CHAPTER V

THE KHILAFAT MOVEMENT
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For the first time India witnessed a mass movement which revolutionized Indian politics and nearly paralysed the British administration in many parts of India. Indians realised a new pride and dignity and discovered a sense of unity and inner strength. It was also a rare manifestation of unity and accord between Hindus and Muslims who pledged to drive out the common foe, during the Khilafat Movement.

The word Khalefa is derived from the root Khalefa means to leave behind a successor or lieutenant, a vicegerent or a deputy. Khalefa in the legal sense came to mean a successor of the Prophet, an heir to his temporal and spiritual powers. According to the Muslim law the Khalefa is a successor of the prophet, and is called. Amir-ul-Momenin. He is the only legal authority. He has the power and authority to bring about any political, legal, or social reform subject to the injunctions and authority of the Quran. He is to consult with the doctors of Muslim law.

The most important feature of the life of the Holy Prophet was that he was the Prophet and the head of the state, a spiritual guide of his people as well as their temporal head.

The word Khalifa is used in the Quran on several occasions has been interpreted by Muslim jurists in the sense of head of the Islamic state. Other titles

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1 Thomas Patrick Hughes, Dictionary of Islam, p.263.
used as more or less synonymous with the *Khalifa* have been *Imam*, referring specially to supreme leadership in worship⁴.

Islam is a complex social and political system founded on theocracy and permeating and governing every human activity. The *Khalifa* implies temporal allegiance as well, because the *Khalifa* is the heir not only to the religious but also the temporal power of the Prophet⁵. The *Khalifa*, therefore is the highest executive officer of the Islamic system.

The institution of the *Khilafat* is as old as Islam itself and it always carried a religious sanctity. It must therefore remain very breath in the nostrils of the Islamic body as long as Islam persists⁶.

After the demise of Prophet Muhammad in 632 AD when Abu Bakar was elected as new ruler of Islamic state, he gave orders that he should be described by the modest title of *Khilafat Rasul-Allah* (Successor of the Apostle of God). Umar Faruq who came after Abu Bakar in 634 called himself called *Khalifah al Khalifa Rasulullah* (Successor of the successor of Apostle of God). Since this designation was found to be too long and clumsy he decided to be called himself with the title of *Kalifah* (Vicegerent) or *Amir-ul- Mueminin* [Leader of the Believers]⁷.

The first four successors of Prophet Muhammad are called *Khilafat-ul-Rashida* or Pious Caliphate [632-661]. After them the Islamic world was ruled by Umayyad rulers [661-750], the Abbasids [750-1258], and the Ottomans (1518-1924).

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⁶ Ibid., pp. 21, 27.
They were the temporal and spiritual heads of Islam. Mamluks of Egypt was the only exception to it.

Abbasid Caliphate came to an end by the Mangol attack under Halagu on Baghdad in 1258 and also the subsequent destruction and massacre of the Abbasid family. An uncle of last Calipha escaped from the carnage and took shelter in Egypt. He was hospitably received and later installed as the Caliph under the title Al Mustansir Billah⁸ by the Mamluk ruler Baibers. [1260-1277]. Thus began a period of Abbasid Caliphate under the Mamluks of Egypt in Cairo [1261-1517].

Then in 1517, the Turkish Sultan Salim I conquered Egypt. He also seized the holy cities Mecca and Medina. The last and nominal Abbasid Caliph Al-Mutawakkil was compelled to transfer the Khilafat in favour of Salim - I who declared himself as the Caliph of Islamic world in 1518. Thus the time of Ottoman Caliphate [1518-1524] was established. Generally speaking the custodians of two holy cities, Mecca and Medina are regarded as Caliph of Islam⁹. Nowadays the king of Saudi Arabia is styled as custodian of the two holy cities or servant of two holy cities. (Khadim-ul-Haramain-i-Sherifain)

Pan Islamism and Khilafat Movement

It was during the 19th century, under Ottoman Caliphate the spirit of Pan-Islamism began to arouse among the Muslims world. The Crimean Wars, which broke

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⁸ Previously Known as Abdul Qasim Ahmad.
⁹ It is worth enough to note that Shia Muslims did not accept the concept of Caliphs but they uphold the concept of Imamate. According to this belief Prophet Muhammad had nominated Ali, his son in law as his successor and Imam. And with the Prophet, Prophethood came to an end and after him Imams who are descendants of Ali would guide people.
out in 1853-56 in which Turky was involved, increased the anxiety of Indian Muslims. By the end of 19th Century Pan-Islamic sentiments and its concern to preserve the dignity and prestige of Ottoman Empire and Khilafat seriously influenced the Muslim world. The Balkan wars 1912-1913 heightened the concern of Indian Muslims on the Khilafat and integrity of Turkey.

The Muslim press like the Zamindar published from Lahore by Zafar Ali Khan, The Comrade, published by Moulana Muhammed Ali from Culcutta The Aligah Institute Gazette by Sir Sayed Ahmad Khan, the Muslim Gazette from Lucknow by Maulaui Wahiduddin Salim etc. had expressed great concern over the events in Turkey. The situation caused wide unrest among the Indian Muslims and it alarmed the colonial administration.

Intelligence report had convinced the authorities that a strong rumour among Muslims that Christian powers including Britain had secretly allied to attack and dismember Turkey and intended to disgrace Islam. The annulment of the partition of Bengal in 1911 further strengthened the apprehensions of Bengal Muslims who regarded it as breach of faith on the part of Government. During the period of Balkan wars (1912-13) Indian Muslims rightly responded sympathetically to the ill fate of Turkey after raising fund by mass collection and dispatched a medical mission under Dr. Ansari. Mushir Hasan Kidwai with the support of prominent Muslim leaders

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10 Moin Shakir, Khilafat to Partition (A survey of Major Political Trends Among Indian Muslims During 1919-1947), New Delhi, 1979, p.66. Also See Welfred Countwell Smith, Modern Islam in India A Social Analysis, New Delhi, 1946, Reprint. 1979, pp. 51-56.
11 Peter Hardy, The Muslims of British India, CUP, 1972, p 77.
formed a society named the *Anjuman-i-Khuddam-i-Kaaba*\textsuperscript{13}, the objective was to maintain the honour and safety of *Kaaba* and to protect the holy places from non-Muslim aggressors.

**Formation of Khilafat Committees**

As mentioned Indian Muslims were very sensitive to the question of *Khilafat* and the status of Turkey in the wake of Balkan wars. During the First World War\textsuperscript{14} the British government issued a proclamation to its Muslim subjects, which assured that the Muslim holy places in Arabia and Mesopotamia and port of Jeddah would not be attacked and there would be no interference with the Haj pilgrimage\textsuperscript{15}. Being the subjects of Britain the war situation put the Muslims in a dilemma; i.e. if they join with Turkey it will be considered treason, and it will be considered sacrilegious if they fight against Caliph by supporting the British\textsuperscript{16}.

Though the British Prime Minster Llyod George assured the Muslims\textsuperscript{17} of the preservation of integrity of Turkey and their holy places\textsuperscript{18}. The apprehension among the Muslims resulted in the formation of *Khilafat*, organization and agitation. It demanded

(a) “To secure for Turkey a just and honourable peace.

\textsuperscript{13} *Ibid*, 113.

\textsuperscript{14} In the first world war (1914-1918), Turkey fought with Central Powers, Germany, Austria-Hungary and Bulgaria. Allied powers constituted France, Russia, Italy, Rumania, Greece, Belgium, Portugal, Japan and China. At later stage America also joined the Allies.

\textsuperscript{15} Gail Minault, *The Khilafat Movement-Religious Symbolism and Political Mobilisation in India*, Delhi, 1982, p.52.

\textsuperscript{16} On 5\textsuperscript{th} February 1918 Llyod George deleared in the Parliament that, the Ottoman Empire would not be deprived of Constantinople nor of “The rich renouned lands of Asia Minor and Thrace which are predominantly Turkish in race”- PC. Bamford. *op cit*, p.148.

\textsuperscript{17} Gail Minault, *op cit*, p.52.

\textsuperscript{18} *Home Department (Political) (A) Proceedings June 1919, Nos. 362-76, F.No. 16 / 192*
(b) To secure the fulfillment of the pledges given by British Premier to preserve the integrity of the Turkish Empire”19.

The propaganda which started in India for achieving the above objectives was known as Khilafat agitation. An important protest meeting of Indian Muslims held at Lucknow on 26th January 1919 was presided by Maulana Abdul Bari. In another gesture, by the end of April 1919, Ali brothers wrote a letter to the Viceroy, in which they demanded that all the territories included in Turkish empire must be kept under status quo20. Subsequently a Khilafat Conference was convened on 22nd September 1919 under Ali Brothers, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Hakim Ajmal Khan and Hazrat Mohani. It was presided by Bengal Leader AK Fazal-ul-Haque, who emphasised the need of securing co-operation of Hindus for making the Khilafat movement successful21.

October 17th was observed as the Khilafat Day22. All India Khilafat Conference was held on 19th November 1919 at Delhi and “it resolved to withdraw co operation with Government under Gandhiji’s advice, a decision which was reaffirmed by Muslim meetings in Calcutta and elsewhere as well as by the Madras Khilafat conference on 17th April 1920”23. In order to discuss the Khilafat question a joint conference of Hindus and Muslims was convened at Delhi on November 23rd

19 P.C. Bamford, op cit., p.144.
20 Ibid., p.146.
21 I. H. Qureshi, Ulema in Politics, Karachi, 1974, p.261; The prevailing situation was congenial for the movement after the Lucknow Pact 1916, in which Congress and Muslim League came to an agreement and decided to work together for a common cause.
22 See H.F.M., File No. 81, p.100, TNA, MADRAS
and 24th 1919. Gandhi attended the meeting and presided over it on 24th. He advocated non-co-operation for the redress of Khilafat grievances.

Speaking at the Bengal Provincial Khilafat conference held at Calcutta presided by Abul Kalam Azad, Maulana Abdul Bari in his most violent and forceful speech said that the Muslims of India would abandon their loyalty to the Government if the decision of peace conference with regard to Turky went against their wishes.

The launching of Khilafat Movement and the emergence of Gandhi as the champion of National Movement gave a new turn to nationalism in India. Gandhi viewed the Khilafat movement as 'an opportunity of uniting Hindus and Muslims as would not arise in hundred years'. Thus it was a rare occasion of Hindu-Muslim unity in India. The Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Hind played an important role in materialising the vision of Gandhi. It considered the very presence of British rule in India to be the root cause of British supremacy over the Muslims countries of the Middle East. On account of this perception the Jamiat thought it to be its religious as well as national duty to fight against British imperialism. So the achievement of Independence was its prime motive.

Gandhi became a symbol of nationalism and was chosen as the authority to lead the nation on its way to get redress for the Khilafat- Punjab wrongs and to win

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25 Confidential Reprot on the Non-Co-operation and Khilafat Movement in India by Deputy Director, Central Intelligence Bureau, Home Department, Government of India, p.240-242, NAI.
freedom of the county. Abdul Bari, chief exponent Jamiat-ul-Ulema in its meeting in Lucknow said, "I have accepted his support in getting our aims fulfilled and for that matter, I think it is necessary to follow his advice. I know that the strength of Islam lies in association with him".\(^{28}\)

Meanwhile on February 1920 a second delegation\(^{29}\) of fifteen Indian Muslims consisting of Moulana Muhammed Ali, Sayyid Husain, editor of the Independent, Sayyid Sulaiman Nadwi and others went to England but failed to get attention of British government towards their representation. Nevertheless, British premier Llyod George informed them on 17\(^{th}\) March 1920 that, Turkey could not be treated on principles different from those applied to other countries, and that though she would be allowed to exercise temporal away on Turkish lands, She would not be permitted to retain lands which are not Turkish.\(^{30}\)

True to the apprehension of Indian Muslims the peace terms issued to Turkey were not palatable to their sentiments. Since all constitutional ways had failed to satisfy the Muslims, they now resorted to others measures. On 19\(^{th}\) March 1920, 2\(^{nd}\) Khilafat day was observed with special prayers, Hartals and appealed to the Viceroy to reconsider their demands. The central Khilafat Committee held its meeting on 11\(^{th}\) April 1920 at Bombay. The meeting decided to pursue non-cooperation with the government, resignation from Legislative councils, civil and military services.

\(^{28}\) Speech delivered by Maulana Abdul Bari on 5\(^{th}\) October 1920, Abdul Bari papers, Home (Political) Deposit, 1921, p.4, NAI.

\(^{29}\) On 19\(^{th}\) January 1920 a deputation of 35 Muslim leaders including Ali Brothers, Azad, Abdul Ban, Gandhiji and Swami Sradhanath met Viceroy to convince him of the sentiments of Indian Muslims on the Khilafat question and the future of Turkish Empire, P.C. Bamford, op cit. p.148.

\(^{30}\) Ibid.
withdrawal of Muslims from the Army, non payment of taxes, relinquishment of all titles and honours conferred by the government etc....

Thus by June 1920 Gandhi joined with the principal Khilafat leaders and formulated the agenda of non-cooperation. All India Khilafat Conference and All party Hindu-Muslim Conference were called at Allahabad on 1st June 1920 where discussions were made on the decision of the Central Khilafat Committee. The difference of opinion among Congress leaders had posed a blockade making an amicable decision on the question of non-co-operation movement. Congress resolved to call a special meeting on 11th September 1920 at Calcutta. The subsequent special session at Calcutta supported Gandhi's plan for non-co-operation with the Government till the Panjab and Khilafat wrongs were removed and Swaraj established. The people were asked to boycott Government educational institutions, law courts and legislatures.

Khilafat and Non Co-operation Movements in Malabar

The waves of Pan Islamism and the concern on the fate of Turky (Khilafat) deeply influenced the thoughts of Mappilas from very early time, which was reported in 1864 in a letter written by F.C. Brown, who was a planter in Malabar District.

In sequence with the emerging All India Pan Islamic Sentiments, famous reformist of Malabar Makti Tangal published an evening newspaper Turki

31 Ibid., p.152.
32 Ram Gopal, *Indian Muslims- A Political History (1858-1947)*, Bombay, 1959, pp. 136-146; Also see Peter Hardy, *op cit*, pp. 189-90.
33 Letter from F.C. Brown to the Chief-Secretary to the Government of Madras, Dated 15th January 1864, MJP. F. No. 980, 4th July 1864, cf., M. Gangadhara Menon, *op cit*, pp. 69-70, F. Note.5.
Samacharam in 1909 A.D. The columns of the paper were kept for creating awareness on political and religious issues related to Turkey among the Muslims of Kerala. The Mappilas were credited for their assistance to the Red Crescent Society and the Medical Mission under Dr. Ansari, which was sent to Turkey during the Balkan War by the efforts of all India leaders like Abul Kalam Azad and Maulana Muhammed Ali. Surprisingly in different centres the common public was more aware of the Turkish question than educated Mappilas. Even the District Magistrate C.A. Innes reported that the Mappilas conducted a forty days continuous prayer at Perinthalmanna Mosque for the cause of Turkey.

The year of 1916 was a turning point not only in the history of India but also of Malabar. The beginning of the Home Rule Movement intensified the national discontent in India and it brought a new phase to the nationalist activities in Malabar. The political developments in Malabar between 1916-20 as noticed by A.P. Ibrahim Kunju;

The Mappilas of Malabar had generally taken little interest in the nationalist movements until 1916, when the All India Home Rules League was formed. Even then it was only a few educated leaders of the coast, who had participated in the movement. The common Mappilas had kept away from the movement as it was largely dominated by the landed Brahmin and Nair interests. But by 1920, the character of Indian National Congress had changed fundamentally with

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34 Prabhodhanam Special, April 1998, p. 108.
35 West Coast Reformer, English News Paper Published from Calicut, Dated 5th December 1912, cf., Gangadhara Menon, op cit, pp. 70-71.
36 H.F.M., F.No. 94, GO. No. 2040, Dated 9th December 1912, pp.5-14, TNA, MADRAS
37 K.P Keshava Menon, Kazhinhakalam, (Malayalam), Calicut, 1969, p. 42, See also H.F.M., F. No. 103, p. 5.
Gandhiji’s entry into Indian Politics. He forged a link between the Non-Co-operation and the Khilafat movement in order to bring the Hindus and Muslims together. The Khilafat movement which began in 1919 protested against British support for the dismemberment of the Ottoman empire and the abolition of Caliphate, the two issues in which the Mappilas were greatly agitated.

Branches of Home Rule League had established in different parts of the State. Ponmadath Moideen Koya was its famous propagator in Malabar and came to be known as ‘Home Rule Moideen Koya’. Though a congress meeting was held in 1903 at Calicut, no progress was attained. The establishment of a branch of Home Rule League and the reorganisation of Malabar District Congress Committee brought a new momentum to Nationalist activities in Malabar. The presence of an energetic Mappila P.A. Kunhammed as the Assistant Secretary to both these organisations had attracted a large number of Mappilas to the National Movement.

Political conference of Malabar was held at Palaghat in 1916 and then annual conferences were conducted at Tellichery, Badagara and finally at Manjeri. The Palaghat conference was an important landmark in the anti-European struggle of the Mappilas as it projected the feeling of Mappilas community with a long-standing support of their co-religionist.

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40 H.F.M., (Confidential) F. No. 103, p. 5.
41 Advocate Manjeri Rama Ayer of Calicut Bar as President and K.P. Keshava Menon as Secretary, H.F.M., F. No. 103, pp. 5-9.
42 K.P. Ramu Menon a leading lawyer of Calicut as President and K.P. Keshava Menon as Secretary.
43 H.F.M., F. No. 103- p.37.
44 Innes and Ivans (ed.,) *Madras District Gazetteers; Malabar (Madras)*, 1951, p. 468.
Manjeri Conference (28th-29th April 1920)

The Mappila’s concern on the question of Turky and Khilafat can be observed prior to the Malabar District Conference held at Manjeri on 28-29th April 1920. The spread of the Khilafat movement in Malabar was mainly concerned with the Manjeri conference. The reason, which explains the phenomenon, was the participation of large number of Mappilas in the conference. Kasturi Ranga Ayyangar, the Editor of ‘The Hindu’ presided over the conference. There arose a serious difference in opinion among moderates and extremists on the priority of the resolutions to be considered and discussed.

Annie Beasant and Rama Ayer supported by landlords; the extremists comprising of the middle class representatives, tenants and labourers headed by K.P. Keshava Menon, Madhavan Nair, M.P. Narayana Menon, and Ponmadath Moideen Koya were in opposite stand. The moderates, especially Annie Beasant viewed that the passing of Khilafat resolution will be a dangerous introduction of religious element into the independence movement. However majority of the delegates strongly demanded for a discussion of the Khilafat resolution.

Then the Khilafat resolution was read by Komu Menon, in which he requested the Government to “settle the Turkish question in accordance with the just and legitimate sentiments of Indian Muslims and the solemn pledge of his Majesty’s

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45 The total number of participants was 1300, Manjeri being the headquarters of Ernad Taluk, dominated by Mappilas. *Census of India 1921*, Vol. XII, Part II Madras, Part II Imperial and Provincial Tables (Madras), p. 350. Authors give different figures see K.P. Keshava Menon, *op cit*, p.70; Madhavan Nair, Malabar Kalapam (Malayalam), Calicut, 1971, p.58.
47 Three resolutions (a) Khilafat issue (b) Tenancy Problem (c) Constitutional Reforms
49 Madhavan Nair, *op cit*, p. 66.
ministers” and called up on the people, in case the government failed to settle the question in this manner, “to adopt a policy of progressive non-co-operation with the Government”. At that time Annie Beasant came forward with an amendment by saying that, it would be adventurous to urge the people to observe non-co-operation. Leaders like Abdul Qadar, Moideen Koya and K. Madhavan Nair, K.P. Kesava Menon, vehemently opposed the views of Beasant in their speech and the amendment was disapproved and the resolution passed in its original form with an overwhelming majority. It is worth to note here that, the Manjeri conference had adopted non-co-operation resolution months before it was being accepted by the congress as one of its agenda. Upholding of the tenancy question and non-co-operation resulted in the boycott of a large number of aristocrats (Jemmies) from the national movement, while “the resolutions on tenancy and Khilafat brought the Moplah masses to the Congress fold”.

The influence of Khilafat question among the poor Mappilas can be well perceived from the presence of large number of Mappilas in the Manjeri conference and the domination of Khilafat question over other issues. Another significant aspect of the Manjeri conference was an unprecedented unity of Hindus and Muslims, the chief exponent of this unity was M.P. Narayana Menon and Kattilasseri Muhammed Musliyar, which marked the beginning of an extensive propaganda of

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51 A.K. Pillai, op cit., p. 405, K. Madhavan Nair, op cit., p. 49.
54 M. Gangadharan, op cit., p. 77.
Khilafat and Non-co-operation movements in Malabar. Thence the Khilafat committees were formed in various parts of Malabar.

The existing tenancy and non-co-operation committees largely supported in the organisation and spread of Khilafat. And these organizations, in and almost cases they worked together under same roof. The leaders of the movements including both Hindus and Muslim propagated the message of Khilafat and non-co-operation. The translations of the pamphlets, especially ‘Tarke-e-Muwalaat’ (Non-co-operation) by Abul Kalam Azad and fatwās issued by central Khilafat Committee were translated and distributed in the mosques and at Khilafat meetings. The Pamphlets urged the people that.

1. It is unlawful to serve the British army
2. It is unlawful to join in the Government Service
3. It is unlawful to pay taxes.
4. Muslims should boycott all Government aided institutions.
5. And urged to relinquish all honourary ranks and titles awarded by the Government and its acceptance must be considered humiliating.

Resolutions of Karachi conference were also translated and distributed among the people. As mentioned, the spread of Khilafat and non-co-operation, as

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well as Anti-European feelings and the spirit of nationalism were the work of Kattilasseri Muhammed Musliyar and his intimate friend M.P. Narayana Menon59.

Visit of Gandhi- Shoukat Ali – (18 August 1920)

Gandhiji and Maulana Shoukat Ali visited Malabar as part of the all India tour to elicit and to acquire support from the people to the National Movement. Though the District Magistrate60 tried his best to prevent the visit of National leaders to Malabar, he failed to convince Madras Government the need for prohibition of their visit. The leaders arrived at Calicut on 18th August 1920 and was received enthusiastically by a large crowd. The public meeting of the evening on the Calicut beach was attended by 20,00061 people of whom a considerable number were Mappilas62. As Bipin Chandra observed, the Mappilas had a strong reason to rally round the congress and Khilafat than Hindus. For one of the slogans raised by the nationalist leadership was ‘hands off-the Turkish Calepha’ a slogan dear to the hearts of every pious Muslim where as for the Hindu peasant it was only a question of freedom from bureaucracy and the Jenmi. It was to the Mappilas, a question of defending his religious head, a question of sacred war against the disaster of his creed63.

Gandhi addressed the gathering and explained how the British had wounded Muslim sentiments on the Khilafat issue, and about the ‘exemplary self-restraint’

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59 M.P. Sreedhara Menon, op cit, p. 62, K. Madhava Nair, op cit, p 89.
60 He alarmed with the possible joining of Mappilas with National Movement and blending religion with politics would have a disastrous effect on the outbreak zone. See Graham Letter to Hannyngton, DO. No. 200-5 Dated 12 August 1920 in USSF. No. 307 Dated 01.10.1920, TNA, Madras.
61 K. Madhavan Nair, op cit, p. 64; M.P. Sreedhara Menon gives the number as 25,000, op cit, p. 63.
exercised by the Muslims and preached the virtues of non-violence and non-co-operation. He said;

If the Mussalmans of India offer non-violence and non-co-operation to Government in order to secure justice on the Khilafat, it is the duty of every Hindu to co-operate with their Muslim brethrens.\(^4\)

The Mappilas were highly attracted to the speech of Shoukat Ali,

If you are strong and capable then it is your bounden duty, so long as one Mussalman breaths, to fight the unjust King, the unjust government that proved to be an enemy to your faith and to your God. If you are weak and could not cope physically with your opponents then it is incumbent for you to go, migrate to another country, and leave that unjust kingdom and that unjust tyrant and king.\(^5\)

The initial response to the call of Gandhi and Shaukat Ali for non-co-operation was very lukewarm. Madhavan Nair writes that “not a single Vakil stopped his practice, not a single student left the school, not a single candidate withdrew from the election.”\(^6\) Contrary to this reference M.P. Narayana Menon left his practice as Vakil from Preinthalmanna Munsif Court.\(^7\)

By the end of 1920 Khilafat organisation and its activities widely spread in Malabar. A Khilafat committee was formed at Calicut with Janab M. Kunhikoya

\(^4\) Tottenham, \textit{op cit.}, p. 11; K. Madhavan Nair, \textit{op cit.}, p. 64. See Appendix-IX for the full text of the speech.

\(^5\) Extracts from speeches delivered by Shoukat Ali at Calicut on 18\(^{th}\) August 1920 in strictly confidential No. 1024/C/SF 235/7 Dated 23\(^{rd}\) August 1920 in Gram Letter to Hunnygton in USSF. No. 307 Dated 01.10.1920.

\(^6\) Madhavan Nair, \textit{op cit.}, p. 64; District Magistrate observed that the visiting was not attractive to people stating the megre amount (Rs. 2,500/-) that presented to the speakers. Another reason was that the Mappila does not understand a religious question being ventilated by a Gujarati Brahmin (Gandhiji).”

\(^7\) M.P. Sreedhara Menon, \textit{op cit.}, p. 65.
Thangal as president and U. Gopala Menon, T. Hassan Koya Mulla and Melekandi Moidu as secretaries. By 30th June 1921 about 200 Khilafat committees were formed in places like Kondotti, Tanur, Tirur, Tirurangadi, Manjeri, Kottakkal, Malappuram, Ponnani and Ottappalam by the efforts of an ‘itinerant preacher’ Chekku Molla Sahib of Kondotti. A fifty member permanent letter Khilafat committee was formed at Tirurangadi with Janab P.M. Pookaya Thangal as president, Ali Musliyar, K.M. Moulavi as Vice Presidents and K.P. Kunhi Pokker Haji Pottayil Kunhammed as secretaries. The leaders were drawn from both the communities. Meetings were also conducted once or twice in a week. Leaders like Kattilasseri Muhammed Musliyar Varyankunnath Kunhammed Haji, Ali Musliyar and Moidu Moulavi gave inspiring speeches. Resolutions demanding the integrity of the holy places and proclaiming that “Indian Muslims will not allow the enemies of Islam to rest” were read out. As noticed the message of Khilafat movement in Malabar was that Muslims needed a strong Caliph and for that an independent India is essential. So the Mappilas should strive for freedom. The tenancy agitation in Ernad and Walluvanad was fully supported by the Khilafat movement. As seen, M.P. Narayana Menon after resigning from Perinthalmanna Munsif court became a full time worker for the tenancy and with Kattilassery Mohammad Musliyar toured the interiors of the Taluks.

68 Koyatti Moulavi, Malabar Lahala, (Malayalam), Tirurangadi, 1953, p.5.
69 Ibid, p.6.
70 P.A. Sayed Muhammed, Kerala Muslim Charitram (Malayalam), op cit., p. 195; M.P. Sreedhara Menon, op cit, p. 65.
71 Gandhiji’s Speech at Calicut, quoted in Gopalan Nair, op cit., See Appendix-IX.
72 R.H. Hitchcock, op cit., p. 21; M.P. Sreedhara Menon, op cit, pp. 63,65; K. Madhavan Nair, op cit, p. 89. See Appendix-XVIII.
Gangadhara Menon, referring to the mutual dependence of Khilafat and Tenancy movements in Malabar (Ernad - Walluvanad), noted that "most tenants in Taluks of Ernad and Walluvanad being Mappilas the tenants' agitation was animated by the Khilafat spirit"\(^\text{73}\).

Nagpur session of the Congress in December 1920 was important on the national movement as it resolved many important decisions in the way to attain swaraj\(^\text{74}\). The conference was attended by a large number of delegates from Malabar. The spirit of nationalism which had filled the minds of delegates was echoed in their own villages on their return from the conference. Khilafat committees were organised in almost all villages\(^\text{75}\). Protest meetings were conducted at Pookottur, Areacode and Mankada – Pallipuram on January, on 24\(^{th}\) February 5\(^{th}\) and 6\(^{th}\) respectively. The speakers from both communities stressed the importance of non-violent agitation\(^\text{76}\).

The deputy Superintendent of Police noted that meetings in connection with Khilafat Movement were being held every few days throughout the district. In few meetings there have been some rather violent speeches\(^\text{77}\). Leaders like U. Gopala Menon, K. Madhavan Nair, K.P. Keshava Menon, M.P. Narayana Menon and Kattilasseri Muhammed Musaliyar were actively engaged in non-co-operation and

\(^{73}\) Gangadhara Menon, \textit{op cit}, p. 91; Under Khilafat Tenancy agitation took radical changes in places – \textit{Ibid}, p. 89.

\(^{74}\) Swaraj – declared as the goal of Congress, creation of provinces on linguistic basis and Hindi accepted as National Language.


\(^{76}\) Gangadhara Menon, \textit{op cit}, pp. 95-96.

\(^{77}\) Report on 6\(^{th}\) November 1920 quoted in K.N. Panikkar, \textit{op cit}, p 126.
Khilafat activities. However, Mappilas in the villages were more enthusiastic. It is reported that a crowd of 20,000 people attended the Kalpakanchery meeting.

**Yaqub Hassan Episode - 15th February 1921.**

There is a fairly general feeling in Malabar that the Yaqub Hasan episode was the turning point in the Khilafat movement and that it was from that period the attitude of the Khilafatists became decidedly hostile and aggressive.

This turning point in the course of Khilafat movement in Malabar was the result of high handedness of Mr. Thomas, the District Magistrate, who “was bent upon breaking the unity of the different communities.”

Yaqub Hassan an active Khilafatist and a member of Madras Legislative Council (1916-1920), was invited to Malabar by the Congress-Khilafatist leadership to deliver a speech at two public meetings one at Tanur and the other at Calicut on 15th and 16th of February 1921.

The motivation of the congress leaders in inviting Yaqub Hassan was to advise the Mappilas of Malabar not to be provoked by the repressive measures of the Government, and to observe non-violence and non-co-operation. It was also aimed to inculcate public confidence in congress among the mass.

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79 Gopalan Nair, *op. cit.*, p.14; Also see M. Gangadhara Menon, *'The Yaqub Hasan Episode'*, JKS, Vol.1, No. 2, pp. 311-27.
81 A Coastal area in Ponnani Taluk.
82 K. Madhavan Nair, *op. cit.*, p. 73.
The District Magistrate issued prohibitory orders on the proposed meeting of Yaqub Hasan, under section 144 of Cr. P.C. It also prohibited Variankunnath Kunhammed Haji, U. Gopala Menon, K. Madhavan Nair and other local leaders of Khilafat movement whoever they may be from convening or speaking at any public meeting in the Ernad Taluk.

When Yaqub Hassan along with his wife arrived at Calicut from Madaras, along with his wife from Madras was served the letter of prohibition along with local Khilafat leaders. Subsequently the meeting at Tanur was suspended and the large crowd assembled had to be dispersed. The situation at Calicut was alarming. The leaders were forced to disobey the prohibitory orders, and instructed Yaqub Hasan to speak only on the necessity of non-violence at the meeting.

Thomas, the District Magistrate was convinced of the true nature of the situation from a copy of telegram issued by Madhavan Nair to the press regarding the decision of Yaqub Hasan “to address the public meeting not withstanding the prohibition order.”

Thomas considered the decision of Yaqub Hasan “a challenge that I could not pretend not to notice without abdicating my authority as District Magistrate in favour of the Khilafat Committee” and hence he considered it his duty to “take such action as would prevent the public meeting from being held.”

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83 West Coast Spectator, 8th February 1921, cited in Gopalan Nair, op cit, pp. 23-24. See Appendix-X for a detailed report on the event.
85 Letter from District Magistrate to the Chief Secretary, Dated 17 February, 1921, F. No. 103-415 (Public Department)
86 Ibid
The Congress Khilafat leaders decided to defy the ban. Consequently, Yaqub Hasan and Ponmadath Moideen Koya, K. Madhavan Nair and U. Gopalamenon were arrested on 16th February, tried the same day by the District Magistrate and sentenced for six months imprisonment because they refused to furnish a security of Rs. 1,000 each or even to give a written document that they will not speak at the prohibited areas. The next day, 17th February a complete hartal was observed in Calicut. The arrest of Yaqub Hasan and other leaders aroused serious concern among the people and they burst out in different forms of demonstrations, procession, and meetings all over Malabar.

K.P. Keshava Menon has observed,

This news spread like a wild-fire all over the country. Shops were closed and students came out of educational institutions. Many Vakils did not attend the court. There were public meetings at many places in Malabar and outside condemning the high-handedness of the authorities.

The arrest sparked a large and explosive demonstration in which an estimated 10,000-12,000 Mappilas from Thirurangadi and nearby areas participated. The demonstrators confronted with the Police and troops along the beach road near the Collectorate office and they shouted the cry of ‘Allah-a-Akbar’ (God is Great). Muslims who joined the protests were said to have done so after meetings in local

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88 Letter of District Magistrate to Madras Dated 17th February 1921, F. No. 15.
90 K.P. Keshava Menon, op cit., p. 76.
91 R.H. Hitchcock, op cit., p. 20; M.P.Sredhara Menon, op cit., p.72.
92 Ibid
mosques. The absence of congress leaders Calicut was noticed by Hitchcock, ‘who hid’ themselves and ‘proved their sincerity in the non violence’.

It is worth noting that except M.P. Narayana Menon all other congress leaders were absent in a critical time when the Mappilas were in a confrontation with the imperialist powers adhering the principle of non violence. It was one of the reasons that kept the majority of Mappilas away from the activities of the Congress in later course.

The correspondences of District Magistrate very clearly expose the attitude of British administration towards the Khilafat Movement.

It reads:

Non Co-operation was nothing and Khilafat was everything and talk of Hindu-Muslim unity is nonsense........ the one thing the Government was afraid. Hindu Muslim unity is the basis on which the non-co-operation and Khilafat movements were launched.

Infact, the Khilafat movement attained public acceptance along with the national movement. As noticed it alarmed the District administration. Inspite of their repressive measures the movement-attained acceptance among all sections of society, students, officials, lawyers and the laymen. The movement now adhered more and more to the non-violence and non-co-operation and it spread into grass-root level.

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93 S.F. Dale, *op cit.*, p. 188.
95 M.P. Sreedhara Menon, *op cit.*, pp. 72-73.
The movement not only influenced the Southern Malabar, but the Northern Malabar also came under it.

During the visit of Rajagopalachari on 18 February, he inaugurated a National school at Valapattanam in Chirakkal Taluk. The school was established and maintained by the central Khilafat committee.

Ottappalam Conference - (23rd - 26th April 1921)

The first All Kerala Provincial Conference of Congress was held at Ottappalam from 23-26 April 1921. It was attended by 4000 delegates from district parts of Kerala and was a landmark in the history of Freedom Movement in Malabar.

T. Prakash presided over the conference. Three different sessions on Khilafat, Tenancy and Students were organised under same roof. Sayed Murthaza Sahib, K.P. Raman Menon and Mr. George Joseph, Editor of the ‘Independent’ presided the sessions. The Mappilas and Khilafat volunteers in uniform marched from Ernad and Walluwanad Taluks to the conference. The mass approval of Non-Co-operation and Khilafat Movements and the enthusiastic participation of middle class and the poor at Ottappalam enraged the authorities. They were alarmed at the increasing Hindu-Muslim unity. The authorities resorted to all efforts to estrange the

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98 K. Koyattti Moulavi, op cit, p. 8.
99 It was conducted according to the decision of Nagpur Congress (December 1920) to form District Congress Committees on Linguistic basis. And a Kerala Provincial Congress Committee with 100 members and K. Madhavan Nair as Secretary had formed. See P.K.K. Menon, op cit, p.87; Madhava Nair, op cit, p. 67.
101 K.N. Panikkar, Against Lord and State, op cit, p. 132.
Hindus from Muslims and looked for an opportunity to pluck the movements in its conception. 

The three days of the conference passed without any trouble. However, on the 4th day, during the student conference, some Khilafat volunteers were taken to police station and beaten up. Inspite of all these, participants observing non-violence remained silent. When the secretary of reception committee, Ramanunni Menon, and Hamid Khan, Secretary of Madras Khilafat Conference, went to enquire about the police assault in the bazar they were also beaten and insulted by the Police. Kunhikoya Thangal, a Khilafat volunteer from Malappuram had also undergone the police aggression. The Mappila leaders like Kattilasseri Muhammed Musliyar, K.M. Moulavi, Ali Musliyar, Vakkam Abdul Qadir Moulavi, Sayyid Alavi Koya Thangal and other leaders like Prakasham, K.P. Keshava Menon and M.P. Narayana Menon, however, insisted on the observance of non-violence to counter the provocation of authorities. “It was an “object lesson in non-violence”.

Even the Pro-Government Madras Mail could only report that ‘the assault upon Ramunni Menon was a most regretable incident’ and that the leaders of the conference pandal behaved in a most praise-worthy manner. Moyarath Shankaran

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104 K.P. Keshava Menon, The Onnapalam Conference and Police Atrocities (Pamphlet in Malayalam) 1921, English Translation available in File Public Department, Government of Madras, GO. No. 491, 3rd August, 1921, TNA, Madras.
106 The Hindu, Madras, 28th April 1921, quoted in K.N. Panikkar, op cit, p. 133.
107 Madras Mail, 26th April 1921.
comments that "the police assault at Ottapalam was the first deliberate attempt of
authorities to foment a rebellion in Malabar"\textsuperscript{108}.

A committee under T. Prakasam, L.A Subhramannyyar, Murthasa Sahib,
George Joseph and K. P. Keshava Menon was formed to enquire into the Ottapalam
atrocities\textsuperscript{109}. The committee submitted the report with in one month and published.
The main observation and conclusion was that prior to the assault the police “engaged
in a criminal conspiracy for the purpose of provoking a breach of peace and
nonviolence on the part of non-cooperators and then using reprisals and finally fixing
the responsibility on the movement of non-co operation”\textsuperscript{110}. The authorities banned
the report\textsuperscript{111}. However the subsequent repressive policy of the administration further
boosted the nationalist spirit among the people and brought them on a common
platform of non-violent-non-co-operation.

\textbf{Kerala Majlis-ul-Ulema Conference 25\textsuperscript{th} April 1921}

As referred, \textit{Jameit-ul-Ulema-e-Hind} played an important role in the
formation and spread of the Khilafat and non-co operation. Though its ideas and way
of action influenced the Mappila’s movement in India, however its work was entirely
concentrated in North India. In order to fill the vacuum of an organization like \textit{Jamiat},
\textit{Majlis-ul-Ulema} was formed in South India with its headquarters at Trishnappalli in
Tamilnadu. It acted as a tributary to the Indian National Congress. Its first
conference was held in April 1921 at Erode.\textsuperscript{112} North Indian scholars like Maulana

\textsuperscript{108} Moyarath Sankaran, \textit{op cit.}, p. 162.  
\textsuperscript{109} K.P. Keshava Menon, \textit{op cit.}, p.87.  
\textsuperscript{111} \textit{Ibid}\textsuperscript{111}  
\textsuperscript{112} R. H. Hitchcock, \textit{op cit.}, p.21.
Sayyid Husain Ahmad Madani Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Maulana Mufti Kifayathullah and Ali brothers attended the meeting. A large number of South Indian scholars also attended the meeting.\footnote{E. Moidu Moulavi, Charithra Chinthakal, Calicut, 1981, pp. 29-30.}

The first conference of Ulema in Kerala was held at Ottappalam on 25th April in the same Pandal of the Provincial Congress Conference. Murtaza Sahib who presided over the Khilafat Conference on the same day took the chair at this conference also.\footnote{Ibid.} A Committee was formed under Janab Moulavi Sayyid Alavi Thangal as life time president, Vakkom Muhammed Abdul Qadir Moulavi, Shaikh Mahin Handani Thangal (Arurkutt Vaduthala) as vice presidents, E Moidu Moulavi as general Secretary and Kattilasseri Muhammed Musliyar, K. M. Moulavi (Thirurangadi) and Moulavi Arabi Shamnad as joint secretaries.\footnote{Ibid., p.30.}

The conference passed three resolutions, namely, all Muslims were to set apart a portion of Zakat for the Khilafat and the “Smyrna funds” (a place in Asia Minor), to protect Islam from dangers that had befallen it; that all Muslims in Kerala should insist on non violent non-co-operation with the government; and all Muslims who had attained 21 years of age should become members of the Indian national Congress in order that India may attain Swaraj through the efforts of it and set right the Khilafat matters.\footnote{Public Department, F. No. 491, 3rd August 1921, INA, New Delhi.}

As part of the programme decided in the conference E. Moidu Moulavi in his the capacity as the secretary of Majlis-ul-ulema issued a pamphlet entitled “Dear
brethren', which was addressed to the Muslims of Kerala. It highlighted the religious issues and emphasised religious duties.

All are aware of the fact that our rulers, the British and their allies fought unjustly and unlawfully against the Sultan of Turky, our Khalifa, who had been for the past several centuries protecting our sacred religion as well as the holy places like Mecca, Medina, Baithulmukadeez, Bagdad, Kerala, Nujf etc. sanctified by our religion, wrested these places from his majesty and divided them amongst themselves and their allies. They have done all this with the wicked intention of wiping out from the face of the world the religion of Islam which stands in opposition to Christianity. It has been proved, at the recent Paris and London Conferences etc. that it is our British rulers that are striving hard to carry out this wicked intention with a tenacity that put the other Governments in the background. We of course consider our religion to be dearer than our lives. Is it possible for any Muslim that has the best iman in him to help in any way a Government that tries to steal in and charmed us by means of smiles and sweet words. I believe hat every Muslim the least Islamic virtue in him will answer this question in the negative. All the important Ulamas and Ulama associations in India have therefore with one accord issued Fatwas calling up on all Muslims to strive, sacrifice their all, including their lives, to save Khilafat which is that basis of Islamic religion.117

The address ended with a short description of atrocities the Turkish brother suffered at Smyrna and with a passionate appeal to all Muslims to help financially the Khilafat cause and inviting them to join the Khilafat agitation against British usurpers118.

118 Ibid.
The Ottapalam conference was an epoch-making event in the Khilafat and Non-Co-operation Movements. District and Taluk committees were formed and leaders like Ponmadath Moideen Koya, E. Moidu Moualvi and M.P. Narayana Menon controlled their activities. Kattilasseri and M.P. Narayana Menon went from place to place in Ernad and Walluvanad Taluks and addressed gatherings in the weekly markets. It attracted Hindus and Muslims including ordinary Mappila peasants, merchants, daily workers to the fold of Khilafat and Non-Co-operation119.

On 29th July in Khilafat meeting at Calicut, Abdurahiman Sahib read out the translation of 4 and 9 of the resolutions of All India Khilafat Conference. It insisted 'the integrity of the holy places according to the Shariat' and stated that 'unless this be secured the Indian Muslims will not rest and will not allow the enemies of Islam and the Khilafat'120. In a Khilafat meeting, E. Moidu Moualvi appealed to the people to prepare for a fighting to revenge on the British wrongs on Islam. In another Khilafat meeting at Cannanore, he again through a resolution urged the people to obey the decisions of Indian National Congress regarding the question of Turkey. The authorities also notices the call of Civil Disobedience and non payment of taxes among the Khilafatists in different parts of Malabar. And it reported about 101 meetings with same agenda has been conducted121.

Friday congregational prayers were also utilised to aware the mass on the Khilafat Non-Co-operation Programme122. On 29th July 1921, resolutions of Karachi
Khilafat Conference were read out by Ali Musliyar to the congregation at Tirurangadi Mosque\textsuperscript{123}. In fact their activities helped the formation of Khilafat committees in almost all villages and a well-organised Khilafat volunteer corps were formed in District and Taluk levels\textsuperscript{124}. For the mobilisation of people certain religious techniques like \textit{Koottabanku} and \textit{nagaras} were used. This technique alarmed the people and they gathered round the mosque\textsuperscript{125}. Tanur, a coastal village, was a well-organised centre of Khilafat activities. The organisation of the Khilafat Movement was really "wonderful"\textsuperscript{126}.

**The Malabar Rebellion**

It was not mere fanaticism, it was not agrarian troubles, it was not destitution that worked on the minds of Ali Musliyar and his followers. The evidence conclusively shows that it was the influence of the Khilafat and Non-Co-operation that drove them to this crime. It is this aspect which distinguished the present from all previous outbreaks\textsuperscript{127}.

When the Khilafat Non-Co-operation movements were at its zenith, 'the rebellion of 1921' brought the whole episode in to a tragic end, though it was acknowledged as the greatest anti-feudal and anti-imperialist revolt after 1857\textsuperscript{128} in the history of India's struggle for freedom.

The rebellion began on 20\textsuperscript{th} August 1921, and lasted for six months and further it took six months to establish peace and order in the areas of rebellion. This

\textsuperscript{123} G.R.F. Tottenham, \textit{op. cit.}, p.16.
\textsuperscript{124} R.E. Miller, \textit{op cit.}, pp.131-32.
\textsuperscript{125} M.P. Sreedhara Menon, \textit{op cit.}, p. 78.
\textsuperscript{126} \textit{The Madras Mail}, Madras, 18\textsuperscript{th} August 1921.
\textsuperscript{127} Judicial Case No. 7 of 1921, Special Tribunal Calicut, Quoted in C. Gopalan Nair, \textit{op cit.}, pp. 7-8.
was the first occasion when the British power, was challenged in a military sense. An independent Government, though confined to a small area and lasting only for a short period was established by the rebels. The Khilafat ideal with religious zeal fostered the dream of an Islamic state, which had influenced the rebellion 129.

While the Malabar rebellion was set in the context of a larger struggle for freedom, from in the British point of view it was a conspiracy. It does not fall into the category of a well organised resolution. Both developments preceding the revolt and the course of events themselves suggest spontaneous outbreaks rather than a well planned uprising. The call of the Khilafat, coupled with the police atrocities under Hitchcock's direction perpetrated on some Muslim youths at Ottapalam conference, excited the Mappilas. The spark blazed forth into a terrible conflagration 130.

19th August 1921 witnessed series of administrative highhandedness, which wounded the sentiments of the Mappilas. The attempt of Government to arrest some Khilafat leaders at Tirurangadi 131, the torture and humiliations of several Mappila families, assault of police on those who wear Gandhi caps at Thirurangadi, the dishonour of the Khilafat flags and the persecution of Khilafat workers all precipitated the later events 132.

Adding fuel to fire, police attempted to arrest Vadakkke Veetil Muhammed, 133 Secretary of Pookkotur Khilafat Committee on 19th August 1921 on a false litigation

131 H.F.M. F. No. 103, pp.24-25.
132 R.E. Miller, op.cit., p. 126.
133 He was the Manager (Karyasthan) of Nilambur Thirumulpad, one of the largest landlords possessed a tract of land holding at Pookottur. After becoming the Secretary of Khilafat Committee, Thirumulpad has dismissed him from the job – M.P. Sreedhamamon, op.cit., p. 84.
of theft of a gun belonging to the 6th Thirumulpad of Nilambur Kovilakam. As referred earlier, by the use of techniques like Kootabank, (reciting the Taqbir) and Nagra a large number of Mapplias from neighbouring villages gathered in the Pookkotoor. Some wore Khilafat uniform, badges and caps, and were armed with knives, swords and spears. The hasty action of the police was actually a response to the alleged personal insult to the Thirumulpad. Meanwhile Ponmadath Moideen Koya arrived from Calicut. He made an inspiring speech about the Punjab atrocities and the necessity of Non-Co-operation Movement.

The steady growth of Khilafat and Non-Co-operation Movements and the unforeseen Hindu-Muslim unity forced the authorities to resume the anti-Khilafat propaganda, Mr. Amu, Deputy Superintendent of Police, was instrumental and he called a special Khilafat meeting at Pathar in Ponnani on 24 July 1921. When E. Moidu Moulavi came to know about this from K.P. Keshava Menon, they planned a parallel meeting under the banner of Kerala Majlis-ul-Ulema. At the same time at Pathuponnani grad arrangements were made for its success. Janab Abdul Latheef Moulavi, Principal of Vellur Latheefiya Arabic College presided the conference. E. Moidu Moulavi translated his Urdu speech into Malayalam and a large number of people attended the meeting and it became a great success.

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134 Ibid., p.117; 1921-Malappuram Collectorate Records, K. Madhavan Nair op cit., p. 96.
139 E. Moidu Moulavi, Moulavyyude Athmakatha, op cit., p. 110.
Later when pro-British Ulema published a booklet titled *Mahak-ul-Khilafa-fi-Ismil Khilafa*, criticizing the Khilafat agitation. E. Moidu Moulavi, secretary of *Majlis-ul-Ulema* published another booklet named *Dawath-ul-Haq* as a rejoinder to it. The government banned this booklet\(^{140}\). During this period some books and periodicals also appeared on the seen related with Khilafat issue. In 1920, A. Muhammed Kunju started a journal called *Khilafat Patrika* from Varkala. It made valuable contribution for Khilafat Movement in Kerala. But it could bring out only six issues and later it ceased to exist\(^{141}\). Another journal by name *Khilafat* was published from Anjengo\(^{142}\).

The meeting of Amu and Pro-Government Moulavies at Pathar ended in failure. Only some Orthodox Moulavies and Officials attended the meeting. Amu changed his tone and met E. Moidu Moulavi and persuaded him to desist from his Anti-British activities\(^{143}\) superintendent Amu warned him, “All your dealings are seditious, you must desist from it and report to the District Magistrate Mr. Thomas. I shall help you in all the ways possible. In the name of Allah, I too am a believer in Khilafat; you must do for the good of nation”\(^{144}\).

Having listened to the suggestions, Moulavi replied;

I am not in position to follow your advice. I can’t deviate from my goal. I know arrest and prison are at your disposal. I never like to yield to persuasion of provocation. My country’s liberation is my

\(^{142}\) P.A. Sayed Muhammed (ed.,) Kerala Muslim Directory, Kochin, 1960, p.621.  
\(^{143}\) E. Moidu Moulavi, *Ente Kootukaran, op cit*, p.25.  
\(^{144}\) Ibid.
ultimate object... I am prepared to sacrifice everything for the sake of it, in the course of which even if I lose my life. I have no worry since my family and country will feel proud of it.

On 19th August 1921, by the evening at Kozhikode, Moidu Moulavi and his friend got news about the secret march of a Military detachment under Mr. Thomas to Tirurangadi. They quickly arranged T.V. Muhammed, Secretary of Emad Khilafat Committee to convey the news to Ali Musliyar. In a letter Abdurahiman Sahib reminded Ali Musliyar to be very careful to avoid untoward incidents. Then Abdurahman and Moidu Moulavi rushed to U. Gopalamenon another Congress – Khilafat Worker. Then they hurried to K.P. Keshava Menon and requested him to accompany them to Pukkottur to advise and pacify the people.

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145 Chandrika Daily, Calicut, Dated 5th August 1990
146 An important Khilafat-Congress Worker, Scholar, intellect, man of peace and freedom fighter in the early years of 20th century. He held pivotal role in the propagation of Khilafat message. He started his career as a teacher at Podi, near Pookkottoor and there he served for four years. Then he shifted to Thrurangadi in 1907, and continued his religious teaching. He established a number of Madhasas and enjoyed wide respect and a large number of his disciples served in different parts of Ernad and Walluvanad Taluks. His congregational sermons were full of anti-British feelings and being a strong adherer of Khilafat he wore garment of Khadi Cloth and Turky Cap covered with green Cloth. And a long robe reaching down to the feet, and sword in hand K K Muhammed Abdul Kareem, 1921-le-Khilafat Lahalayum Ali Mushiyarum (Ali Musliyar and the Khilafat Rebellion of 1921) (Malayalam) Thrurangadi, 1968, p 15, Koyatti Moulavi, p 18, However British authority believed that Ali Musliyar was the kingpin of the conspiracy and his followers in other parts of the districts were waiting for a signal which he gave when the army surrounded the mosque (The Hindu, 12th December 1921)
147 Abdurahiman’s letter to the Central Khilafat Committee, Bombay, intercepted by CID in USSR No 327/A dated 2nd November 1921
149 Hitch Cock, p 51
150 He was the General Secretary of Congress Provincial Committee
151 E Moidu Moulavi, Ente Kootukaran, op cit., p 29
But Menon who slightly got frightened, resolved not to go to Pookottur since it was night\textsuperscript{152} Abdurahiman Sahib who got irritated at Menon’s reply immediately rushed to the road in great despair and asked Moidu Moualvi “I am going to Ernad, are you bold enough to come with me? It was the Mappilas who fall before the bullet of the army”. These words deeply influenced Moidu Moualvi who immediately replied “you need not go alone. I too am a Muslim. I shall accompany you. Everything will happen according to the will of God”\textsuperscript{153}

On 20\textsuperscript{th} August 1921, a regiment of Gurkhas in the battalion of Malabar Police arrived at Tirurangadi in the early morning. The police party soon set out searching the Khilafat office and the house of Khilafat workers for arms and for the arrest of 18 wanted men\textsuperscript{154}. While searching Vadakke Veetil Muhammed, the secretary of Pookottur Khilafat Committee, the police party also raided the Khizhekkepalli of Tirurangadi. During the search the police arrested three of the wanted men viz, P.Muhammed Haji, O.Muhammed and his son Moideen Kutty from their houses and took them to the Magistrate Court\textsuperscript{155}.

The news of the police raid spread like a wildfire throughout Tirurangadi and the neighbouring areas\textsuperscript{156}. Then Ali Musiliyar accompanied by some Mappilas approached the authorities for the release of the arrested innocent persons. They came to the Magistrate Court. Rowly, the A.S.P of Palaghat requested them to sit down peacefully till the magistrate Thomas arrived. As soon as they sat down Rowly

\textsuperscript{152} K.M.Panikkar, Against Lord and State, \textit{op cit}, p.148.
\textsuperscript{153} E. Moidu Moualvi, \textit{Atmakata}, \textit{op cit}, p.44; R.H. Hitchcock, \textit{op cit}, p.190.
\textsuperscript{156} The rumour was a deliberate attempt by the police. K.Koyatti Moulavi, \textit{op cit}, pp. 22-23.
ordered firing\textsuperscript{157}. The enraged mob attacked the police and the army. Six of them including A.S.P Rowly Johnson and Head constable Taisseri Moideen were killed\textsuperscript{158}. A.K Pillai is of the opinion that “by this the authorities were in fact throwing a fire ball in to the dry gun powder”\textsuperscript{159}.

It was at this critical juncture that Abdurahiman Sahib and his party arrived at Tirurangadi. On their arrival a violent mob was seen marching towards the Mamburam shrine. The mob was mistaken by the rumours that the Shrine had been fired and demolished by the soldiers and hence Ali Musliyar declared ‘Jihad’ against British. The party made a desperate attempt to pacify the violent mob and persuade them to disperse\textsuperscript{160} Moidu Moulavi, then made a captivating speech.

Ali Musliyar had no right to declare Jihad against the British. He is only one among the members of the Khilafat Committee. It is the central committee and Muhammed Abdurahiman the state secretary of the Kerala Khilafat Committee can only declare a Jihad\textsuperscript{161}.

Then the mob was silent for some time. After pacifying the mob a little Abdurahiman Sahib and Moideen Koya rushed to the residence of K.Madhavan Nair at Manjeri to bring him to the troubled spot\textsuperscript{162}.

In the evening of 20\textsuperscript{th} August 1921, Moidu Moulavi and his companions noticed that an enraged mob of about 2000 Mappilas from the outlying areas were

\textsuperscript{158} The bodies of Rowly, Mr. Johns and Moideen were subsequently found lying by the road horribly mutilated and hacked – Government of India of India, Home Department (Political), F. No. 241-1921, Part I-A, S. Nos. 1-123.
\textsuperscript{159} A.K. Pillai, \textit{op cit}, p. 337
\textsuperscript{160} Abdurahiman’s letter to the Central Khilafat Committee, Bombay, intercepted by C.I.D. in USSF No. 327/A Dated 2\textsuperscript{nd} November 1921.
\textsuperscript{161} The Chandrika, Calicut, 29\textsuperscript{th} July 1990.
\textsuperscript{162} R.H. Hitchcock, \textit{op cit}, p.191.
moving towards Tirurangadi. They were all infuriated by the fiction that both the shrine and mosque had been attacked by the police. They were all armed with sword, daggers and sticks. Moidu Moulavi made an earnest appeal to the violent mob to be quiet by saying that nothing had happened to the Mamburam shrine, as such they should disperse peacefully, but the mob was too violent and not prepared to yield. Then in a violent tone Moulavi shouted:

*It is right time for Maghrib (Prayer at sunset). The prayer is far more important than a Jihad. If you want to proceed with what you like, you can do it after prayer.*

Meanwhile Abdurahiman Sahib and Moideen Koya had gone for Manjeri to inform Madhavan Nair who met him at his residence and explained the events and requested him to accompany them to the troubled spot. Then they returned to Tirurangadi. Madhavan Nair made a heart felt speech before the enraged mob warning them about the serious consequences, if they declared an open Jihad against the government. After the meeting Abdurahiman and Moidu Moulavi went back to Calicut, while Madhavan Nair returned to Manjeri.

On their arrival at Calicut Abdurahiman Sahib and E Moidu Moulvi came to know the tragic news that trouble resumed in Ernad and as such they should reach the spot at the earliest. By the time martial law had been declared all over Ernad, Walluvanad and Ponnani taluks.

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164 E. Moidu Moulvi, *Moulaviyude Atmakatha*, op.cit., p.30
165 M.P. Sreedhara Menon, *op.cit.*, p.98
167 E. Moidu Moulvi, *Moulaviyude Atmakatha*, op.cit., p.31
One of the most outstanding leaders of the rebellion who made efforts to control and guide its course was Varyankunnath Kunhammed Haji, a close relative of Ali Musliyar. He was actively involved in the Khilafat Movement; wearing a fez cap, Khilafat uniform and badge, and with a sword in his hand. Kunhammed Haji proclaimed himself the ‘Raja of the Hindus, Amir of the Muslims and Colonel of the Khilafat army, and virtually the king of Ernad and Valluvanad. He appointed officers from his men, issued passports, restricted looting, returned gold and money which were looted from the banks to its rightful owners, issued edicts against British Raj and gave protection and asylum to all communities. Other leaders like Ali Musliyar and Chembrasseri Thangal asked their lieutenants to provide protection for Hindu Families at Manjeri Kunhammed Haji addressed a large gathering of Hindus and Muslims, and he instructed the public;

Don’t kill or fight with Hindus. Don’t persuade them to accept Islam against their wishes. If we harm the Hindus, they will join the Government. That will culminate in our defeat. We have no hate towards Hindus. We will punish those who help or support the government.

According to E.M.S. Namboodiripad, “guards were appointed in his house during the days of the rebellion and incidentally they were Mappilas and there was no problem to them from the side of the Mappilas.” A veteran Khilafat leader Moidu Moulavi stated that;

168 Chief Secretary, Madras Government to Secretary Government of India 30th August 1921, Government of India, Home (Political) F. No. 241, part I-A, p.146, Also see Hitchcock, op cit , p. 19; C. Gopalan Nair op cit, p.76.
169 S.F. Dale, op cit., p. 22.
Kottakkal Kovilakam was guarded by hundred Mappilas led by Odayapurath Chekkutti Sahib, a Khilafat leader of Kalpakancheri. They also guarded the house of Kottakkal Variers. However he and his followers were captured by the military and sentenced for long term imprisonment[^2].

K.P. Kesava Menon attests almost the same view. According to him in the early stage of the rebellion the rebels never attacked the Hindus. Later when the military was deployed and rebels were hunted, the situation changed. The Hindus were asked to help the military to locate the hideouts of the rebels. If they disobey the military, they will punish the Hindus. If they help the military to locate the rebel camps, the rebels would retaliate on the Hindus[^3].

Six days after the outbreak of the Rebellion on 20th August 1921, Abdurahiman Sahib, Moidu Moulavi, K. P Kesava Menon, and M. P Narayana Menon, again started to Thirurangadi. They met Ali Musliyar and told him that it would be better for the rebels to surrender to the Government which could save the people from further disaster[^4]. Ali Musliyar replied that,

I have not attempted any violence. I believe in non-violence. The police trespassed into the houses of innocent people at night and arrested them. I approached the authority to enquire about it. I had only a walking stick in my hand... They fired at us. As a result many things happened.[^5]

[^3]: K P Kesava Menon, op cit, p 118
[^4]: Ram Gopal, op cit, pp 154-57
[^5]: R H Hitchcock, op cit, pp 31, 249
He could not take a hasty decision and asked them to consult the matter with Lavakutty\(^{176}\) and Kunhalavi\(^{177}\), his most trusted lieutenants. After consultation they could realise that the people were not ready to surrender but preferred to die fighting\(^{178}\). Having failed in the mission the nationalist leaders then visited another riot-hit area, Manjeri. Here they did their best to pacify the enraged mob, but their efforts were failed. Meanwhile T. Austin, Sub Divisional District Magistrate, Malappuram, issued orders calling up on Ali Musliyar to surrender, otherwise Tirurangadi would be demolished through fire and cannons\(^{179}\).

By the end of August 1920 a large number of British and Gurkha soldiers came to riot ridden areas. Ali Musliyar surrendered \(^{180}\). The other leaders like Seethikoya Thangal, and Chembrasser Thangal too surrendered on 20\(^{th}\) December 1921. Variyan Kunnath Kunhammed Haji resisted for some time and finally on 6\(^{th}\) January 1922 he too surrendered\(^{181}\). His surrender virtually sounded the death knell of the rebellion.

In the midst of these calamities there took place the most tragic episode in Malabar viz, the ‘Wagon Tragedy’ in which 67 out of 100 Mappilla captives, who were dumped in a closed wagon and were taken from Tirur to Coimbatore, died of

\(^{176}\) Lavakutty seems to have committed suicide later, R.H, Hitchcock, \textit{op cit}, p. 31.
\(^{177}\) Kunhalavi died later in a clash with military forces near Kunnamangalam.
suffocation on 20th November 1921 on the way. Many historians interpreted this incident as modern “Black hole Tragedy” of Calcutta. It was terrible, blood curding incident\textsuperscript{182}.

The rebellion persisted for about six months from the 20th of August 1921 to February 1922. At the beginning of 1922 the rebellion had been completely suppressed\textsuperscript{183}. However, it was the most serious rebellion that British had to face since the mutiny\textsuperscript{184}.

Writers and scholars vary in their views while analysing the true nature and causes of rebellion of 1921. The revolt of 1921, like the uprisings that occurred through out 19th century, was essentially an expression of a long-standing agrarian discontent, which was only strengthened by the religious and ethnic identity of the Mappilas. Like the past revolts the 1921 rebellion too drew its participants primarily from Mappila peasantry, the rich were not the principal actors in the rebellion\textsuperscript{185}. It was not mere fanaticism, it was agrarian trouble that worked on the minds of the Mappilas\textsuperscript{186}.

According to K.N. Panikkar:

The rebellion of 1921 can’t really be interpreted in communal terms. It was a continuation of the agrarian conflicts of 19th Century\textsuperscript{187}.

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{182} S.F. Dale, \textit{op cit}, p.209; C. Gopalan Nair, \textit{op cit}, p.57; H.F.M. F. No. 103, p.30. For Biographical details of victims see GO. No. 290, 1st April 1922, TNA, Madras. See Appendix-XIII and XIV.
\textsuperscript{184} \textit{Ibid}
\textsuperscript{185} \textit{Ibid}
\textsuperscript{186} Secret Report on Non-Co-Operation Movement submitted to Judicial Public Executive Secretary to Government of India on 31st January 1922. Government of India of India, Home (Political), F No.385/1922, NAI, New Delhi.
\end{flushright}
The rebels operations were directed against the British Government and the anti-Khilafat parties. They had done little to convert and to persecute the Hindus. Their attack on the Nilambur palace, their looting of the Namboodiri Bank at Manjeri and the cancellation of all debts due to the poor, later revealed an attitude of hostility more to the capitalist-landlords than to the Hindus.\(^{188}\)

Political activities in Malabar came to a halt and the Muslims suffered a great deal after the rebellion\(^{189}\). The British Government put them down harshly and all kinds of atrocities were perpetuated on them\(^{190}\). The Mappilas remained silent spectators of the political developments in the country. However the Mappila leaders continued their efforts to awake their brothers from the slumber.

**Tellichery Khilafat Conference - 1923**

All though the Khilafat Movement met with a tragic end by the rebellion of 1921, it continued as a spirit to the Mappilas. A special Khilafat Conference was called at Tellichery in 1923. It was the first Muslim conference after the rebellion and a large number of Muslims all over the Kerala had attended the conference\(^{191}\). Dr. Sayed Mahmud, a prominent Congress leader from North India presided over the meeting and Bee Amma, mother of Moulana Muhammed Ali was the chief guest. The speeches of leaders were aimed to condemn the unhappy events occurred during the course of rebellion. They extorted the people to stand united and to forget and forgive


\(^{190}\) According to official records 2337 rebels had been killed, 1652 wounded and 45,404 were captured. See Appendix-XV for a brief report.
the sad and unwelcome happenings in the past. Sayed Mahmud vehemently criticised the ‘divide and rule’ policy of British administration. He stated that:

The British had sabotaged both openly and secretly the commendable amity and accord that have existed between Muslims and Hindus of Malabar. The British made clear their merit by causing 90 rebellions in course of 70 years (of their rule)^92.

The conference decided to setup an enquiry committee to look into the causes and events of the rebellion. So as to avoid its recurrence. It also aimed to strengthen the unity and accord among the two communities, which had spoiled during the rebellion^93. One of the resolutions passed in the conference condemned the atrocities like forcible conversion, looting, murder and crimes committed in the wake of the rebellion. Another rebellion propounded by P. Moideen Koya expressed its deep sense of sorrow in ‘Wagon tragedy’ incident. And a committee was formed under Maulana Shah Sulaiman, Dr. Sayed Mahmud, A.K. Kunhi Mayan Haji, P.S. Muhammed and P. Moideen Koya, to construct a memorial for the martyrs of the ‘Wagon tragedy’^94.

According to E.M.S Namboodiripad, the reason behind the rebellion;

that intensely religious, extremely uneducated and highly organized community of Moplahs should contain among them few fanatics^95.

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^91 Mathrubhumi Daily, 3rd May 1923.  
^92 Quoted in P.A. Sayed Muhammed (ed.,) Kerala Muslim Directory (Malayalam), Cochin, 1960, pp. 379-84.  
^93 Mathrubhumi Daily, 3rd May 1923.  
^94 Ibid.  
P.K.K. Menon argues that:

If the rebellion had an economic goal, a definite programme and proper leadership it might have caused revolutionary changes in society, without degenerating into a futile and destructive convulsion benefiting nobody. It weakened the Khilafat Movement and arrested the nation’s march to its ultimate political goal. The injury done to social harmony took time to heal. It was a lesson for the future that the way of non-violence was not strewn with roses.

The British official in Malabar described the revolt as the fruit of the seed Annie sowed and Gandhi watered.

The rebellion widened the gulf between the British and Indians. Everybody admitted that the inhuman treatment meted out to the Mappila captives, culminating in ‘Wagon Tragedy’ did not credit the civilised Government.

Contemporary view is that the rebellion was a war of liberation. It was a common struggle against a common foe. Therefore it is interpreted as a vast popular movement which lifted it above the purely communal plane and invested it with the character of a national movement.

E. Moidu Moulavi reiterated his strong conviction that, the ardent patriotism, added with a deep sense of anti-British feeling and the belief that the British were out to destroy Islam........ tempted the Mappilas to take up arms against them. Whatever misinterpretation is going on, it is really a national liberation struggle launched by

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them against the imperialist powers although they had succeeded to an extent in degrading it into a communal conflict\textsuperscript{199}.

Malabar Rebellion defied the British might for six months and paralysed the Government machinery in Southern half of the District. The Mappilas ran an indigenous Government of their own and kept up the spirit of revolt among Muslim peasants for a much long period than any one had thought they could. The Government suppressed it with the help of Gurkha troops\textsuperscript{200}.

The untimely end of the Khilafat Movement, in a large extent alienated the Mappilas from the Nationalist Movement and Congress. As E.M.S. Namboodiripad observed;

\begin{quote}
The years after rebellion of 1921 were enough to check the growth, but not to quench the fire of anti-imperialism that had been set alight in years of 1919-21\textsuperscript{201}.
\end{quote}

K. P. Kesava Menon evaluates the situation;

\begin{quote}
The Muslims complained that those who had induced them to join the Congress abandoned them when oppression by the police and firing by the military had started\textsuperscript{202}.
\end{quote}

However, the active presence of Mappila leaders like Abdurahiman Sahib, E. Moidu Moulavi, P. Moideen Koya, Hassan Koya Mulla, N. P. Abu, K. V. Noorudheen and others in the activities of the National Movement had kept the flame of anti-

\textsuperscript{199} Interview with E. Moidu Moulavi on 2\textsuperscript{nd} November 1993, cf Padmanabhan, N., \textit{op cit.}, p. 108.
\textsuperscript{200} P.S. Velayudhan, 'Kerala' in SP. Sen (ed.,) \textit{Historical Writings on the National Movement in India}, 1977, p. 209.
\textsuperscript{201} E.M.S. Namboodiripad, \textit{National Question in Kerala}, Bombay, 1952, p.119
\textsuperscript{202} K. P. Kesava Menon, \textit{op cit.}, p.126. See Appendix-XVI for the Speech of Gandhi at Madras, criticiising the Mappilas.
European struggle of the Mappilas alive. Infact, the Tellichery Khilafat Conference brought almost a close to the Khilafat Movement in Malabar. It is worth enough to not that when the Turks under Mustafa Kamal Pasha had started the modernisation of Turkey and subsequently he abolished the hereditary institution of Khilafat on 3\textsuperscript{rd} March 1924. Thus the Khilafat agitation had lost its relevance in Islamic World and especially in Malabar.