims above 21 years of age to be members of the Indian National Congress and devote themselves for Swaraj and the restoration of the Khilafat.

After the conference, Moidu Maulawi issued a pamphlet entitled Da’wat ul Haq (call to the truth) calling upon the Muslims of Kerala to strive and to sacrifice all including their life to save the Khilafat. It also appealed to the people to contribute a good share of their zakath to the

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41 E. Moidu Maulawi, Charitra ...op. cit., p. 30.
42 Compulsory contribution of 2.5% of wealth that each wealthy Muslim should be contributed to the poor people each year.
43 Public Dept. F. GO No: 491, Dated 3rd August 1921, TNA. Copy of the resolution appended No: III.
44 Ibid. The government proscribed this and E. Moidu Maulawi was arrested and convicted for two years. E. Moidu Maulawi, Maulawiyyude Atma Kadha. Also see, G. R. F. Tottenham, op. cit., p. 6.
Khilafat fund. Hassan Koya Molla, an active Congress-Khilafat member of Calicut invited Maulana Azad and other leaders of *Majlis ul Ulama* to Calicut. Though Maulana Azad reached Calicut, he could not address the public on account of the Police Act 144 in force in the town. He then attended a discussion class at Himayat ul Islam Sabha Hall and spoke in public at Kapad. The *Majlis ul Ulama* also arranged its meetings in different parts of Malabar. Thus both the Khilafat committees and *Majlis ul Ulama* provided a strong impetus to the nationalist spirit among the Mappilas.

The Muslim awakening and the Hindu Muslim unity disturbed the British interests. The authorities hatched several plots to break this unity. Deputy Superintendent of Police, Mr. Amu planned to create disunity among the *ulama* and arranged an *ulama* meeting at Ponnani Pathar on 24th July 1921. The whole government machinery worked for its success. Collector Thomas and Deputy Collector Ammu Sahib took special interest and invited the *ulama* to the meeting. Local Chiefs, Khan Sahibs and Khan Behadurs met the *ulama* in person for the purpose. The government arranged vehicles and other facilities for the journey of the participants to the loyalists' conference. In the name of Khilafat Committee, Mohammed Abdul Rahiman appealed to the *ulama* not to take part in the meeting arranged by the British officials at

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Sensing the danger of the situation, the *ulama* stayed away and they could not bring any known *alim* to the conference. Those who were brought to it were cleverly smuggled out to the nationalist *ulama* conference held at Puthu Ponnani. As the attempt failed, Mr. Amu approached the leaders of *Majlis ul Ulama* and apprised them of the consequences of the anti-British activities. But the leaders took no heed to his threat.

**Majlis ul Ulama Ponnani Conference**

Being informed of the meeting of the pro-British *ulama* at Ponnani, K P Kesava Menon, the Congress-Khilafat leader, advised E. Moidu Maulawi to conduct a Congress-Khilafat meeting at Ponnani the same day. The Maulawi found it difficult to hold such a meeting at Ponnani on account of the prevailing Police Act. But he decided to organize a meeting of the *Kerala Majlis ul Ulama* at Ponnani on the same day. But the Maulawi could not find a venue for the purpose due to the threat of the authorities. Finally it was arranged in a plot owned by a relative of Kattilasseri Mohammed Maulawi at Puthu Ponnani.

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48 Appeal is appended in the last. No. V.
49 E. Moidu Maulawi, *Charitra... op.cit.*, p. 32.
50 E. Moidu Maulawi, *Maulawiyyude... op.cit.*, p. 141.
51 Ibid, p. 140.
52 Ibid, p. 31.
A large number of ulama from different parts of Kerala flowed to the conference.53 Sensing trouble, the government had issued strict orders against conducting any processions. The order was served on the organizers like Moidu Maulawi, Abdul Rahiman, A. P. Abdul Aziz, Makki Imbichi Sahib et al. Thus the organizers at different parts of Ponnani got vigilant and succeeded in leading the delegates silently to the pavilion. Breaking the silence a rumour spread that an old Sub Inspector attacked Ali Musaliar and subsequently the people manhandled the Sub Inspector and threw his cap into the Connolly Canal. A tense situation developed and shops and other institutions were closed. Abdul Rahiman some how managed to control the situation and console the people.54

There were deliberate attempts on the part of the authorities to provoke and insult the participants.55 In spite of all these, the meeting was a great success. Ponnani had never before witnessed such a great conference.56 The conference was presided over by Abdul Aziz Musaliar, the Principal of Latheefia College, Vellore and had a large gathering of 2500 people including 1005 ulama. Renowned ulama like Abdul Bari Musaliar, Pangil Abdul Rahiman Musaliar, Cherusseri Zainudhin Kutty Musaliar, Uppungal Bapputy Musaliar, and Kottayi Bava Musaliar were among the delegates. The success

53 Muzhikunnath Brahmadattan Namboodirippad referred to the meeting as bombing in the stronghold of enemies (Pro Britishers). Khilafat Smaranakal, (Mal.) Calicut, 1965, p. 15.
54 E. Moidu Maulawi, Maulawiyyade... op.cit., pp. 138-139.
55 E. Moidu Maulawi, Charitra Chintakal op.cit., pp. 32-33.
56 E. Moidu Maulawi, Maulawiyyade...op.cit., p.138.
of the conference alarmed the British authorities. The British repressive measures failed to dissuade the Mappilas from the nationalist struggle.

The revolt of 1921 was a fatal shock to the Kerala Majlis ul Ulama. Most of its leaders were arrested and sentenced to long-term imprisonment. Others went underground. Some escaped to Kodungallur, a territory beyond the jurisdiction of the British. Another important reason for its disappearance was the rise of the Kerala Muslim Aikya Sangam. Later the progressive leaders of the Majlis who escaped to Kodungallur along with the ulama of the region and some members of Kerala Muslim Aikya Sangam gave shape to the organization of Kerala Jam‘iyyat ul Ulama in 1922.

*Kerala Jam‘iyyat ul Ulama*

The Kerala Jam‘iyyat ul Ulama was formed as a common platform for all the ulama of Kerala. K. M. Maulawi one of the stalwarts of the Aikya Sangam wrote to Maulana Abdul Jabbar Hazrat, the Principal of Vellore Baquiat us Salihat Arabic College explaining the aims and objectives of the organization. The Biannual Conference of Aikya Sangam held at Aluva under the presidentship of the Maulana gave shape to the committee of the Jam‘iyyat. A committee was formed with M. Abdul Kadar Maulawi as

57 A territory under the Raja of Cochin.
President, C. Abdullah Koya Tangal and K. K. Mohammed Kutty Maulawi as Vice Presidents and C. K. Moideen Kutty Maulawi and E. K. Maulawi as Secretary and Assistant Secretary respectively. P. N. Mohammed Maulawi, P. P. Unni Moideen Kutty Maulawi, Hajee Palot Moosakkutty Maulawi, T. Mohammed Kutty Maulawi, P.M. Abdul Qadir Maulawi, B.V. Koya kutty Tangal, C. Abdullah Kutty Maulawi, Palasseri Kammu Maulawi were the Executive Members. The main objectives of the *Kerala Jam'iyat ul Ulama* were the following.

- Re-establish unity among the *ulama*.
- Constitute Muslim *Panchayats* for settling disputes among the Muslims.
- Start *Darul Iftah* (Centre of Verdicts).
- Strengthen the foundation of true faith and to eliminate all evil customs and practices.
- Work for the religious propagation.

The third and fourth conferences of the *Jam'iyat* were held at Calicut and Tellichery in 1925 and 1926 respectively. The organization always emphasized the need for independence of the country for its smooth functioning.

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The government also took some measures to counter the activities of Kerala Majlis ul Ulama. For this purpose a parallel ulama was installed and presented before the people. They issued and circulated among the people an Arabi-Malayalam fatwa Mahaqul Khilafah Ala Ismil Khilafa (Erasing the Khilafat in the name of Khilafah), prepared by Mammad Kutty Musaliar and another fatwa, Nadil Masmooi ila Ma’nal Khilafa Kama Hiya al Mashuri (Instigating people against the famous Khilafah) by K. M. Abdullah Kutty Musaliar. Both the fatwa vehemently criticized the Khilafat and Non co-operation movement. Quoting the Quran, the fatwas advocated loyalty and obedience to the government as the bounden duty of every Muslim.

Ali Musaliar

The Khilafatists consisting of Hindus and Muslims were very active in the whole of south Malabar. By August 1921 anti-British sentiments reached a flash point. Leadership of Ali Musaliar added fuel to it. Ali Musaliar, the native of Nellikkuth near Manjeri was a stalwart to be inducted into the forefront of the Khilafat movement of Malabar. It was the bitter

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62 Ali Musaliar was born 1853 at Nellikkuth, near Manjeri as the son of Erikkunnath Palath Moolayil Kunhi Moideen Sahib and Amina, D/o Ottakath Mammad kutty Musaliar in the progeny of Makhdums of Ponnani. He was educated at Ponnani and Makkah. After education he served as Mudarris (teacher) in different places like Kavarati, Thodidakappalam, Podiyyatt, Melmuri, Nellikkuth and Tirurangadi. He was a scholar in Arabic and Urdu languages and a regular reader of works in these languages.
experiences in his life\textsuperscript{63} and the inspirations of Kattilasseri Muhammad Maulawi that made him a first rate Khilafat leader.\textsuperscript{64} For Ali Musaliar, there were several other reasons for the enmity against the British. He had lost his elder brother Mammad Kutty Musaliar and many relatives in the struggle against the British in Mannarghat in 1891.\textsuperscript{65} These personal losses supplemented with Khilafat and tenant problems made him a vibrant political activist. He realized that the British were not to be depended on. He took pains to form a strong group of Khilafat volunteers. He travelled in every nook and corner of Malabar\textsuperscript{66} with the purpose of organizing the Khilafat committees. Volunteers were asked to wear uniform consisting of khaki trousers and coat, red Turkey cap with an emblem on it. The volunteers also used to go for evening drills in their uniform.\textsuperscript{67} His religious classes and sermons at the mosques had a great popular appeal. He utilized those occasions to spread the Khilafat message and to instill anti-British consciousness among the people. His audience was not limited to the people of Tirurangadi.\textsuperscript{68} He had thousands of disciples all over Malabar. The British authorities were amazed at the regular system of inter-communication,

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{63} Ashraf Bachu, \textit{Ali Musaliare Marakkathirikkuka, Wagon Tragedy Smaranika} (Mal.), 60\textsuperscript{th} Annual Conference Committee Volume, Tirur, 1981, p. 136.
\item \textsuperscript{64} K. Koyatti Maulawi, \textit{1921 le Mappila Lahala} (Mal.), Tirurangadi, 1953, p. 22.
\item \textsuperscript{65} For details see Ashraf Bachu, \textit{op.cit.}, pp. 136-138. P. C. Bamford also quotes another important motivation as Ali Musaliar had a dream in which he was told by Mannarghat Tangal by the time for establishing the Khilafat has come P C Bamford, histories, \textit{op.cit.}, pp. 175-176
\item \textsuperscript{66} F. B. Evans, Notes on the Rebellion reproduced from G. R. F. Tottenham, \textit{op.cit.}, p. 45.
\item \textsuperscript{67} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 42.
\item \textsuperscript{68} K. N. Panikkar, \textit{Against Lord...op.cit.}, p. 154.
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between the Musaliar and the people through his disciples (murid) whereby men from distant area could be instantly summoned to any place.\(^69\)

As his circle of contact was vast, a large number of disciples and friends gathered around him at Tirurangadi. The popularity of the Musaliar attracted a large number of visitors to the *Mamburam Jaram.*\(^70\) As the *Jaram* being near his seat, the visitors also reached his feet for his blessings and prayers. Thus, the ideals of the Khilafat Movement spread over the length and breadth of Malabar through his disciples, relatives, friends and visitors. A number of *ulama* came to Tirurangadi to partake of the resistance struggle along with the Musaliar. It was known to the British authorities that Ali Musaliar and his students at the mosque were taking an active role in spreading the Khilafat ideas.\(^71\)

It was due to his leadership that the Khilafat committee became powerful in Tirurangadi, Pookottoor, Nellikkuth, Tanur, and Malappuram areas. He was very strong in organizing the Khilafat committees and volunteers.\(^72\) Ali Musaliar himself was the Secretary of Tirurangadi Khilafat committee. Pareekutty Musaliar, Kunhi Koya Tangal and Vadakkeveettil Mohammed were the Secretaries at Tanur, Malappuram and Pookottoor respectively.

\(^{69}\) *Madras Mail* August 8, 1921, p. 6, quoted in R. H. Hitchcock, *op.cit.*, p. 10.

\(^{70}\) Tomb of Sayyid Alawi Tangal, which is one of the important centres of pilgrimage for all the communities.

\(^{71}\) Inns and Evans, Supplement to Malabar Gazetteer G/31-1395, p. 111. K. S. A.

Ali Musaliar by virtue of his fourteen years of service as Mudarris of Kizhakkeppalli from 1907-1921 had great respect and popularity among a large number of his disciples at Tirurangadi and neighbouring areas. Varian Kunnath Kunhahmed Hajee, one of the strong leaders of the revolt of 1921 was his relative and friend; Kunhi Koya Tangal was his friend, and Lavakkutty and Kunhalavi were his trustful lieutenants, Kunhi Kadar of Tanur, and Vadakkeveettil Mohammed of Pookottoor, Karadan Moideen Kutty, Parayeri Kunhahmed Kutty, and Thettayil Kunhahmed Hajee of Tirurangadi were his closest disciples. It was through these friends and disciples that the Musaliar controlled the whole movement. Thus, Ali Musaliar had the full rein of Khilafat agitations and the revolt of 1921 till his arrest.

Ali Musaliar was basically a peace loving man attracted to the *ahimsa* principles of Gandhiji. He always used *khadi* dress and preached the *ahimsa* doctrine of Gandhiji. He drew his inspiration from M. P. Narayana Menon. Even in the face of serious provocation of 1921 revolt, Ali Musaliar advised *ahimsa*. For instance when Lavakkutty, one of his right hand men asked him, what he was to do if police compelled him to remove his cap, the reply of Ali Musaliar was exemplary. He said, “you should not remove your cap, if

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73 F. B. Evans, Notes on the Rebellion...*op.cit.*, p. 42  
anybody insist and attempts to manhandle you then you try to escape from the scene."\(^7\)

He was never a fanatic and by no means incited people for any offence.\(^6\) He advocated that Muslims had the right to protect their religious solidarity and had the right to use force for the safety of their religious honour.\(^7\) As referred in the judgment of his execution, it was not fanaticism or agrarian trouble or destitution that worked in the mind of Ali Musaliar, but the influence of Khilafat and Non co-operation that drove him to his crime.\(^8\) Sukbhir Choudhary adds that it was agrarian troubles that worked in the mind of Ali Musaliar.\(^9\) It shows that all the Khilafat, Non co-operation and agrarian issues contributed to his entry into the colonial struggle.

The political developments and the Hindu-Muslim joint attempts for the Khilafat gave sleepless nights to the British. The authorities were always suspicious and anxious about the activities of the Mappilas.\(^9\) The British found that the Musaliar was the activator of the Mappilas. Thus, they always

\(^7\) E. Moidu Maulawi, ‘Khilafat Smaranakal op.cit., p. 9.
\(^6\) Ibid, p. 10.
\(^7\) A. K. Pillai, op.cit., p. 67.
\(^8\) F. B. Evans, Notes on the Rebellion...op.cit., p. 42.
\(^9\) The secret report on the Non-co-operation movement submitted to the Home secretary Govt. of India, on 31\(^a\) Jan. 1920 by the L Barkey chief secretary to the Govt. of Bengal, Home (pol.) Dept. Govt. of India file No: 185/ 1925, p. 84. Quoted in Sukbhir Choudhary. Mappila Uprising (1921-23), Delhi, 1971, forward by M. P. S. Menon, p. XVI,
\(^9\) A. K. Pillai, op.cit., p. 44.
tried to interfere in the activities of Ali Musaliar. Such a situation gradually changed his attitude bitterer towards the British.

The court proceedings of Musaliar’s trial accused him an uncompromising hero of Khilafat movement who prepared the people for stronger struggles. The important charges against him were the following. As soon as the Khilafat committees were formed he enrolled a large number of youths as its members throughout south Malabar. When the movement grew up, another serious offence took place in Tirurangadi. The visit to the Manthani Parambu had already been banned by the British government due to the jihadi sentiment of this place. Ignoring the ban, the Musaliar quite often used to take his Khilafat volunteers to this place for ziara (sacred visit) in the month of Ramadan (June 1921), where they took vows and offered special prayers.

Another serious charge against him was that he led his volunteers in procession, shouting Taqbeer to Kerala Majlis ul Ulama Conference at Ponnani where such meetings and processions were prohibited by the

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81 Statement of Karat Moideen Kutty Hajee s/o Unnimuthan of Pookottoor to inspector Narayanan Menon, 8th June 1922 R. H. Hitchcock, op. cit., p. 190. Similar statements in Ibid, pp. 182-83, 208 etc.
82 The place where the Cherur shuhada (martyrs) who killed in the revolt of Cherur (1843) were buried which is at Chemmad near Tirurangadi Kacheri.
83 H. F. M. files (conf.) No: 84, p. 32.
84 R. H. Hitchcock, op. cit., p. 31.
government. So it was taken as a violation of government order and charges of breach of government orders were levelled against him.

Another important charge levelled against him was that on 29th July 1921 he conducted a congregation at Juma Masjid of Tirurangadi where he read out the Karachi resolution of the Khilafat committee. It created a strong feeling that the British rule in India would soon come to an end.

Ali Musaliar was also accused of convincing the people that the Amir of Afghanistan would attack India. Gandhiji and Ali brothers were prepared to help them, so everybody should help Gandhiji and Ali brothers in this venture. He was also blamed of instigating people against the British officials, and of waging holy war against the British King.

In February 1921, the British authorities prepared a list, of 24 ‘dangerous persons.’ Ali Musaliar, being the first in the list, was the man most wanted by the authorities. Collector Thomas sought permission from the government of Madras to arrest him. But A. R. Knapp, the member of Governor’s

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85 Karachi Khilafat Conference held on July 1921 advocated people to determine to work whole-heartedly at whatever cost or sacrifice to preserve the sanctity of Khilafat and to release all Muslim countries from the non-Islamic powers. R. H. Hitchcock, op.cit., p. 22.
86 G. R. F. Tottenham, op.cit., p. 16.
87 F. B. Evans, Notes on the Rebellion..., op.cit., p. 43.
88 Communiqué from the Dist. Collector to the Govt. of Madras, in Telegram from the Viceroy to the Secretary of state for India, dated Aug. 27, 1921, Simla, quoted in R. H. Hitchcock, op.cit., p. 12. (Introduction)
Executive Council refused permission to take a sudden action against Ali Musaliar for fear of consequences. 89

The mission having failed, the Collector asked Ali Musaliar to meet him at Tirurangadi kacheri. But the Musaliar refused to see him on the ground of Non co-operation with the government. Meanwhile a rumour was spread that the Musaliar was going to be arrested soon. On receipt of the news a large group of Khilafatists from Pookottoor and Pudiyat, numbering about 500, marched in uniform to Tirurangadi. 91 It was only when they were convinced that it was an unfounded rumour that the mob moved back to their places. 92 The entire episode shows that Ali Musaliar was as popular and influential as Mamburam Tangal. 93

After the ulama conference at Ponnani, the British authorities were quite vigilant of the political developments in Malabar. Mr. Thomas, the Malabar Collector, even requested the Governor to take stringent actions against the Khilafat activities and to ban the movement. But the authorities after a close scrutiny decided not to take any strong step against the Khilafat since it was an All India movement. 94 But the Collector was not satisfied with the decision

89 R. H. Hitchcock, op. cit., p. 12.
90 About 25 Kms east to Tirurangadi.
91 G. R. F. Tottenham, op.cit., p. 43.
92 Ibid.
93 Brahmadattan Namboodirippad, op.cit., p. 62.
94 Ibid, p. 34.
of the superiors. He was personally revengeful against the Mappilas and was inciting the Hindu landlords against them. In such a situation, on 1st August 1921, an attempt was made at Pookottoor to arrest Vadakkeveettil Mammad, the Secretary of Khilafat committee on the issue of the alleged theft of a pistol from Nilambur Kovilakam. A huge crowd prevented the police from arresting him. Thus the police was humiliated. The British authorities found fault with Ali Musaliar, as he was the master brain of the Khilafat Movement. Expecting Ali Musaliar in the Kizhakkeppalli of Tirurangadi, the Collector and party searched there on 19th August 1921. But they could not find the ‘culprits.’ However, three Khilafat workers were arrested from the mosque.

The search and arrest of three Khilafat workers caused to the spread of rumours. There spread a rumour that Ali Musaliar was arrested and Mamburam Mosque was destroyed. According to some eyewitness accounts, a police officer in his civil dress was found riding a bicycle and spreading this news to the nearby areas. On receipt of the news, people from neighbouring places rushed to Tirurangadi shouting Taqbeer.

95 S. Ramachandran, op.cit., p. 44.
97 To know the influence of rumours, see K. Gopalan kutty, ‘Rumours and Rebellions in South Malabar’ in Kesavan Veluhat and P. P. Sudhakaran (ed.), Advances in History (Essays in Memory of Prof. M. P. Sreedharan) Calicut, 2003, pp. 277-280
99 Shouting ‘Allahuakbar’ (Allah is Great) as found uttered in different fights of Islam.
Maulawi, Mohammed Abdul Rahiman, K. Madhavan Nair and others met them at different places and managed to pacify them.\(^{100}\)

Kunhi Kader, the local Khilafat leader of Tanur addressed the people, "Time had come to overthrow the British rule and set up Khilafat government." \(^{101}\) Hundreds of people from Tanur marched to Tirurangadi under the leadership of Kunhi Kader.\(^{102}\) It also included thirteen Musalliars from Pillingappally of Tanur.\(^{103}\) The police stopped them at Pantharangadi. In the confrontation that followed, nine Khilafat workers were killed and Kunhi Kader and forty persons were taken prisoners. Meanwhile a spirited mob under Ali Musaliar reached Kacheri at Chemmad demanding the release of the Khilafatists. The authorities agreed to release the arrested people, but requested Ali Musaliar and Khilafatists to wait for a while and asked them to sit down. When all of them sat down the police started firing at them. In the fight that ensued, seventeen Khilafatists\(^{104}\) and six British officials were killed. This action on the part of the authority was as unwise as pouring oil into the burning fire.\(^{105}\)

\(^{100}\) K. Koyatti Maulawi, op.cit., p. 37.
\(^{102}\) K. Madhavan Nair, Malabar Kalapam (Mal.), op.cit., p. 110.
\(^{103}\) R. H. Hitchcock, op.cit., Appendix I, p. 183. The names of the thirteen Musalliars are included separately in the Appendix No. VII.
\(^{104}\) K. Koyatti Maulawi, op.cit., p. 24.
\(^{105}\) A. K. Pillai, op.cit., p. 337.
News and rumours about the Tirurangadi incident spread like wild fire and Ernad was dragged into a state of open rebellion. The rebels destroyed the railway and telegraph lines. Fearing the Mappila wrath the British officials left the place and not even a village peon was left in Tirurangadi. All the supporters of the government also fled from the place. The revolutionaries burned the treasury and the government offices at Tirurangadi and the British rule had practically ceased to exist. Then Ali Musaliar declared Khilafat Raj and himself acted as the head of the Khilafat government. Administration was carried through the mosques and Khilafat committee offices. He issued special orders that nobody should leave the place and that all should assemble at the mosque and fight against the British army. He also declared that dues from the ferry and bazaars were to be remitted to his government and not to the British Raj. He also gave strict instructions neither to commit plunder nor to consign any act of aggression against the Hindus.

The developments in Tirurangadi terrified the government and the authorities decided to take stringent action against the rebels. In the meantime the Congress-Khilafat leaders under the leadership of P.Kesava Menon, M.

106 The Bombay Chronicle 25th August 1921 (micro film Section NMML, Delhi), FNR for 2nd half of August 1921, TNA.
107 E. Moidu Maulawi, Maulaviyude... op.cit., p. 45.
108 K. N. Panikkar, Against Lord... op.cit., p. 153.
110 Sreedhara Menon, Keralavum Swathendrya Samaravum (Mal), Tiruvananthapuram, 2000, p.73. See also, P. K. K. Menon, op.cit., p. 120.
Abdul Rahiman and E. Moidu Maulawi reached Tirurangadi.\textsuperscript{111} They advised Ali Musaliar to stop violence and to surrender before the authorities for the good of the people. But he said, “No one in my family has had a natural death. I have not ventured into any revolt. I very much believe in non-violence. I had approached the officers to enquire about the raiding of houses after midnight and arresting innocent people. I had only my walking stick in my hand. Islam enjoins upon people to throw at least a handful of dust against oppression. Firing was ordered against us who had just gone there peacefully. Certain untoward things happened consequently.”\textsuperscript{112}

As A. K. Gopalan, the veteran communist leader pointed out that they were able to make the British quit India from Ernad for about three months in 1921. It was Ali Musaliar who did it.\textsuperscript{113} Later, The British battalions from different corners gathered at Tirurangadi with the aim of arresting Ali Musaliar. On 30\textsuperscript{th} August, they surrounded the Tirurangadi mosque. The next day, Ali Musaliar with forty-two comrades surrendered to the British forces.\textsuperscript{114}

\textsuperscript{111} P. P. Ummar Koya, ‘Oru Samaravum Oru Thudakkavum’ (Mal.), Malabar Kalapam 1921 60\textsuperscript{th} Anniversary Souvenir... op.cit., p.97.
\textsuperscript{112} E. Moidu Maulawi, Maulawiude... op.cit., pp. 44- 45.
\textsuperscript{113} A. K. Gopalan, Court Proceedings, accuses A. K. Gopalan for his speech dated, 24-8-1946 at Perinthalmanna, selected Records No. 21, and extracts of the speech. p. 123. R A K.
\textsuperscript{114} Home (pol.) File No. 241/11A 1921, Reply submitted to the letter No. S. 250- 208G- Dt. 10\textsuperscript{th} Sept. 1921. (N A I)
After a perfunctory trial, the court accused him of waging war against the King and sentenced him to capital punishment. On 17th February 1922 Ali Musaliar and twelve of his followers were hanged in the Coimbatore jail. The Malabar Muslim Association buried the dead bodies at a place near Nawab Hakim Road, Coimbatore. The Malayalis of Coimbatore also constructed a memorial there. In the central hall of the Mausoleum it is inscribed, “Dedicated to the sacred memory of the martyrs of Islam. Ali Musaliar and his followers who braved the British gallows of Coimbatore central jail during the Mappila rebellion of 1921 to free our country from slavery”\textsuperscript{115}

**Aminummantakath Pareekutty Musaliar**

Aminummantakath Pareekutty Musaliar\textsuperscript{116} of Tanur was an uncompromising Khilafat activist. He fought against colonialism in both words and deeds. During the days of Khilafat agitations and the revolt of 1921 he was very active in Tanur as the Secretary of the local Khilafat committee. When tension broke out in Tirurangadi he was in the forefront of mobilizing

\textsuperscript{116} Pareekutty Musaliar was born at Tanur. He studied at Ponnani and was a scholar in Arabic and Urdu languages and a regular writer in Arabic and Arabi-Malayalam. He had close contact with the central Khilafat committee leaders and thus Tanur became a strong hold of Khilafat activities and the revolt of 1921.
people at Tanur. He issued many fatwas, supporting the activities of the Congress and asking the Mappilas to wage holy war against the British.

His fatwas known as Tarjuma Muhimmat ul Mumineen (the important things to be known to the believers), deal with the Khilafat issue at length. It was written in Arabi-Malayalam and distributed in every village and mosque of south Malabar. It deals with various issues of Dar ul Islam and Dar ul Harb. According to him, “It has been made evident in the light of Quran and Hadith of our Prophet and the decrees of the unanimous fatwas of all Imams that it is the bounden duty of all Muslims to endeavour in attaining Swaraj.”

In Muhimmat ul Mumineen, the author supports the activities of the Congress and appeals to the Mappilas to wage war against the British. He prescribes jihad and helping the fighters as compulsory to all (fardh ain). If

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120 English version of it dated 16\textsuperscript{th} July 1921 found in the file of public department G. O. No: 514, 15 Aug 1921, English translation by M. A. Ammu, Deputy Collector, TNA.
121 Pareekutty Musaliar, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-15.
anyone is reluctant to do jihad against the British, then it is compulsory on others to do jihad against such people.\textsuperscript{123}

The author vehemently criticizes the pro-British and calls them heretics (\textit{murtad}). He wishes them hell after death. He also encourages co-operation with the non-Muslims who are fighting against the British.\textsuperscript{124} He advises the Muslims not to obey the oppressors, who have been referred to by the \textit{Quran} and \textit{Hadith} as infidels.\textsuperscript{125} If one could not resist the British, he should migrate (\textit{hijrat}) to other countries.\textsuperscript{126}

Pareekutty Musaliar throughout the work justifies the Khilafat and resistance movement. He often quotes the \textit{Quran}, \textit{Hadith} and verses from the Jurists (\textit{Fuqaha}) of Islam. He also cites an instance relating to the Prophet to prove the importance of the Khilafat in the Islamic world. When the Prophet died, the primary concern of his followers was the election of a follower to the Prophet. So the burial of the dead body was delayed for three days till the selection of a Khalifa.\textsuperscript{127} He also quotes Salahudhin Saquidi who has stated that the divinity of the Ottoman Khilafat was to last till the coming of the

\textsuperscript{123} \textit{Ibid.}
\textsuperscript{124} \textit{Ibid}, p. 4.
\textsuperscript{125} \textit{Ibid}, p. 15.
\textsuperscript{126} \textit{Ibid}, pp 15-16.
\textsuperscript{127} Pareekutty Musaliar, \textit{op.cit.}, pp. 16-17.
Mahdi.\textsuperscript{128} Thus it is \textit{wajib} (compulsory) on every Muslim to pray for the glory and success of the Khalifa.\textsuperscript{129}

The author took an aggressive stand in the Khilafat issue. He declares \textit{jihad} even against the anti-Khilafat Muslims. He states, “Khilafat is the link that unites the world Muslims. Whoever tries to break that link should be cut into pieces.”\textsuperscript{130} Recognizing the popularity of the \textit{Muhimmat}, the government took strong steps against its propagation; proscribed it and possessing it was proclaimed a seditious offence.\textsuperscript{131} Because of his active role as an ideologue and pragmatist, and on the assumption that he was gaining support from the people the government declared him as the fourteenth among the ‘dangerous persons’ of Malabar.\textsuperscript{132}

The \textit{Muhimmat} ends with the declaration that he used only the \textit{Quran}, \textit{Hadith} and reliable quotes of the \textit{ulama}.\textsuperscript{133} The contemporary scholars like Cherusseri Ahmad Kutty Musaliar, Panayikulath Abdul Rahiman Musaliar, Kutty Bava Musaliar and Mylasseri Zainudhin Kutty Musaliar also

\textsuperscript{128} According to Islam, a promised Missiah would come in the end of this world to lead the people to the right path.
\textsuperscript{129} Pareekutty Musaliar, \textit{op.cit.}, p. 20.
\textsuperscript{130} \textit{Ibid}, p. 23.
\textsuperscript{132} R. H. Hitchcock, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 32.
\textsuperscript{133} Pareekutty Musaliar, \textit{op.cit.}, p. 38.
authenticates the references of the *Muhimmat.*\(^{134}\) The British authorities reprehended them for certifying the *Muhimmat.*\(^{135}\)

During the revolt of 1921, he played an active role in inspiring the people against the British. At Tanur, a large group of people got ready to go to Tirurangadi under Pareekutty Musaliar. The Musaliar then conveyed the message to the mosques of Tanur and to the local Khilafat committee office.\(^{136}\) On receipt of the message drums were beaten as signal for the people to assemble. He also widely circulated copies of the *Muhimmat* and mobilized the people to revolt against the British.\(^{137}\) His *fatwas* became one of the most motivating forces to the revolt. The work was proscribed by the government and the copies were seized and confiscated. The authorities also declared five years imprisonment to those keeping the copies of it.\(^{138}\) The British were always on the search for him due to his active role in the revolt of 1921. When the revolt was crushed, realizing the fate of arrest, he escaped to Makkah where he lived till death in 1942.

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\(^{134}\) *Ibid*, p.39.
\(^{135}\) C. N. Ahmad Maulawi, K. K. Muhammad Abdul Kareem, *Mahathaya Mappila... op.cit.*, p. 72.
Tayyil Muhammad Kutty Maulawi

During the days of the Khilafat agitations Tayyil Muhammad Kutty Maulawi\(^{139}\) popularly known as K. M. Maulawi was one of the stalwarts of the movement. He strongly advocated and practiced non-violence. During the days of Khilafat movement he was active in the formation of Khilafat committees in Malabar. A number of Congress-Khilafat committees at his guidance were formed in Ernad, Walluvanadu and Calicut taluks.\(^{140}\) Daily he addressed many Khilafat meetings in different centres. He also propagated the mission of *swadeshi* and Non-co-operation.\(^{141}\) He participated in the Tiruchirapally Conference of *Indian Majlis ul Ulama*. He was one of the chief architects of the *Kerala Majlis ul Ulama*. In the Ottappalam Congress he suggested that all Mussalman should join Non-co-operation with the government. When the police created tension during the conference, he was in the forefront to call upon the people to be peaceful.\(^{142}\)

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\(^{139}\) Tayyil Muhammad Kutty Maulawi (Musaliar) popularly known as K. M. Maulawi was a scholar, orator and writer and editor of many journals and pamphlets such as *al-Murshid, Risalatun fil Bunk* etc. He was born in Kakkad, near Tirurangadi in the scholarly family of Tayyil Kunhi Moideen Sahib and Palamadathil Karnatic Ayisha. He had his early education from the traditional *Dars* of Tirurangadi, Thalakkadathur and Paravanna and *Dar ul Uloom* Madrassa Vazhakkad. He also took the lead of the establishment of the Tirurangadi Yatheem Khana along with his friends like E. K. Maulawi, M. K. Hajee *et al.* (Here in after referred as K. M. Maulawi).


\(^{141}\) *Ibid*, p. 72.

\(^{142}\) *Ibid*, p. 90.
Maulawi was a strict idealist of _ahimsa_ principles. Prior to the revolt of 1921, he was much disturbed over the explosive condition of Malabar. There was every possibility for police raid and arrest. Thus he shuttled from one place to another appealing to people for peace. On 13th August he spoke at Pookottoor that if the government wanted to arrest any of them, then they should not resist. He made similar speeches at Kodur and Malappuram. He often described the unarmed fight with the British forces as suicidal. He condemned all types of violence in the name of the Khilafat and Congress.

During the turbulent revolt of 1921, he was restless in consoling the people from outrages. C. P. Muhammad Hajee one of his associates and eyewitnesses of the revolt records his reminiscences about the Maulawi, “It was the day of Kottakkal _chanda_ (weekly fair), a rumour spread that Ali Musaliar was arrested and the Juma Masjid was destroyed. Hearing this, people in groups from the _chanda_ flowed to Tirurangadi with sticks and daggers. Mappilas from Valakkulam, Valiora and Ponmala reached Tirurangadi. The excited mob became uncontrollable. K. M. Maulawi tried hard to convince them of the fact and of the matter and pacify them. He

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143 K. K. Muhammad Abdul Kareem, _K. M. Maulawi op.cit._, p. 93.
reminded them of the peaceful and non-violent nature of Khilafat and Non-co-operation.\footnote{146}

The non-official report about the revolt of 1921 records a still more interesting incident about the Maulawi that while controlling the excited mob he often quoted the Quranic words. At this time someone from the unruly crowd murmured, protested and some decried him as a government spy. Some others cried out, “Our brethren killed by them are lying on the road; should we not at least bring their bodies and bury them? The Maulawi replied that they must not go even for that.”\footnote{147}

When the situation became badly explosive in Ernad, he tried hard to avoid the explosion of an imminent revolt in Malabar. On 22\textsuperscript{nd} August, an urgent meeting of the Congress-Khilafat workers was convened at Calicut, which prepared ‘a serious notice’ and decided to circulate the copies of it in every village. It demanded patience and perseverance before the aggression of the British. K. M. Maulawi was one of the seven signatories to the notice.\footnote{148}

Moidu Maulawi recorded that 5,000 copies of such notice were so

\footnote{147} Non-official report of the Mappila disturbances by T. Prakashan and Venkata Ram Ayyar in September 1922 to Kerala Provincial Congress Committee in September 1922, p. 828. T N A..  
\footnote{148} Copy of the notice is appended, No. VI.
circulated. Despite all his peaceful missions he was a target of the British officials and was often haunted.

The British government branded him treasonous and counted him twelfth among the dangerous persons of Malabar. On 16th August 1921, the District Collector Thomas wrote to the government that Tayyil Muhammad Kutty was the most dangerous rebel. After the suppression of the revolt of 1921, the authorities planned to capture K. M. Maulawi and Kattilasseri Muhammad Maulawi and hang them within three months. When he came to know of the arrest warrant, he went underground. Later E.K. Maulawi and M. C. C. Abdul Rahiman Maulawi took special interest to invite him to Kodungallur. They provided him all facilities on his arrival at Kodungallur and he remained there for ten years.

On the repeal of the cases against him, he returned to Malabar and got involved in the day today affairs of the people. But he alienated himself from the Congress and later became one of the founders of the Muslim league in Kerala.

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151 R. H. Hitchcock, op. cit., p. 32.
153 UAE Indian Islahi Centre Souvenir, 1982, p. 77.
Kattilasseri Muhammad Maulawi

Mankada Parambil Vadekkethodi Muhammad Maulawi\(^{154}\) was a staunch enemy of the British. Kattilasseri came to the public life as an associate of M. P. Narayana Menon who always fought for the cause of suffering people. Kattilasseri realized that all the problems of the country were due to the presence of the British who were beneficial only to the landlords and capitalists. The British rather utilized them for their safe stand in the colonial process. Landlords always were the supporters of the British. Thus this illegitimate alliance worsened the condition of the peasant in Malabar.\(^{155}\)

Kattilasseri fought against this alliance tooth and nail. He formed *Kudiyan Sangham* (Tenants’ Association) with the aim of solving the grievances of the tenants. It organized *Kudiyan Struggles* against the *janmis*. He engaged himself in tireless efforts to organize the units of *Kudiyan Sangham* all over Ernad, Kurumbranadu, Walluvanadu, Calicut, Ponnani and Kottayam Taluks for which Kattilasseri travelled widely in his bullock-cart with M. P. Narayana Menon.\(^ {156}\) It was when Mahatma Gandhi staged his *Chambaran Satyagraha* that Kattilasseri engaged himself in such an identical

\(^{154}\) He was born at Puzhakkatteri near Perinthalmanna in 1879 as son of Ali Musaliar and Aishumma. He had his early education at *Dars* of Tirurangadi, Ponnani and Vellore. His presence in the Malabar resistance movement was second to none. Here in after called Kattilasseri.


\(^{156}\) *Ibid*, p. 19.
movement in Malabar. In 1916, at Kodur near Malappuram a janmi called Arakkal Kuttimalu Amma and her kanamdar Paruthikkunnan Pocker evicted many tenants. The tenants started protection strikes against the janmis. When the landlords sought the support of the Congress against the Kudiyan strike, Kattilasseri and Narayana Menon successfully intervened on behalf of the peasants and the janmis were rebuffed. Then the landlords came up with the fatwas of a group of ulama, which claimed the landlords’ proprietorship of the lands divinely decided. Kattilasseri defended it by counter fatwas. Finally the Kudiyan Sangham under the leadership of Kattilasseri won the strike.157

Similar successful tenants’ strikes were held at Kuruga and Kottakkal under Kattilasseri. Thus Kattilasseri made tenants a strong defensive force in the struggle against landlordism and colonialism.158

He called a Tenant conference at Angadippuram and oriented the tenants’ about their rights. The Congress conferences at Manjeri and Ottapalam took the tenants problem seriously. Kattilasseri played a vital role in moving resolutions in the conferences for the protection of the rights of tenants’.

Kattilasseri had an appealing personality. He was a good organizer and a speaker. Kesava Menon comments about him, “Muhammad Musaliar of

158 Ibid, p. 20.
Perinthalmanna, the friend of M. P. with his long stature and white sleeveless shirt, lungi and turban speak for hours fluently with magnetic attraction.”

Ayisha Kutty, daughter of Kattilasseri, remembers her father, “that he prepared the people to the anti-British movements by quoting the Quranic verses.” He used to speak at chandas and at mosques on Fridays. Thus within a short period the tenant movement became very active in every nook and corner of Malabar. Later when Khilafat movement started, the units of Kudiyan Sangham merged with the Khilafat stream and formed a joint force against the British.

He also distributed copies of the Karachi Resolutions. His patriotic spirit even made him unmindful of the District Collector. When Mr. Thomas entered the Khilafat Committee office at Calicut without seeking permission, Kattilasseri remained in his seat. When enquired of this behavior he replied, "will you permit anybody to enter your office without seeking permission.

163 Karachi Khilafat Conference held on July 1921 advocated people to determine to work whole-heartedly at whatever cost or sacrifice to preserve the sanctity of Khilafat and to release all Muslim countries from the non-Islamic powers. R. H. Hitchcock, op.cit., p. 22.
You did enter our office without seeking permission because you have no respect to the Indian offices.'\textsuperscript{164}

Kattilasseri was strong in the \textit{ahimsa} principles. He proved that tenant reforms could be achieved through peaceful means. So also strong peaceful resistance of the British could solve the Khilafat question. When the situation at Tirurangadi became worse, he visited Ali Musaliar with his friend, M. P. Narayana Menon and convinced him of the danger of armed fight against the British.'\textsuperscript{165} On the way they met one of the bodyguards of Ali Musaliar who had a dagger in his waist. Surprised of the turn of events, Kattilasseri remarked in an insulting mood, "Oh, you are a butcher.'\textsuperscript{166} This was actually the outburst of a man of \textit{ahimsa}.

E. P. Gopalan, one of the friends of Kattilasseri recollects, "Kattilasseri, the close friend of M. P. was a great scholar. He spoke for hours about the need of nationalism in the light of the \textit{Quran} and \textit{Hadith}. The British authorities feared him and found him dangerous as the champion of nationalism and an uncompromising hero of Hindu-Muslim unity.'\textsuperscript{167} As referred to earlier the British authorities had a deep sense of vengeance

\textsuperscript{164} S. Ramachandran, \textit{op.cit.}, p. 46.
\textsuperscript{165} \textit{Ibid}, p. 45.
\textsuperscript{166} Mozhikkunnath Brahmadattan Namboodirippad, \textit{op.cit.}, p. 61.
against him. He was declared the tenth among the ‘dangerous persons’ of Malabar to be arrested soon.\textsuperscript{168}

The government had also observed that one of the root causes of the revolt of 1921 was the rise of \textit{Kudiyan Sangham} and its activities in Malabar. The spark of the revolt also was on the same issue. One of the servants of Nilambur Kovilakam; Vadakkeveettil Muhammad was suspended, as he became the organizer of \textit{Kudiyan} conference of Pookkoottoor in January 1921.\textsuperscript{169} From the subsequent developments, the British authorities realized that the tenants’ movement was more harmful than anything. Thus, the government planned to arrest Kattilasseri with M.P. Narayana Menon, as they were the chief architects of \textit{Kudiyan} movement in Malabar. M. P. Narayana Menon was arrested and the Maulawi escaped to Vellore.\textsuperscript{170} The police under Amu, the Superintendent chased him to Vellore in disguise for his arrest. But Maulawi dramatically escaped to the French Karakkal where he lived till the cases against him were repealed in 1933. After his return he spent the rest of his life in public activities. He also established a number of educational institutions but without accepting any aid from the British government.\textsuperscript{171}

\textsuperscript{168} R. H. Hitchcock, \textit{op.cit.}, p. 32.
\textsuperscript{170} M. P. S. Menon, \textit{op.cit.}, p. 123.
\textsuperscript{171} E. P. Gopalan, \textit{op.cit.}, p. 4.
Moidu Maulawi

Moidu Maulawi was an uncompromising fighter against the British colonialism. He was attracted to the national movement through the Home Rule League. The Khilafat agitations and Non-co-operation movements strengthened his nationalist feeling and thus he came to the forefront of the struggle for freedom.\(^\text{173}\)

Moidu Maulawi took a leading role in the foundation of Majlis ul Ulama and Khilafat committees in Kerala. He had a leading role in the Ottapalam Congress conference of 23-25\(^{\text{th}}\) April 1921. A special ulama conference was held in the same venue and the Kerala Majlis ul Ulama was formed as Moidu Maulawi the General Secretary of the organization.\(^\text{174}\) After the conference he became a full time propagandist of the Khilafat movement in Malabar.\(^\text{175}\)

The Majlis ul Ulama and the Khilafat Committees worked in Malabar actively under the guidance of Moidu Maulawi and others. To counter their activities the British authorities arranged parallel movements and ulama

\(^{172}\) He was born in Maranchery of Ponnani Taluk as son of Malayamkulathayil Marakkar Musaliar and Ummati Umma. He had his early education in the Dars of Ponnani. For higher education he went to Vazhakkad Dar ul Uloom. At Vazhakkad along with Arabic, he studied Urdu also. Urdu scholarship enabled him to read the works of leaders like Azad, which tempted him to enter in serious politics.


\(^{174}\) Contains in the resolution of Kerala Ulama Conference in the file of public dept, GO, No: 491, 3\(^{\text{rd}}\) Aug. 1921, TNA

\(^{175}\) P. P. Umar Koya, Dheeramakkal (Mal.), Calicut, 1975, p. 40.
conference, which all ended in fiasco. It shocked the British authorities. Amu, the Superintendent of Police personally approached the Maulawi and requested him to desist from his anti-British activities.\textsuperscript{176} When it seemed that Maulawi was not yielding, Mr. Amu warned, “all your dealings are seditious, you must desist from it and report to the Collector, Mr. Thomas. I shall help you in every possible way. By God I too believe in the Khilafat. You must do for the goodness of the nation.”\textsuperscript{177} Having listened to what he said, Maulawi retaliated. “I cannot deviate from my goal. I know arrest and prison are at your disposal. My country’s liberation is my ultimate object. I am prepared to sacrifice everything for its sake.”\textsuperscript{178}

Moidu Maulawi was restless during the revolt of 1921. After the Pookottoor incident, the British authorities decided to take harsh steps and the Khilafatists also prepared for a confrontation with the British. On 19\textsuperscript{th} August 1921 the Collector Mr. Thomas, and the Deputy Superintendent of Police, Hitchcock started to Tirurangadi with 500 soldiers and policemen. As soon as Abdu Rahman and Moidu Maulawi came to know about the move of the District Collector, they sent a message to Ali Musaliar stating, “it was known that Mr. Thomas and Hitchcock, accompanied by a well equipped army had

\textsuperscript{176} E. Moidu Maulawi, \textit{Ente Kootukaran} (Mal.), Calicut, 1964, p. 25.
\textsuperscript{177} E. Moidu Maulawi, \textit{Maulawiyude... op.cit.}, p. 140.
\textsuperscript{178} E. Moidu Maulawi, \textit{op.cit.}, \textit{Chandrika} Daily, Dated 5\textsuperscript{th} Feb. 1990, p. 2
started from Calicut either to Tirurangadi or to Pookottoor.” It also reminded Ali Musaliar to be careful to ward off untoward incidents.179

On reaching Tirurangadi Mr. Thomas and his group raided Kizhakkeppalli. The news of the raid created a state of anarchy in Ernad. People rose in revolt at different centres. Foreseeing the danger of an open fight, Moidu Maulawi reached Pookottoor, the most tensed up area on 22nd August. There he found people getting ready for a march to Tirurangadi. Moidu Maulawi and K. Madhavan Nair tried to pacify the people. But people suspected them as spies.180 In spite of continuous attempts the mob refused to relent. When the adhan gave the call for the evening prayer, Maulawi requested them to go to the mosque telling them that prayer was more virtuous than jihad. “If you are very particular to go for jihad, do prayer and proceed.”181 Fortunately after the prayer the people dispersed.

When Maulawi heard of the jihad proclamation of Ali Musaliar, he strongly opposed it. He reprimanded, “Ali Musaliar had no right to declare jihad against the British. He is only one among the members of the Khilafat

179 V. S. Keraaleeyan, Keralathinte Veeraputhran op.cit., p. 15.
180 E. Moidu Maulawi, Maulawiyude... op.cit., p.33.
181 Ibid, p. 34.
committee. The central committee of the Khilafat alone has the right to declare *jihad*.

He was unhappy about the developments in Tirurangadi. He prepared another delegation of 24 leaders including K.P. Kesava Menon, U. Gopala Menon, Muhammad Abdul Rahman, P. Moideen Koya *et al.* They left for Ernad taluk. At Feroke they were stopped by the military who threatened to shoot them. The police frisked Moidu Maulawi and his comrades. Maulawi had worn a Mappila cap, while others had worn *Gandhi caps*. A police officer got irritated on seeing Maulawi’s cap. He started abusing him and threw the cap to the nearest river. The military did not allow them to go ahead. Only when the District Magistrate’s pass was shown, they were permitted to proceed.

The peace delegation crossed many villages and towns. Wherever they went, they addressed the crowd, pacified the people; arranged peace leagues and brought refugees to places of safety. Amongst the refugees there were a pregnant lady and her children. The Congress workers carried the pregnant lady in a manchal to Calicut.

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Maulawi was an apostle of non-violence. But on certain occasions, may be out of over enthusiasm, he preached armed uprisings against the British. Once, while addressing an audience at Cannanore he said, “The Indian Muslims ought to have fought a war to avenge the wrongs done to Islam,” and he lamented the want of arms for such a venture.\footnote{186} Drawing inspiration from Maulawi’s speech, the ulama associations together issued fatwas calling upon all Muslim to be ready to sacrifice everything including their lives for the Khilafat and the country. Consequently war preparations were made. The disbanded Mappila soldiers trained volunteers on military style. Manufacture of arms also became wide spread in Malabar.\footnote{187}

Such skidding can be seen in his pamphlet, issued after Ottappalam conference. The resolution passed in the conference accused the British of trying to destroy the Khilafat. The resolution also exhorted the Muslims to become members of the Indian National Congress in order that India might obtain Swaraj through the efforts of the Congress and set right the Khilafat issue.\footnote{188} He also quoted the speeches of Shoukat Ali on different occasions.\footnote{189}

Except on these few occasions Maulawi firmly stood for peaceful Non-co-operation and Khilafat agitation. His influence was so deep in the societies

\footnote{186 Home (pol.), 1921, F No: 241, pt I A, NAI.}
\footnote{187 R. H. Hitchcock, op. cit., p. 20.}
\footnote{188 Pub. Dept, G.O No. 491, 3 August 1921.}
\footnote{189 K. N. Panikkar, Against Lord... op.cit., p. 126.}
that within a short period of time a large number of Khilafat and ulama organizations sprang up in Malabar. These developments literally shocked the British authorities. They wanted to arrest him but were aware of its consequences. On 16\textsuperscript{th} July, 1921 the Under Secretary to the Government of Madras wrote to the District Magistrate, “Government consider it desirable that before sanctioning the prosecution of E. Moidu, you should send for him and give him an opportunity of apologizing and personally undertaking not to repeat the offence.”\textsuperscript{190} They were also fearful of the consequences of his arrest. The District Collector, Mr. Thomas, wrote after the Pookottoor event, “I am so doubtful as to the effect in Ernad of prosecuting E. Moidu that I am postponing the action.”\textsuperscript{191}

In the peak hours of the revolt of 1921, having arrested the leaders like Ali Musaliar, the government turned against Moidu Maulawi and issued arrest warrant on the basis of some old allegations like inciting the Mappilas against the British, publishing of seditious pamphlets, urging the Muslims of Malabar to join the Khilafat and Non-co-operation Movements and justifying the activities of the Ottappalam Majlis ul Ulama. Thus under Indian Penal Code,

\textsuperscript{190} G. R. F. Tottenham, Undersecretary to Government of Madras, letter to District Magistrate Malabar, 16\textsuperscript{th} July, 1921, quoted in M. Gangadhara Menon, Malabar Rebellion, op.cit., p. 155.

\textsuperscript{191} Letter of Thomas to Madras, 10\textsuperscript{th} August, 1921 in G. R. F. Tottenham, op.cit., p. 19.
section 124A and section 153A Maulawi was arrested on 10th September 1921.\textsuperscript{192}

After a quick trial he was sentenced to a two-year imprisonment and a fine of 300 Rupees. If the fine were not remitted, the imprisonment would be extended for another six months. After the judgment, the Magistrate gave him another option to plead for apology to the British government so that he might be excused. But he said boldly that he did not commit any crime and so no need of begging for pardon of the government. He was also not prepared to pay the fine. Subsequently Maulawi was sent to jail for two and a half year term.\textsuperscript{193}

On being released from jail in 1923,\textsuperscript{194} instead of going to his family, Maulawi straight away went to Kakkinada to attend the All India Annual Conference of Indian National Congress.\textsuperscript{195} It reveals his great concern for the national issues and the Struggle for Independence.

He was steadfast towards the British even in the jail days. When A. R. Knapp visited the Bellary Jail, he advised Maulawi to desist from the anti-British activities, citing that Sharif Hussain, the Amir of Makkah, was friend

\textsuperscript{192} E. Moidu Maulawi, \textit{Maulawiyude... op.cit.}, p. 50.
\textsuperscript{193} He discussed his jail experiences in detail in Autobiography. See, \textit{Ibid}, pp. 50- 87.
\textsuperscript{194} E. Moidu Maulawi, \textit{Maulawiyude... op.cit.}, p. 87.
\textsuperscript{195} E. Moidu Maulawi, \textit{op.cit.}, \textit{Chandrika Daily}, dated, 1- 12- 1990.
of Britain. The response of Maulawi was strong: Sharif Hussain is to be killed. Maulawi also expressed his wish to kill him as has become the enemy of Islam by supporting Britain.\textsuperscript{196} He was progressive and a revolutionary in the Islamic observances. Owing to his progressive ideas, a group of \textit{ulama} always opposed him and even claimed to kill ‘\textit{Kafir Moidu}’.\textsuperscript{197} Thus he had the internal as well as foreign enemies.

As a serious step to rouse the people from inactivity and lethargy and to spread the principles and messages of the Congress to the people, two newspapers were brought out this period. K. P. Kesava Menon started \textit{Mathrubhumi} on 18\textsuperscript{th} March 1923 and \textit{Al Ameen} was started on 12\textsuperscript{th} October 1924. Muhammad Abdu Rahman and Moidu Maulawi were chief editor and sub-editor of \textit{Al-Ameen} respectively. Through the paper they succeeded in propagating the need to fight for the cause of the motherland.

Making \textit{Al-Ameen} a strong weapon, Maulawi questioned many of the British activities such as Andaman Scheme, inhuman atrocities accorded on the arrested people, discriminative rehabilitation in the revolt affected area etc. On 6\textsuperscript{th} September 1924, the District Magistrate of Malabar suggested to send the prisoners of the revolt to Andaman. Muhammad Abdu

\textsuperscript{196} E. Moidu Maulawi, \textit{Maulawiyude... op.cit.}, p. 79.
\textsuperscript{197} E. Moidu Maulawi, \textit{Ormakal op.cit.}, p. 77.
Rahman and E. Moidu Maulawi, calling this an ‘Operation Trap’, resented the move and Al-Ameen launched a battle against it.198

On 6th July 1930, he wrote in Al Ameen under the title ‘Jihad ul Akbar (the great holy war), that if patriotism is an integral part of the religious faith of a Muslim and if Islam is a religion which extols the message of freedom, it is the bounden duty of every true Muslim to sacrifice every thing including life for the freedom and salvation of the motherland.199

On 3rd February 1929, All India Congress Committee observed a day of protest in India against the arrival of Simon Commission. Total Hartal was observed in all the principal cities of India and processions carrying black flags and placards with the words, ‘Simon Go Back’ received the Commission. Along with the other parts of India, Malabar also joined the protest. A large number of people under the leadership of Muhammad Abdu Rahman and Moidu Maulawi came forward to boycott the commission.200

The reflections of Salt Satyagraha were very strong in Malabar. K. Kelappan, the President of K.P.C.C staged an identical march in Malabar on 13th April 1930. He led a procession of 32 men from Calicut to Payyannur to

198 Al -Ameen, 9th and 15th March 1931 in MNNR, pp. 381 and 444.
199 Al Ameen, 6th July 1930, MNNR July- August, 1930, p. 1030. T N A.
200 P. A. Sayyid Muhammad, op.cit., p. 216.
make salt.\textsuperscript{201} E. Moidu Maulawi in the initial stage did not co-operate with the movement. Soon, at the inspiration of T. R. Krishna Swami Ayyar and Muhammad Abdu Rahman, made up his mind to join the movement actively.\textsuperscript{202} At the vanguard of the \textit{jadha}, he suffered many assaults, cruelties and insults at places like at Valappattanam, Tellichery, Nadapuram, and Koyilandi.\textsuperscript{203} However, the message of Civil Disobedience Movement was effectively propagated and there was massive co-operation in many of the centres of their journey. Later, on his leading role he was arrested and punished for nine months.\textsuperscript{204}

Maulawi was a critic and uncompromising towards the policies of the All India Muslim League. When the League was formed in 1934, he found many Muslim Congress leaders resigned to the new party. K. M. Seethi Sahib, A. K. Kunhi Mayin Haji, C. P. Mammu Keyi, Sultan Abdu Rahman Ali Raja, Abdu Sathar Sait and Uppi Sahib were some of the prominent among them. Moidu Maulawi could not tolerate this flow of leaders and strengthened \textit{Kerala Muslim Majlis} to counter the activities of Muslim League and to convince the Muslims that the \textit{Majlis} are for the welfare of the community. He was unrelenting and bitter to the organization of Muslim League that he

\textsuperscript{201} H F M in Malabar, Vol. No. 103, pp. 67- 69.
\textsuperscript{203} E. Moidu Maulawi, \textit{Maulawiyude… op.cit.}, pp. 160-166
\textsuperscript{204} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 172.
stated in 1972, "if the Muslim League is not a communal organization, there is no communal organization in the world."\textsuperscript{205}

Maulawi cherished the dream of a United India. He therefore was strongly against the partition demands of the All India Muslim League. While addressing a gathering at Marancheri he warned the people against the forces attempting to destroy the unity of our nation and demanding a separate state for them.\textsuperscript{206} He also reminded the people of the unity of Hindus and Muslims and the necessity of fighting the colonialists.

Maulawi was busy during the days of Quit India Movement. He visited every nook and corner of Malabar preaching the message of the Quit India Movement. On 10\textsuperscript{th} August 1942, the government arrested him for inspiring the people to join the movement and he was sent to Vellore for a three-year rigorous imprisonment.\textsuperscript{207} The government also confiscated his house and properties. Thus after his release in 1945, finding no shelter he had to sleep in the nearest mosque for several days.\textsuperscript{208}

\textsuperscript{206} Mathrubhumi Daily, \textit{op. cit.}, 7\textsuperscript{th} Sept. 1945.
\textsuperscript{207} E. Moidu Maulawi, \textit{Maulawiyude... op. cit.}, p.208.
\textsuperscript{208} \textit{Ibid}, p.216.
Some other Prominent Ulama

Chembrasser Kunhi Koya Tangal and Konnara Tangal were other two prominent ulama in the forefront of the movement till the end of the revolt of 1921. Kunhi Koya Tangal was the President of Chembrasser Khilafat committee. On the outbreak of the revolt, he declared himself the ruler of Tuvur. He had believed to have miracles by which he was immune of bullets. He was also in close company with Varian Kunnath Kunahamed Haji, the leader of the revolt in the area of Manjeri, to lead the people against the British. Thus he was in the blacklist of the government and was arrested at Melattur. He was tried on the charges of waging war against the king. The court found him guilty and shot him to death at Malappuram. F.B. Evans, who met him after arrest, refers him as 'a dignified person.'

Konnara Muhammad Koya Tangal fought with 2000 volunteers against the British. He made the mosque of Konnara as centre of Khilafat activities. In retaliation the British fired at the Konnara mosque. The British were so afraid of him that in 1922 the authorities appealed to the government not to repeal the martial law in Malabar because Konnara Tangal and his forces

209 K. Madhavan Nair, Malabar... op.cit., p. 268.
were still active in Beypore. Subsequently, one of his right hand men, Avokkar Musaliar, was arrested. In August 1922, Konnara Tangal was also arrested from Koothuparamba of north Malabar. After a short trial he was hanged at Coimbatore.

Avaran kutty Musaliar of Tanalur was an aged but brave fighter against the British. He was arrested on charges of conspiring with Ali Musaliar against the British. During the visit at Bellary jail, Mr. Knapp asked, “why did you commit this crime in this old age Musaliar?” he retaliated, “I have not committed any crime, I fought for the freedom of my country and I feel it is my responsibility as a Musselman.”

Seethi Koya Tangal of Kumaranpoothoor was an extremist alim who conducted many terrorist activities during the revolt of 1921. He destroyed all the communication facilities in the Mannarghat area; demolished the Tripanad Bridge and attacked and seized weapons from Cherpulassery police station and trained his followers in the guerilla warfare attack. He declared himself the king of Mannarghat. He was a nightmare to the British for long and finally he was shot dead by the forces on 19th January 1922.

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213 Ibid.
214 E. Moidu Maulawi, Maulawiyude... op.cit., pp. 79-80.
Mattath Sayyid Alawi Koya Tangal was among those who surrendered with Ali Musaliar and was in jail waiting for the gallows. But later the punishment was relaxed to life imprisonment. After long years of imprisonment he was exiled to the Andaman.  

Another stalwart, Kalakkandathil Kunhabdulla Musaliar of Puzhakkatteri spent a major part of his income to prepare a force of 1000 youths against the British. He posed a serious threat to the British. At the end of a fierce fight, Musaliar was arrested and his troops were scattered. He was jailed for thirteen years in Coimbatore.

The revolt of 1921 was backed by the ulama everywhere. In the course of court proceedings almost all participants of the revolt of 1921 revealed that they had drawn their inspiration from the ulama. Hitchcock produces the statement of a culprit, “I joined the rebellion as I was induced by Kalluvalappil Ibrayen Mullah’s son Kunhi Moideen Musaliar and his younger brother another Musaliar of Peruvallur Amsam, preached to me that this is the

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216 Ibid, p. 70.
217 Ibid, p. 93.
218 Extracts from the Central Legislative Assembly Debats, 8th Feb. 1922. Quoted in K. N. Panikkar, *peasant protest...op. cit.*, p. 535.
time of every Mussalman should die for Khilafat. I was led away by the preaching and hence joined the rebellion.”

In fact, the number of the ulama who fervently participated in the nationalist movement was far greater in number. Many of their names did not even enter in the records. From the court procedures, oral records and interviews we could gather a list of ulama but without further details, who due to their participation were killed, jailed, exiled or persecuted.

The response of the authorities to the revolt was indescribable. Malabar became the free chasing ground of all the atrocious troops. Not even human consideration was given to the arrested people. One such incident; the ‘Wagon Tragedy’ suffocated and killed 64 lives that were transported in a luggage wagon to Coimbatore. Large number of people were executed, imprisoned or exiled. More than 45,000 were arrested and about 10,000 were killed in the police action.

The revolt of 1921 brought a clear rift between the Muslims and the Hindus on one hand, Muslims and Congress Khilafat leaders on the other. The

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220 A list of the ulama participated in the 1921 revolt collected from different sources such as interviews, discussions, and from different publications are produced in the appendix No. VII.

221 K. N. Panikkar, Against Lord... op.cit., p.163. According to the official version, only 3,000 were killed during the revolt.
name and fame of the Congress Khilafat activities were largely eclipsed.\textsuperscript{222} As a golden chance, the government exploited the occasion for channeling their mission of divide between the two groups.\textsuperscript{223} They were also successful in misleading the Hindus to think that British rule in India was essential for their survival. Muslims, on the other hand had developed the notion that not only the British and the landlords were against them but also the Congress-Khilafat groups, as they deserted the movement at a very critical stage. The post revolt period noticed a vacuum of Mappila participation in politics, due to the hatred, fear, lethargy and poverty. Khilafat Committees had started thinking to stop its activities in Malabar.\textsuperscript{224}

Following the suppression of the revolt of 1921, there was an apparent withdrawal of the \textit{ulama} from the national movement. The British were successful in misleading the \textit{ulama} into believing that the Congress was responsible for the great misfortune of 1921. The \textit{ulama} who mistook the Congress became passive in the national movement and active in the social reform movements. Even at this critical time the \textit{ulama} like Moidu Maulawi, Kattilasseri \textit{et al} remained steadfast in the Congress and came to be known as the nationalist \textit{ulama}.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{222} E. Moidu Maulawi, \textit{Charitra Chintakal, op.cit.}, pp. 41-43.
\item \textsuperscript{223} Home (pol.) File No: D/8784 dated 9\textsuperscript{th} December 1922, TNA.
\item \textsuperscript{224} \textit{Mathrubhumy}, 28\textsuperscript{th} June 1923.
\end{itemize}
The nationalist *ulama* did not miss any chance to keep up the patriotic spirit and nationalist enthusiasm among the Muslim youths. Large-scale participation of Muslims in the boycott of Simon Commission, Civil Disobedience Movement and Salt Satyagraha testifies to the role of the nationalist *ulama*. Besides these political issues, they made use of religious festivals to enliven the nationalist enthusiasm. In 1931 in connection with the celebration of *Idul Azha* the nationalist *ulama* appealed to people not to purchase foreign textile materials. When Muslims purchase dress for their festival from Big Bazaar, Calicut, a group of leaders at the inspiration of *ulama*, under Kattil Veettil Ummar Koya and N. P. Abu picketed the foreign textile shops and dissuaded the people from purchasing foreign clothes. They also circulated a notice\(^{225}\) appealing to the people to purchase Khadi for the welfare of the nation and the people.\(^{226}\)

In short the number of *ulama* who participated in the nationalist movement in Malabar was indeed great. Unfortunately we are short of a detailed and authentic account of their life and activities. The names of some are found in the court proceedings. Their role in the freedom struggle is to be reconstructed from the memories and oral traditions. They are not to be sidelined as ‘forgotten freedom fighters’. However, the *ulama* were there in the vanguard from the beginning to the end of the struggle against

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\(^{225}\) Notice appended. No. VIII.

\(^{226}\) P. P. Mammad Koya Parappil, *op.cit.*, pp. 165-166.
colonialism. The chapter they wrote in golden letters in the history of India's freedom struggle will be a source of inspiration for generations to come, as they were role models to the *ulama* community all over the world. Religious bigotry was totally alien to them. To them the freedom of the motherland was an integral part of their religious faith.