

GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS.

JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT.

READ—again the following paper:—

G.O., dated 20th June 1894, 1527, Judicial.

Read—the following papers:—

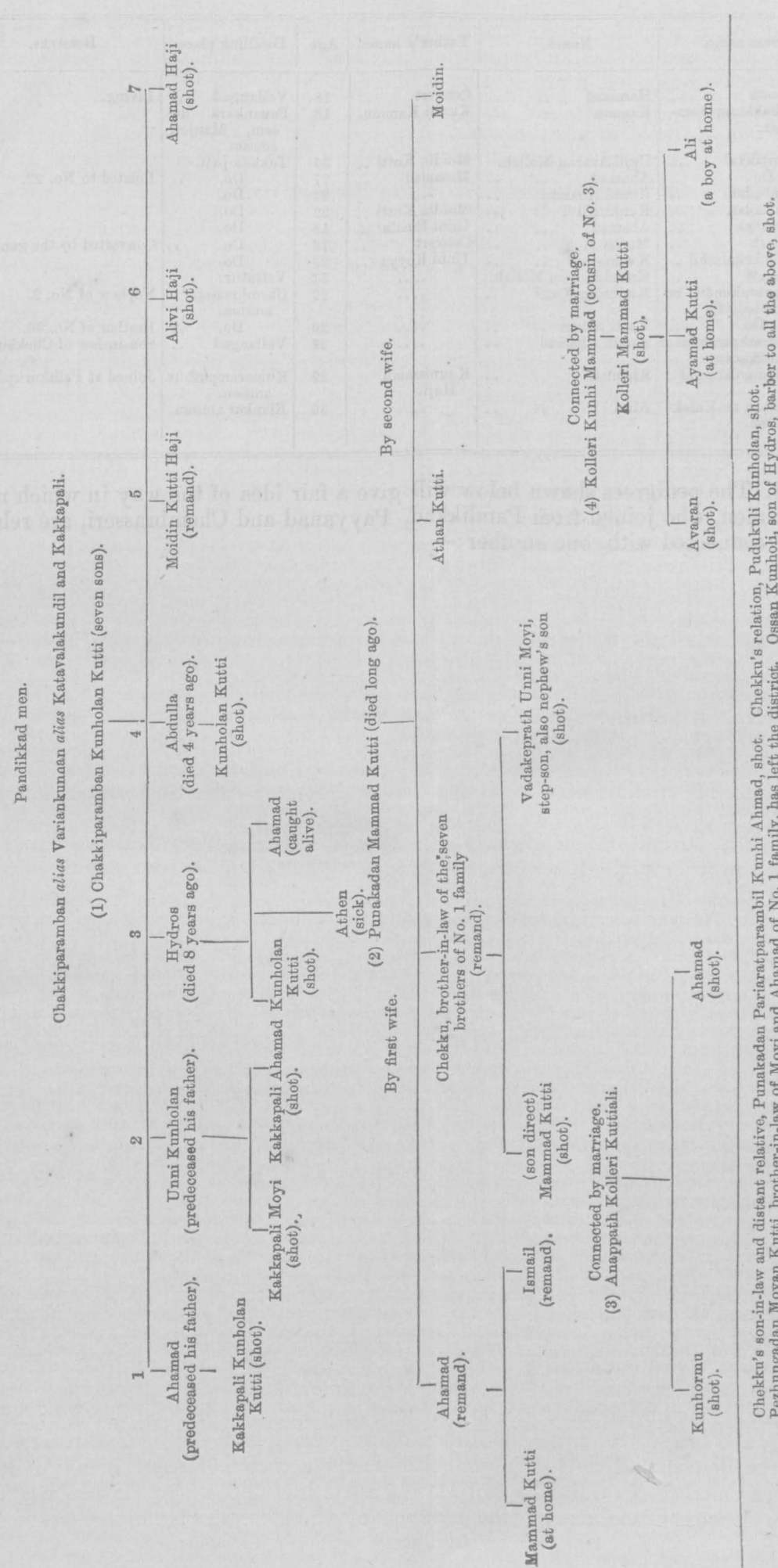
From H. BRADLEY, Esq., Acting Collector and District Magistrate, Malabar, to the Chief Secretary to Government, dated Calicut, 16th May 1894, No. 438/M.Gl.

I have the honour to submit the following report regarding the recent Mappila outbreak. It is by no means a complete report, nor is it likely that the whole matter will be fully investigated and the inquiries completed for some time; but there is already plenty of information as to the origin of the outbreak and some of the principal persons mixed up with it. Very probably information will be forthcoming later on against other persons, but, in the meantime, it appears advisable to send in this report, which I trust will enable the Government to pass orders under section 7 of the Mappila Act in the case of most of the Mappilas now under arrest. The delay up to date has been absolutely unavoidable.

2. The list of killed and wounded is now believed to be complete. There have been doubts as to the names of one or two of the dead, but they have apparently been correctly obtained now. It is but natural, when 32 Mappilas are killed at a distance of between 20 and 30 miles from their homes, that there should be some difficulty in obtaining their names and house names.

House name.	Name.	Father's name.	Age.	Dwelling place.	Remarks.
1. Punakadan ..	Mammad Kutti ..	Chekku ..	20	Vellangad ..	Father left gang; nephew by mother's side of No. 2.
2. Variankunnu or Chakkiparamban.	Alivi Haji ..	Kunholan Kutti.	35	Pandikkad ..	Leader of gang in Chekku's absence.
3. Do. ..	Ahamad Haji ..	Do. ..	33	Do. ..	Brother of No. 2.
4. Do. ..	Kunholan Kutti K. D.	Ahamad ..	40	Do. ..	} Nephews of Nos. 2 and 3.
5. Do. or Kakkapali	Moyi.	Unni Kunholan.	22	Do. ..	
6. Do. ..	Ahamad ..	Do. ..	25	Do. ..	Brother of No. 5.
7. Do. ..	Cheriya Kunholan Kutti.	Abdulla ..	35	Do. ..	} Nephews of Nos. 2 and 3.
8. Variankunnu or Katavalakundil.	Kunholan Kutti ..	Hydros ..	17	Do. ..	
9. Do. ..	Ahamad ..	Do. ..	13	Do. ..	Brother of No. 8 (alive); step-son of No. 2.
10. Pudukuli Ambazhangil.	Kunholan ..		40	Nellikuttu Payyanad amsam.	Related to Chekku.
11. Chakkiparamban..	Ahamad ..	Kunholan ..	35	Kidangnayam desam.	Same family as Nos. 1 to 10.
12. Kolleru ..	Kunhormu ..	Kuttiali ..	40	Manjeri amsam, Vellangad.	Connected by marriage with Variankunnu family.
13. Do. ..	Ahamad ..	Do. ..	15	Do. ..	Brother of No. 12.
14. Do. ..	Mammad Kutti ..	Kunji Mammad.	48	Payyanad ..	Cousin of Nos. 12 and 13.
15. Do. ..	Avaran ..	Mammad Kutti.	28	Do. ..	Son of No. 14.
16. Vadakeprath ..	Unni Moyi ..		24	Vellangad ..	Son of Chekku's nephew.
17. Ossan ..	Kunholi ..		22	Do. ..	} Barber to above.
18. Pularatodiyil ..	Kunhin ..	Ahamad ..	24	Do. ..	
19. Erikunnan ..	Mammad Kutti ..		28	Payyanad	

3. The pedigrees shown below will give a fair idea of the way in which most of the men, who joined from Pandikkad, Payyanad and Chembrasseri, are related to, or connected with, one another:—



The following remarks upon some of them will give a fair idea of their characters:—

No. 1, son of Chekku, nephew of Alivi Haji and Ahamad Haji, was concerned in a most cold-blooded murder, that of Raman Nair, just before the temple was entered.

No. 2, the leader of the gang.

No. 3, a religious fanatic, had been twice to Mecca; was well versed in their religion; was concerned in the murder of Raman Nair.

No. 4 registered by the police as a K.D.

No. 5, a reckless man, had been a mahant.

Nos. 6, 7, 8, members of the Variankunnu family,—all of whom were religiously inclined.

No. 9, nephew and step-son of No. 2, by whom he was forced to join the gang.

No. 10, a connection of Chekku; the exact relationship has not been traced.

No. 11 had been twice convicted; was the spy of the gang, and, as such, was employed to watch the troops; knew the neighbourhood of Mannarghat, where he had worked as a cooly.

Nos. 12 to 15 connected by marriage with the Variankunnu family.

No. 16, son of Chekku's nephew.

No. 17, the barber of the Variankunnu people.

No. 18 lives next door to Chekku's wife's house.

No. 19 related by marriage to the Variankunnu family.

No. 20, a Cherumar convert of about 5 months' standing; servant of the Vellangad Tungal.

Nos. 22 and 23 are relations. The former was one of the men included in Inspector Cheyi Kutti's report of June last.

Nos. 24 and 25 were included in Cheyi Kutti's list.

No. 26 was included in Inspector Cheyi Kutti's list.

No. 27 was converted by the gang at Pandalur on the evening of the 3rd April.

No. 29, mollah of Kappil mosque at Vettatur, the home of Kunholan; probably a case of pure fanaticism.

Nos. 30 and 31, nephews of Alivi Haji, were living at Karavarakundil in Chembrasserai amsam. It was on their account that Kodalayil Krishnan Nair was murdered.

No. 32 was married to Chekku's blind daughter.

No. 33 joined at Pallikurup temple. This was a case of pure fanaticism.

No. 34 joined at the Mangalasseri illam in Elankur desam. Chekku, who is under arrest, married a sister of Nos. 2 and 3.

It will be seen that the first 16 men, the 19th, the 30th, 31st and 32nd were all closely connected by blood or by marriage with the Variankunnu family and their brother-in-law Chekku. Of the others, one was the family barber, one was the mollah of Kunholan's village, two were converts, five were connected with the conspiracy reported by Inspector Cheyi Kutti in June last, one was a neighbour of Chekku's and only four others remain. Of these, two seem to have joined out of pure fanaticism and two came from the same village as the gang reported last year by Inspector Cheyi Kutti.

4. The police have registered Nos. 1 to 7, 9 and 11 to 16 as concerned in the original dacoity. In this I am satisfied that they are wrong. No. 9 is the child who has survived from the gang. He is not more than 13 or 14 years old at the outside and is far too young to be taken upon an expedition of the kind. In addition to this, some of the witnesses, who have been examined, have given lists which differ considerably from the police lists. According to Ismail, witness No. 47, who admits having been with the gang for a time and who has clearly been guilty of receiving stolen property, the following took part in the original dacoity: Nos. 1 to 5, 7, 10, 11, 18, 19, and one Moyan Kutti, who left the gang and has escaped from the district. This list is probably fairly accurate. These men no doubt were informed that, on the 31st of March, a considerable sum of money would be coming in from Chembrasserai, the revenue of which amsam is the heaviest in the

Ernad taluk and with the adhigari of which some of the men are said to have been on bad terms. They accordingly resolved to lie in wait for the money near the Kakatode river, a steep-banked nullah close to their houses. The kist amounted to Rs. 2,296 and was accompanied by four men, two coolies, a peon and the adhigari's writer. They were easily overpowered and the money taken. The writer and one cooly went to Manjeri to report the matter and show their wounds. They arrived at about 3 P.M., the offence having taken place at 1. The others returned to Chembrasserai instead of at once reporting the case at the Nemmini station, 2½ miles distant by the short cut. Information did not reach Nemmini until about 10 P.M.

5. The dacoits appear to have passed the night of the 31st March in their houses on the borders of Payyanad and Pandikkad amsams. They all lived close together. The Nemmini head constable arrived at about 11 P.M. at the house of Moidin Kutti Haji, prisoner No. 7, and before morning obtained the names of most of the dacoits. The Acting Superintendent of Police and the Stationary Magistrate arrived on the morning of the 1st. The Superintendent of Police received no information at all until about 5 P.M., when Moidin Kutti Haji, Chekku and the Vellangad Tungal came with the head constable and informed him that the dacoits were preparing for an outbreak and were discussing what they should do upon a hill near their houses. Some of the special force were at once sent for, but about 2 A.M. the Superintendent of Police received information that the dacoits had set fire to the Pandikkad temple, the property of the Mussad family, a member of which, the adhigari of Pandikkad, was last year accused by Unnian Haji of setting fire to the Oruvampuram mosque at Nemmini. It was this circumstance that their first act of violence was directed against the Mussad that attracted attention to the probability that Unnian Haji knew something about the outbreak.

6. After burning the Pandikkad temple, the gang went through Tuvur amsam and entered the Irugattiri desam of Chembrasserai amsam. There they attacked the house of Kodalayil Krishnan Nair, having been joined just previously by Nos. 30 and 31 in the list, who are related to Alivi Haji and his family. Krishnan Nair was the landlord of these two men, who owed him a certain amount of paddy for which he sued. He had distrained the whole of their property in execution of the decree which he had obtained. The gang killed Krishnan Nair and one of his servants Kadapattan Raman, but not, as stated in my report No. 1, dated 4th April 1894, a woman also. They also shot one Rama Panikkar, who happened to be living in the house, cut off his top-knot and stuffed it in his mouth. He is now in a fair way to recovery at the Manjeri hospital. Just before the appearance of the gang, one Alivi Gurikkal, prisoner No. 13, entered Krishnan Nair's house and asked for a loan which was refused. He had hardly left the house and had not left the compound when he returned with the gang and it was he who stuffed Rama Panikkar's top-knot into his mouth. The gang took the precaution of killing two of the four people who were present and no doubt thought they had killed Rama Panikkar, who, as well as the other eye-witness, a woman, are still so afraid that it is almost useless to hope for the conviction of the Gurikkal upon their evidence. It is worthy of notice that this man is related to Matuminaltodi Ali (*vide* page 583, District Manual). There can be no doubt that this Gurikkal was present at these murders. At Krishnan Nair's house no robbery was committed. Another man, named Soopi, prisoner No. 12, was seen in company with the gang in this neighbourhood.

7. The gang left Krishnan Nair's house at about 7 A.M. and went to the Nilancherri Ayappan Kavu temple which they burnt. Then they proceeded to Koyasseri Krishna Panikkar's, some two miles from the temple. They shot the Panikkar under a mango tree, but did not rob his house. The cause of his murder appears to have been his refusal to repeat the Muhammadan creed. Next they went to Malian Chathu Panikkar's house. They killed him and cut the throat of one of his Cherumars, named Nayadi, and slightly wounded one Kadapattan Velu. These last two men are alive. They took some vessels and a few rupees from the house and cut off the top-knots of Chathu Panikkar and Raman Panikkar, the son and nephew, respectively, of the house-owner. The gang had a quarrel with

Chathu Panikkar, because he had given up a forest clearing claimed by Moidin Kutti Haji, brother of Alivi Haji, to one Mammad Sahib, a rival claimant. The Panikkar was between two stools and he selected Mammad Sahib to relinquish the land to. From the Panikkar's house they went on to the clearing where they met and killed one Achuthan Nair, the agent of Mammad Sahib. A short distance from this spot, they cooked their food at about 3-30 P.M. In the evening they passed on to the Kalikavu desam where they remained until 10 or 11 P.M. Then they followed the road to the boundary of the Wandur amsam. Leaving this at about 2 A.M., they passed through the Porur amsam into Elankur amsam, arriving at the Kavungal Mangalasseri illam at about 7 A.M. They stayed there until about 1 P.M., leaving on news of the departure of the troops from Wandur being brought to them by Chekkiparamban Ahamad, No. 11, who appears to have been their chief spy. He was seen close to the Wandur bungalow when the troops started. They had begun before leaving the illam to prepare it for defence and it is most probable that they intended to make their stand there, but they expected to be joined by the people from the south side of the Manjeri-Pandikkad road, and, as these had not arrived when the troops surprised the gang, they ran away, leaving their rice uneaten and a freshly-killed goat uncooked.

8. They were joined in Elankur by Topiath Mammad, No. 20, and Komban Alivi, No. 34, and on the way to Pandikkad they robbed a blacksmith of Payyanad of two guns discarding an useless one already in their possession. They also went to the house of Pullasseri Koman Nair where they asked for guns. The owner of the house was in hiding, and, as he had left some Mappilas in the house, they did nothing. They were joined somewhere here by Punakadan Chekku and Moidin Kutti Haji, the former of whom temporarily took the lead of the gang which then numbered about twenty men. Here they passed the homes of the greater part of the gang and several of them appear to have visited their families. The boy Ahamad, No. 9, joined them here and one or two others of the Variankunnu family. They crossed the Pandikkad-Manjeri road at about 4 P.M. and passed through Mundikott bazaar to Tekkumpatt. On the way they set fire to the house of one Ittiyeri Nair and to that of a Cherumar. The former house was formerly in the possession of a Mappila who had been ejected by the Nair, who was at the time living in it himself. The latter house was burnt because it appears to be an upstairs house, and the Mappilas considered it inexpedient to allow the precedent of a Cherumar possessing an upstairs house. The house was in reality only a single-storied house though it had the appearance of an upstairs house. They next burnt the Arimbra Nair's house, robbing him of Rs. 225. They also looted the house of Sankaran Nair. The value of the property taken is said to be about Rs. 400. At this time the band was working in two sections at a very short distance apart. They then proceeded to Tekkumpatt, where they were joined by about twelve men including Topiath Mutha, No. 27, a Cherumar, whom they converted after their day's work was done. After dark they ascended a hill where they obtained food from one of their relations. Here Chekku and Moidin Kutti Haji, promising to return and no doubt carrying off a good deal of property, left the gang which wasted much time waiting for them. They crossed the Angadipuram-Pandikkad road at night near the house of Unnian Haji, who came out and spoke to some of them. They passed the road with great precaution as they knew the troops were near and divided for the purpose into more than one body. They next entered the house of Mundakyapetta Unni Raman Panikkar, about five miles south-east from Oruvampuram. Here they obtained a gun and other property, some of which they threw to a Mappila woman on the road. She returned it some days later to the owner. Next they visited the Kunnoth illam, from which they took some cooking vessels, and then took up their position in the Tiruvalapetta temple. They met and conversed with Kunholan and one Paradi on the way. They cooked their food in the temple and stayed there for three or four hours. Here they were visited by many Mappilas. They were heard calling for Kunholan, under whose advice they appear to have come to the place, which they did not know and from which they did not know the way to Mannarghat. This had long been their destination (*vide* statement of Topiath Mammad, No. 1).

9. They left the temple about 2 P.M. stopping at the Kappil mosque. The mollah No. 29 joined them here. The Arakaparamba adhigari met them near there and prevented the gang from entering the mosque. They passed along the old road for some distance turning off to the north along the borders of Arakaparamba amsam. They crossed the river and then the existing road at the 18th mile 1st furlong. They passed the Vettatur adhigari's house which the Arakaparamba adhigari prevented them from entering. They stopped and bathed in the river where they are said to have distributed part of the loot to the Mappilas who surrounded them. From this place they skirted the amsam and entered Govindan Nair's Umanath kalom on the borders of Arakaparamba and Tiruvazhamkunnu amsams. Here they must have been directed by persons knowing the locality as there is no path leading in this particular direction. They helped themselves to food but did no other damage, slept there and started for Mannarghat in the morning. For about six miles they followed the main road which they did not leave until they arrived close to Mannarghat and were informed that the Mannarghat Nair's house was defended by Mappilas as well as Hindus. On the way they entered three or four Hindu houses from which they took a little property. Near here they met a Tiyyan carrying a letter from the Tachambran adhigari to myself and destroyed the letter and the Tiyyan's top-knot. They then turned southwards from the road and went to the kalom belonging to the Tachambran adhigari situated in Arakurissi amsam. They broke open the boxes, &c., and stole about Rs. 100. Here Chakkiparamban Ahamad, No. 11, knew the way and led the gang. They then crossed the fields killing one Raman Nair on the way. Only two or three of the gang appear to have taken part in this murder. Just previously they had obtained the blessing of a wandering tangal, the Tangal of Veliangode in Ponnani taluk. They were seen "smelling his hands." They are also said to have given him a white parcel. This matter is still under investigation. The tangal has not been found, and it is proposed to investigate the question whether he received part of the property before taking steps against him. They then went to the temple calling at the Pallikurup Variar's house, where they obtained the keys of the temple and from which they were supplied with rice, pickled mangoes, oil, &c. They also took some property and repaid the kindness of the household by cutting off the Variar's top-knot and making him a Mappila. They then took possession of the temple. They visited several houses in the course of the night and frightened the nearest Hindu householder, a servant of the temple, into supplying them with a bullock for its defilement. This was brought by two Mappilas. They gave away all the stolen property which remained in their possession to the Mappilas who visited them at the temple, who appear to have been very numerous. They were joined in the temple by No. 33. In all it is estimated that they obtained under Rs. 5,000 worth of property, including the kist, and they cut off the top-knots of not less than 26 Hindus. From the time they left Pandikkad for the second time on 3rd April there can be no doubt that they had the sympathy and assistance of every Mappila in the neighbourhood of their path.

10. I have not yet explained why the Calicut detachment of troops were not with us when we reached the temple on the morning of the 6th April. Both detachments were advancing along the roads to Mannarghat and were intended to meet there, but, on the afternoon of the 5th, on hearing that the gang had turned southwards without entering Mannarghat, I suspected that they intended to attack Karimpoya, the residence of the Eliah Raja of Calicut. I therefore wrote to the Special Assistant Magistrate, asking him to proceed to that place with the Calicut detachment in order to protect it. The Raja, though no doubt very thankful to be saved from anxiety, behaved in a most improper manner to Mr. Knapp, a copy of whose letter, dated 17th April 1894, No. 135/M.D., on the subject is enclosed. I do not think this matter should be entirely overlooked and I trust that the Government will be pleased to warn the Raja to behave with more courtesy. He is not a man of strong understanding or I should recommend him for some substantial mark of displeasure.

11. *Cause of the outbreak.*—Further inquiries and further consideration have led me to the opinion that the outbreak had been carefully planned beforehand and

that it was not the result of a sudden impulse. Perhaps it was not originally intended to proceed further than the Mangalasseri illam in Elankur amsam, but I firmly believe that so much of the work of the gang was planned beforehand. Evidence is of course not forthcoming upon this point, but the conduct of the men after the first dacoity, the evident sympathy of all the Mappilas to which I have already referred, the statements of the wounded convert, Topiath Mammad, and the conduct and statements of Unnian Haji and his brother, Kunholan, appear to me to show that the dacoity was planned to provide money for the relations of the gang and possibly even for Unnian Haji and Kunholan, who have been proved to have been in urgent need of cash at the time, and that the outbreak was planned before the dacoity occurred. When the robbery occurred, the dacoits said that it did not matter to the persons in charge of the money as it is Government money, and, in the opinion of an uneducated Mappila, it is a meritorious act to rob an infidel government in order to prepare to fight for the faith. Had the outbreak not been previously planned, I do not imagine that the dacoits would have remained in their village after the robbery of the kist. They would have dispersed with the money and sought the Wynaad or the forests. It is unusual after such a robbery for the persons concerned to quietly remain near their houses, paying off their most pressing debts as these men did and this settlement of their worldly affairs is in full accordance with the traditions of former outbreaks. There were at least two old offenders in the gang. They must have known that evading arrest and hiding or spending all the loot would be the best way of getting the most out of the dacoity. Instead of dispersing, the whole gang remained in the neighbourhood for about 36 hours and then went out commencing with the burning of the Mussad's Pandikkad temple as a counterblast to the burning of the mosque last year. None of the preparations usual in former outbreaks appear to have been made in this case. The wives of the men cannot be shown to have been divorced though a good many of them seem to have been sent back to their fathers' houses shortly before the outbreak as was done in the case of the men concerned in the recent conspiracy at Angadipuram (*vide* my letter, dated 2nd May 1894, No. 380-M/Gl.). They do not seem to have gone to Mambram, nor is there evidence, so far, of any "moiluth" ceremony having been performed. This I attribute to the gradual weakening of the influence of the tangals. There can be no doubt that their influence is on the wane and that the more primitive Mappilas think more of the local tangals and the local priests than of the more important tangals, whose names are better known. They thus, no doubt, obtained such blessing as they required from the local tangal, the Vellangad Tangal, who gave information against them on Sunday, 1st April, before they had gone out. This man was warned by me when I was inquiring into the mosque fire last year and this warning probably induced him to give the information and save himself. The wounded convert, Mammad, whose statements appear to me substantially true, informed Mr. Knapp, when he was supposed to be dying on the evening of the fight, that the outbreak was got up to avenge the burning of the Oruvampuram mosque, and that they had heard of the conspiracy at Angadipuram. He also at later dates gave important information connecting Unnian Haji and Kunholan with the movements of the gang. The conduct of these two men is referred to below. If the outbreak was got up on the spur of the moment in desperation owing to the robbery of the kist and the pressure of the police, it would have been almost impossible for Unnian Haji and Kunholan to keep themselves informed as they undoubtedly did of the movements of the gang; nor would the men, who joined the gang at first, have so readily picked up twelve or more men in Tekkumpatt and Pandalur when they passed through these villages on the evening of the 3rd of April. There is evidence to show that Kammu, No. 21, joined merely on Chekku beckoning to him. The other men from this place were obviously ready and prepared to join the gang. I therefore consider that it must be accepted that the outbreak was deliberately planned beforehand. The evident sympathy of the local Mappilas confirms the view that it was more than an ordinary outbreak of dacoity.

12. The recent outbreak has completely settled the doubt regarding the intended outbreak reported by Inspector Cheyi Kutti in June last year. There

can be no question now that an outbreak was intended at that time. The inspector's reports, the arrest of some of the men concerned, and their warning by the Special Assistant Magistrate had the effect of preventing them from going out at the time. Of the men killed in the present outbreak, four, Nos. 22, 24, 25 and 26, were included in Inspector Cheyi Kutti's list, and No. 23 is the brother of No. 22. Five men were warned at that time by the Special Assistant Magistrate. None of them were in the present outbreak, but No. 26 is the brother of one of them. The blacksmith, who was said to have made arms for them, disappeared at the time and has only lately been found. He admits having made four knives. The convert, Topiath Mammad, states that four of the bill-hooks used on the present occasion were made for men included in Cheyi Kutti's list, who were not arrested. There can, I think, be no doubt that there was a conspiracy at the time. It is equally certain, in fact it is practically admitted now by the inspector, that he did not at the time produce all the evidence obtainable. His conduct was that of a man who had no confidence in the truth of his own statements, and he made no real attempt to prove them. It is unnecessary now to discuss the grounds of his conduct, but I believe myself to be acquainted with his motive, and such punishment as he received was, I understand, inflicted in connection with another matter. The facts are given in my letter, dated 10th July 1893, No. 878 P./Gl. The inspector at that time attributed his inability to obtain any evidence to the misconduct of the Sub-Magistrate, Govindan, in arresting the first informant; but the present inquiry has shown that the persons accused by the inspector were made to believe that the case against them arose from an anonymous letter, so that the case was not spoiled by the arrest of the Mussaliar who brought the original information. It will be remembered that he declined even to apply for a remand when he produced the people before the Special Assistant Magistrate.

13. After the destruction of the gang their bodies were laid in a row and their faces washed, and the adhigaris and others, who were present, were invited to endeavour to identify them. Six were identified by a Mappila of Pandikkad, now employed among the elephants at Nilambur, and two or three by adhigaris. Unnian Haji thought it advisable to be very reticent. He identified the K. D. and the mollah of the Kappil mosque at Vettatur where Kunholan lives, but only on finding that they had already been identified by others and also one Kammu of Panankara desam, Manjeri amsam. Of the rest he said that three belonged to the Variankunnu family; that one was a relation of the K. D., a member of the same family; that one looked like Pozhakkal Unni Emalu, which was wrong; and that one looked like the Pudukuli family. As will appear below, Unnian Haji could probably have identified at least twenty-five of the thirty-four men if he had chosen. In the meantime the special police entered the temple arresting one Vallampozha Moidin at the door. Shortly after it was found that three of the Mappilas were not dead and they were removed to the house which was doing duty as a hospital. We were obliged to remain on the spot until carts came to carry away the bodies. Towards evening one of the wounded boys showed some signs of recovery and another died without having said anything intelligible. The Special Assistant Magistrate took a short statement from the former mostly in my presence. He is Topiath Mammad, a Cherumar convert, No. 20. The other wounded boy, Ahamad, No. 9, did not become really conscious until the following morning.

14. The following persons are now under arrest under the Mappila Act:—

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. Topiath Mammad, No. 20. | 10. Cherudala Ahamad. |
| 2. Kattugalakundil Ahamad, No. 9. | 11. Mangaratodiyil Ali Ahamad. |
| 3. Valluvampuzha Moidin. | 12. Pothumbulavil Soopi. |
| 4. Kalattil Unnian Haji. | 13. Edapath Alivi Gurikkal. |
| 5. Kalattil Kunholan. | 14. Punakadan Ismail. |
| 6. Punakadan Chekku. | 15. Padatodiyil Paradi. |
| 7. Variankunnu Moidin Kutti Haji. | 16. Mussaliar Moidin Kutti. |
| 8. Punakadan Ahamad. | 17. Akaramel Ahamad Kutti. |
| 9. Pandarapettu Seedhi. | 18. Katodiyil Poker. |

15. No. 1 was wounded in the action. He joined the gang on the afternoon of the 3rd April. He was present at a variety of offences, including dacoity,

arson, house-breaking, and some of the gang committed a murder after he joined. He has been and is still very ill. At first he could only be examined for a few minutes at a time and every statement, which I took from him until that of the 17th April, was taken, so I was informed by the doctor, at the risk of his life. He can be tried if he recovers under the Penal Code. He should also be deported permanently from the district. His statements are forwarded. It should be remarked that at first he seems to have been anxious to endeavour to screen Unnian Haji. Later on, he apparently spoke the truth. His earlier statements should be taken with a certain amount of reservation as he was so weak that he was almost unable to answer questions. His statements of the 17th April and later dates are probably substantially true.

16. No. 2 is about 13 years of age. He has practically recovered from his wounds. He was dragged into the gang by his uncles Nos. 1 and 2 and is too young to have had any knowledge of their plans or intentions. He joined just after the last prisoner. He was present at various offences, but I do not think it advisable that he should be tried alone for them if the first prisoner dies. If he lives, both can be tried together. In any case the boy has a religious bent of mind and comes of a fanatical family and it is inadvisable that he should be allowed to live in this district. I recommend that he should be permanently deported and that his trial should depend upon the life of the first prisoner. If the latter recovers, both can be tried together.

17. No. 3, *Valluvampuzha Moidin*.—This man was found on the steps of the Pallikurup temple immediately after the action. The convert, Mammad, states that a Mappila came into the temple on the morning of the action to tell the gang of the arrival of the troops. He left the temple and advanced a short distance with them, after which he returned. His account of what he was doing on the morning of the fight is very unsatisfactory, and the persons, who are said by him to have seen him ploughing, state that they did not see him do so. There can, I think, be no doubt as to his guilt and I recommend his deportation for ten years.

18. No. 4, *Unnian Haji*.—The evidence of the Walavanad Tahsildar, Ananta Pattar, shows that Unnian Haji was in want of ready money about the 26th March; that his landlord, the owner of the Pandikkad temple, whose brother-in-law was accused of setting fire to the mosque, was pressing him for renewal fees; and that he said that life was not worth living. He brought a letter from Ahmed Gurikkal Khan Bahadur, retired inspector of police, asking the tahsildar to induce his brother to lend money to Unnian Haji. Just before this, on the 14th March, the Ernád Police Inspector had reported to the Special Assistant Magistrate that Unnian Haji had been to Payyanad to see Ahmed Gurikkal. Unnian Haji also told the tahsildar that the old Mussad of Pandikkad had filed a suit against him. He further used threatening language regarding the conduct of a certain constable who had usurped his place in the mosque. The Mussad corroborated these statements in a conversation with the Special Assistant Magistrate, but expressed great unwillingness to have his version committed to paper. He has always avoided giving evidence if possible to do so. On the 6th March Unnian Haji had put in a petition before the Special Assistant Magistrate, complaining of the conduct of the constable. The Government will remember that Unnian Haji was warned by me in connection with the mosque fire that he must keep the authorities fully informed as to the occurrence of any disturbance or any suspicion of disturbance. A reference to paragraph 14 of my letter, dated 8th April 1893, Reference on C. No. 1175-M./93, will show that Unnian Haji from the very first fostered the rumour that the mosque had been burnt by Hindus and that the fire must be avenged. Whether he made a vow that this should be done is uncertain, but I request a reference to the last paragraph of my letter just quoted for a description of the character of this man and his brother, Kunholan. Instead of giving information when the present outbreak occurred Unnian Haji carefully kept aloof from all officials, quite the opposite to his ordinary procedure. On Tuesday evening, 3rd April, when we were at Pandikkad, he passed close to our camp without showing himself on his way from the Karukamanna Mussad's house into which he had forced himself in the morning on the pretext of assisting to guard it. I have no doubt

that this pretence was a subterfuge, so that he might plead that he was endeavouring to provide for the safety of his enemy. All the same he left the house at dusk so as to be in good time to meet the gang during the night. The wounded boy, Topiath Mammad, in his very first statement on the 6th April, after being warned that he was dying, said that the outbreak was got up to avenge the burning of the mosque. It would be very remarkable if such a thing could be done by 34 Mappilas, of whom no less than 29 live within three miles of Unnian Haji's house, without his knowing of it. In his second statement taken on the 7th April Mammad said that Unnian Haji had nothing to do with the outbreak though it was connected with the burning of the mosque. This, I think, was either a mistake and he meant that Unnian Haji took no active part in it, or he was still endeavouring to screen the Haji. On the 10th this boy gave the remarkable answer to the question "Do you know his name?" asked regarding a certain adhigari "Can't you ask Unnian Haji"? On the 17th, the first time I examined this boy after he began to do well, my first question was "who persuaded you to join the gang"? His answer was "Unnian Haji." He further said that he saw the Haji on the road near the mosque and that he said that every one from Nemmini would join. On the 3rd of May he said that the gang crossed the Angadipuram-Pandikkad road near Unnian Haji's house at night; that there were about 10 or 15 men with him and that they were thinking of going to Unnian Haji's house to see him when they met him on the road, and he spoke to Alivi Haji and others. This was on the night of the 3rd April and the statement is partially corroborated by the younger boy, Ahamad, who said that they were marching in two or three bodies; that he did not see any one speak to Unnian Haji and that he does not know his house, but that they were told to keep very quiet in crossing the road as the troops were near. These statements against Unnian Haji are in my opinion true. They were made when the prisoners had been kept exclusively under a guard of European soldiers since their capture, and no one, I think, could have had access to them to induce them to make false statements on this point. The boy, Mammad, was very closely questioned on the 3rd of May and he adhered to his statement regarding seeing Unnian Haji on the road. He has almost throughout endeavoured, I believe, to speak the truth to the best of his knowledge. He has several times asked "have I not spoken the truth"? and has shown anxiety to give all the information in his power. His first statements up to that of the 17th were given with great difficulty as his life was in danger and he was very weak. More than once the doctor warned me to question him no more, and I had to leave off as he was too weak to answer any more.

19. This is not the only evidence against Unnian Haji. When he was in custody at the Mannarghat Nair's house on the 8th April Corporal Hermitage, who was in charge of his guard, heard him talking to Valluvampuzha Moidin who was also in custody. The corporal asked one of the Eurasian camp-followers to listen to the conversation. He did so and the witness, D'Cruz, heard Unnian Haji express his regret that the gang did not escape by the rear instead of coming out upon the troops. Erathali Haji, a relation of Unnian Haji's, gave some general evidence against him, but he is not admittedly on good terms with him. Koyassan, a Mappila constable, stated that it was the public opinion among the Mappilas that Unnian Haji and Kunholan were privy to the outbreak and that it was due to the burning of the mosque. He also pointed out that Teyyunni Nair was left untouched because Unnian Haji had been bound over to keep the peace, and, if anything happened to Teyyunni Nair, the bond would be forfeited. A number of witnesses from Nemmini deposed that they had heard of Unnian Haji extorting money from Cherumars returning from the Wynaad crossing the Oruvampuram river and described other acts of violence by him. None of them thought the outbreak had anything to do with the mosque, but that is only natural as they wish as far as possible to prevent the amsam from being fined. Mr. Hadfield, who has great knowledge of the Mappilas, states that it is the general opinion among them that Unnian Haji was the instigator of the outbreak. The Nemmini head constable, Bavutti, who is specially told off to watch Unnian Haji and to whose care it is to be attributed that Unnian Haji did not escape, states that he obtained information that Kunholan was at Unnian Haji's house on the night of

the burning of the temple, 1st April. He and several other of the Nemmini witnesses are agreed that Unnian Haji must have known nearly all the rioters. He holds lands on both sides of the Oruvampuram river and must know nearly every Mappila who lives permanently within three miles of him. It is impossible that he should not be acquainted with the two Hajis, who were the leaders of the gang. A Haji himself, living within three miles of them, it is absurd to suppose that he could not have identified Alivi Haji and Ahamad Haji after death. The prisoner, Punakad Ahamad, states that he must have known all the Variankunnu and Koller people and that he probably knew the Srmbikkal people. In fact he must have known at least two-thirds of the gang and could have identified them had he chosen to do so. His conduct in this respect and in making no attempt to inform the authorities of the outbreak is highly suspicious. His experience as an adhigari must have acquainted him with the fact that a large remittance from Chembrasserri was to be expected on the 31st March. None of the gang would be likely to know this, or even to be acquainted with English dates and it is probable that it was from him that the gang received this information. Unnian Haji, as soon as his first rage on account of the burning of the mosque had passed off, asserted that no Mappila from his amsam would attempt to avenge it, and, accordingly, we find that not a single man in the gang came from Nemmini though 29 of them came from places far nearer to Unnian Haji's house than the greater part of the Nemmini amsam. Whether he received any part of the stolen kist will never be known, but it is not unlikely that he did. The Mussad, his landlord, will not give evidence and we cannot discover whether he paid any pressing debts at the time.

20. As soon as he found himself leaving the district he became reckless. At Parappanangadi station he got his head out of the window of the carriage and shouted to the Mappilas on the platform: "Government has killed 32 of our men. It is unjust." This station is four miles from Mambram and the platform is generally crowded with Mappilas. Shortly afterwards talking about Pandikkad he said that there would be trouble as long as a Mappila remained in that place and as long as Teyyunni Nair and the adhigari were there. He further added that, if he had not been caught that night, he would have got away. The credit of his capture is due to the Mappila head constable of Nemmini who had special orders to watch him.

21. The Government will doubtless remember that in 1883 Unnian Haji and others were recommended for deportation by Mr. Tate, the then Special Assistant Magistrate, but the Government in G.O., dated 31st January 1884, Mis. No. 268, agreeing with the District Magistrate, declined to take any steps. It is in no spirit of criticism that I make allusion to this matter, but it is a fact which has not, I think, been prominently brought forward officially before that Ahmed Gurikkal Khan Bahadur, who was then in the service and had great influence with the Superintendent of Police, was Unnian Haji's wife's father and that Unnian Haji's escape on that occasion is popularly attributed to his influence. In my letter, dated 8th April 1893, Reference on C. No. 1175/93, I expressed the opinion that the district could not be considered safe from disturbance as long as Unnian Haji was here. In my demi-official, dated 15th May 1893, to the Chief Secretary, I referred to the reckless character of the man and stated that danger was to be expected when renewal fees began to be demanded and the result has unfortunately confirmed my anticipations. It is greatly to be regretted that the original sentence of 18 months' rigorous imprisonment inflicted on him last year was reduced on appeal. It is also a curious fact that several of the dead men in the present outbreak were connected with the Srmbikkal Tangal who was recommended by Mr. Tate for deportation with Unnian Haji. Under the circumstances I maintain that this man is a standing menace to the peace of the district, and I am convinced that he was very intimately concerned with the outbreak. I therefore recommend that he be deported under the Mappila Act. I do not recommend that he be allowed to go to Arabia in accordance with his request made on the 11th April, on which day apparently he fully expected to be deported.

22. No. 5, Kunholan.—This man is the brother of Unnian Haji and is a notorious litigant. He lives at Vettatur about six or seven miles from Angadipuram.

His house is near the road from Pandikkad to Mannarghat. As we advanced along this road on the 5th April, the Mappilas were standing on the tops of the hills on both sides of the road, but in the neighbourhood of Kunholan's house they were lying down and endeavouring to conceal themselves and their conduct was so suspicious that we were thinking of surrounding and arresting them. In paragraph 16 of my letter, dated 8th April 1893, Reference on C. No. 1175/93, I ventured to foretell that Kunholan would not be in his village when any disturbance might take place there, and in a demi-official letter to the Chief Secretary, my own copy of which I have mislaid quite recently, I foretold that he would be able to show that he was before some court if anything should happen. Accordingly, when Kunholan was arrested, he had in his possession documents to show that he was before the sub-registrar on the 31st March, the 1st April, and the 2nd April, and that he was in the munsif's court on the 4th. I accordingly examined the sub-registrar. He stated that Kunholan came to him about 4 P.M. on the 31st March to ask him to come to his sister's house in connection with the registration of a document the following morning because his nephew's wife's father was shortly going to Mecca, and it was advisable to have the document registered at once. On the following morning at 8 the sub-registrar went to the house and stayed for half an hour and the document, which was really a mortgage for Rs. 800 of some of Kunholan's property, was registered on the 2nd at about noon at Angadipuram. Kunholan's nephew shows that there was no hurry about the transaction as his father-in-law was not thinking of starting for Mecca immediately. The munsif states that Kunholan was in his court in connection with a suit of Unnian Haji's relating to the very property which led to the riot last year; the suit was posted for the 4th, but did not come on for hearing. Kunholan was so keen on keeping himself in evidence and the munsif was so struck with his behaviour that he told the tahsildar that he believed that he was there in order to prove an *alibi*, and it was the tahsildar's information to me that led me to examine the munsif. Thus the *alibi* is full of loop-holes. Kunholan's appearance at 4 P.M. at Angadipuram was not in the least incompatible with his presence at his brother's house before the robbery of the kist, or again at night, the distance being about eight miles. He could easily have got back to see the document signed by 8 A.M. on the 1st April and to his brother's house again that night as stated by the head constable Bavutti. He was seen by Inspector Neill on the road to Angadipuram on the morning of the 2nd. He might have been coming either from his own house or his brother's. Kunholan states that he was in his sister's house the whole of the 3rd April, and on the 4th that the munsif closed the court at noon. The munsif himself says it was closed at 10-30. There is nothing therefore in his documentary *alibi* to have prevented him from seeing the gang on the 31st, 1st, 3rd or 4th. On the 31st he was within ten miles of them at 4 P.M. and could have been with them either before or after; on the 1st he had from 8-30 A.M. until noon of the 2nd and the gang remained within twelve miles of Angadipuram until about 2 A.M. on the 2nd. On that day he may have left Angadipuram about 1 P.M. and he did not make his appearance before the munsif until about 7 A.M. on the 4th. The furthest point reached by the gang on the night of the 2nd was about twenty miles from Angadipuram and they were back within eight miles of that place and half a mile of Unnian Haji's house on the night of the 3rd.

23. When Kunholan was arrested he at once pleaded the above *alibi* and produced a copy of the Malappuram Tangal's pamphlet on the wickedness of opposing the ruling power. He asserted his innocence and his anxiety to support authority. It will be seen from the last paragraph that, like his brother Unnian Haji, he was in want of ready cash. On the 17th April I happened to be at Malappuram where Kunholan was confined in the barracks, for I arranged to keep both the brothers under military guard, as I wished to prevent them from communicating with their friends and relations. He asked to see me and I took a statement from him. At first I asked no questions, but merely took down what he had to say. He began as follows: "The people who made the disturbance do not belong to Nemmini, but to other amsams. This mosque is the chief mosque of the Nemmini people. The mosque which the rioters most respect is the Vellangad mosque. Those people have not rendered any assistance in repairing the burnt

mosque. The Nemmini people did not join" (in the outbreak). Kunholan was confined in the Angadipuram sub-jail under a guard of European soldiers between the 4th and the 12th April. I had supposed that he had been prevented from speaking to other Mappilas during this time, but I find that he managed to communicate with some of the other prisoners, and I suppose that he obtained some information from them. Still he showed a remarkably accurate knowledge of the facts, a far more accurate knowledge than we had obtained up to the 12th. After that date until he left the district he was confined in the Malappuram barracks. It must be remembered that according to himself he knew nothing whatever about the outbreak, so that it is very curious that he should have attempted to show that it was not connected with the Nemmini mosque unless his Mappila fellow prisoners, of whom Chekku and Moidin Kutti Haji were the chief men, had told him that it was. It is evident that he knew that the outbreak was attributed by me, and probably by every one else, to the burning of the mosque. I was greatly surprised at a man of Kunholan's ability making such a damaging statement as this, and I can only account for it by his depression owing to his arrest and confinement. It is clear from this portion of the statement alone that Kunholan and of course his brother also were privy to the outbreak from the very first.

24. There is plenty of other evidence against him. A witness, named Pudangode Unnian Kutti, a near neighbour of Kunholan's, saw Moidin Kutti Haji and ten or twelve Mappilas in Kunholan's house two or three days before the outbreak began talking to Kunholan. On the afternoon of Tuesday, 3rd April, he met one Syed Ali Kutti, a relation of Kunholan's, and he told him that his elder brother Mammu was missing and that he believed that he had gone with the gang, and he went off to find Kunholan. Another witness, Tavarakattil Edathala Viran, who would not say a word to me, informed me, when examined by the Walavanad Tangal in my presence, that Syed Ali came to Kunholan when the witness was talking to him and told him that Mammu had joined the gang, and Kunholan and Syed Ali went off together. Kunholan is Mammu's uncle. Mammu has not yet been found. Pudangode Unnian Kutti also says that Kunholan at first tried to borrow and afterwards to buy his gun, offering Rs. 30 or 35 for it a few days before the outbreak. A Mappila, named Kunnatodiyil Chek, states that he saw Kunholan, Paradi and another speaking to two of the gang, while ten others were standing at a short distance. This was on the 4th April on the road from Angadipuram to Kunholan's house. One Appu Vallodhi states that he saw Kunholan, Paradi and another on the same morning running to meet the gang, whom he had just passed near the same place. The wounded boy, Mammad, confirms this; he states that the gang met Kunholan on that morning and the two leaders spoke to him. Both the witnesses say that they saw Kunholan speaking to the gang about 9 A.M. The munsif, on the other hand, states that he saw Kunholan in his court at 7 A.M. and that he was there until the court rose at 10-30. The munsif may be mistaken or the witnesses may have made a mistake about the time. The admission of Paradi that he was in the court on Tuesday (evidently a mistake for Wednesday) and saw Kunholan confirms the evidence of the two witnesses. Kunholan's keenness on bringing himself into evidence probably made the munsif imagine that he was there during the whole sitting. It is certain that the munsif and every one in Angadipuram were paralyzed with fear as it was reported that the gang was coming there. Another witness saw the gang leaving the same hill about an hour or two after Kunholan's conversation with them. It is not improbable that they waited there for him to come back because they went from there to the Tiruvalapetta temple where they stayed several hours and where they were shouting for Kunholan. This latter statement is made by the wounded boy, Mammad, and similar information was given to the constable Koyassan who arrested Kunholan by a boy employed by Kunholan who was arrested on suspicion, but was subsequently released.

25. I think there can be no doubt that Kunholan kept himself fully acquainted with the movements of the gang and that he was privy to the outbreak from the very first. His suspicious behaviour, his attempt to provide himself with an *alibi* and, above all, his own statement of the 17th April seem to me to make it clear that he had a guilty knowledge of the whole affair. I imagine that he persuaded the

gang to enter the Tiruvalapetta temple, which was situated in a perfectly unknown locality to them, and that they were waiting for him how to get away and where to go. It is unnecessary now to enter into details as to the way in which they managed to get away as Kunholan had nothing to do with it. Further inquiries are being made into this point. I recommend that he be deported. I must add that I am convinced that, if either Unnian Haji or Kunholan is allowed to remain in the district, the lives of the officers, both military and civil, who have taken part in the suppression of this outbreak, will not be safe. I include also the Tahsildar of Walavanad and Inspectors Sweeny and Neill.

26. No. 6, *Punakadan Chekku*.—This man is brother-in-law to the two Hajis who led the outbreak. He came to the Superintendent of Police on the 1st April and gave warning that the men were about to commit an outbreak. He promised to do all he could to bring them in and to bring immediate information of their movements. It can be proved beyond doubt that he joined the gang on Tuesday, 2nd April, on their way from the Mangalasseri illam in Elankur amsam to Pandikkad. From this point he took the lead and he was with them from about 2 P.M. until after dark. He was present at the robbery and burning of at least three houses and left the gang on the pretext that he wanted food and would return after taking it. He admits having been with the gang, but states that he joined in order to bring them back; but there can be no doubt that he led them while he was with them. It is probable that he obtained a large share of the loot acquired up to the time he left the gang. On 4th April he was brought in by the police. He then pretended that he had come back to give information to the Superintendent of Police according to his promise, but he could not account for the delay in doing so. He gave certain names of the men composing the gang, but it was not until after they were destroyed that he mentioned the fact that his son-in-law was among them. It is proposed to put him up for trial under the Penal Code, but it is also advisable, whatever may be the result of the trial, that he should be deported permanently.

27. No. 7, *Variankunnu Moidin Kutti Haji*.—The evidence against this man is practically the same as that against Chekku. Both of them are men of some wealth and position and were the most influential persons who joined the gang. Moidin Kutti Haji was the employer of most of the members of his family who died in the outbreak. There is some sort of evidence tracing part of the kist money to Moidin Kutti Haji which will be put before the Sessions Court. The details of the whole scheme appear to have been hatched at Moidin Kutti Haji's house. There is evidence to show that he spent the night of 31st March away from his house returning at dawn with Chekku and the day of the 1st April with nearly all the other Vellangad men concerned in the outbreak in the mosque. Possibly a moiluth was celebrated then. There is ample evidence, in addition to his own statement, that he joined and left the gang with Chekku. The comparative wealth of these two made them unwilling to die with the rest. This prisoner was seen at Kunholan's house a few days before the outbreak. He will be put up for trial with Chekku, and, as there is no doubt that he was with the gang for some hours, he should be deported permanently whatever may be the result of the trial.

28. No. 8, *Punakadan Ahamad*.—The evidence against this man is not complete. It will probably be found sufficient to deal with him under the Criminal Procedure Code. He is an elder brother of Chekku and father of the prisoner Ismail, but he does not appear to have been guilty of any overt act in connection with the outbreak although it is very unlikely that he was not privy to it.

29. No. 9, *Pandarapettu Seedhi*.—This man was caught just outside the door of the Kavungal Mangalasseri illam on 3rd April. The gang had left the place an hour or more before. They had defiled the illam temple by killing a goat in it. The goat had only just been killed when they left. This prisoner was wearing an umbrella hat which as well as his feet were splashed with fresh blood and he was in possession of a bundle of documents belonging to the Nambudri when he was arrested. The man belongs to the *desam* in which the Nambudri's house stands. He denied having been in the house and asserts that the marks found on him were

not the marks of blood. The two wounded boys were not with the gang at the illam. He explained his possession of the papers by saying that he had picked them up on the road. From the circumstances of his arrest, the blood on his feet and hat, and his possession of documents it seems most probable that the man was in the illam with the gang and that he appropriated the documents to see what he could make of them. If it is possible to obtain evidence that he was connected with the robbery of the house, he will be tried, but, in any case, he should, I think, be deported for ten years.

30. *No. 10, Cherudula Ahamad.*—This man is an "all but Sahid." He was with the gang at the Tiruvalapetta temple for three-quarters of an hour or more. His father admits having gone out and brought him back. There is ample evidence that he joined the gang. I recommend his permanent deportation.

31. *No. 11, Mangaratodiyil Ali Ahamad.*—The case against this man is still incomplete. It is probable that he will be proved innocent.

32. *No. 12, Pothumbulavil Soopi.*—By his own admission this man, who belongs to Karavarakundil, from which Nos. 30 and 31 went, was asked to join the gang. He states that he did not join, but that he went a short way with them, and, finding out what the object of the gang was, he returned. That he was with them at one time is proved by the evidence of three witnesses. He was arrested and taken to the adhigari by two people of the village, to one of whom he admitted that he was present at the murder of Kodalayil Krishnan Nair, which frightened him so much that he ran away. This clearly shows that the villagers believed him to be guilty. This is in some measure corroborated by the wounded boy, Mammad, who said on the 19th April that he had heard that a man joined at Karavarakundil, brought a gun with him, and went away again. There might be a case against the man under the Penal Code, but it would depend upon the credibility of the evidence of the witness to whom the admission was made. There is, I think, reasonable suspicion against him and I recommend that he be deported permanently.

33. *No. 13, Edapath Alivi Gurikkal.*—This man's connection with the murder of Kodalayil Krishnan Nair is described in paragraph 6 *supra*. There is very little prospect of his conviction for murder as the surviving witnesses are evidently afraid of him. I recommend that he should be deported permanently.

34. *No. 14, Punakadan Ismail,* is the son of prisoner No. 8, Punakadan Ahamad, and the nephew of Chekku. The witness Pulakkal Raman (*vide* Malabar Manual, volume I, page 588) stated that he had heard that Ismail had joined the gang and been brought back by his father and that the Punakadan people had two guns, one of which was kept by Ismail. This witness obviously knew these facts although he had only "heard" them, but the fact that he has already been a victim of a Mappila outrage accounts for his only hearing. A blacksmith of Payyanad and Ismail's brother corroborate the statement that Ismail used to shoot and the former identified one of the guns taken at the temple as the gun used by Ismail. Ismail himself admits that his cousin, Mammad (No. 1), son of Chekku, came to him on 1st April, told him all about the dacoity and asked him for caps. On his asking what they were wanted for, Mammad said that they had stolen Government money and would not be able to live in the country and that they were going somewhere to become sahids and do something. He then sold 17 caps for Rs. 17 to Mammad. He admits that he knew the money was stolen and buried it. He subsequently produced a jewel which he had redeemed with it. This man can be prosecuted under the Penal Code for receiving property knowing it to be the proceeds of a dacoity (section 412) and under the Arms Act as he has no license. The wounded boy, Mammad, states that Ismail went with the gang from Vellangad to Vettatur on the night of the 3rd—4th April. I recommend that he may be deported permanently in addition to any further punishment that may be inflicted upon him under the Penal Code.

35. *No. 15, Padatodiyil Paradi.*—This man is Kunholan's adherent and constant companion. He was seen with Kunholan interviewing the gang on the morning of the 4th April (*vide* paragraph 24 *supra*) and he disappeared from his village for five days after Kunholan's arrest. He admitted having seen Kunholan

in the munsif's court. I have recorded the day as Tuesday, but it must have been Wednesday as Kunholan was not in court on Tuesday and he and Paradi were seen going towards Angadipuram on Wednesday, 4th April. He declines to say a word, but has admitted to the Police Inspector Mr. Neill that the evidence against him and Kunholan is true; but he states that he will not change the statement he has already made to the contrary. He fully expects to be deported and told the police inspector in the presence of other witnesses that he might be deported, but he would not change his statement. He is a dangerous character and is not unlikely if left behind to assume Kunholan's mantle and also to endeavour to avenge the deportation of Kunholan and his brother. I recommend that he should be deported permanently.

36. *No. 16, Mussaliar Moidin Kutti; No. 17, Akaramel Ahamad Kutti; No. 18, Katodiyil Poker.*—These three men were arrested last year by Inspector Cheyi Kutti and produced before the Special Assistant Magistrate. The inspector accused them of conspiring to commit an outbreak, but declined to apply for a remand and said that he was unable to produce any evidence (*vide* my letter of the 10th July, No. 878 P./G1). The Special Assistant Magistrate warned these men that they were the first people likely to be deported if an outbreak took place in their village and that they must give information upon the very slightest suspicion. They admit having given no information and not having attempted to give any, and there can be no doubt that they were aware of the outbreak even before the men from their village joined. Prisoner No. 16 is brother of Mussaliar Ahamad No. 26. The village is a very small one and the houses are for this district unusually close together; the villagers admit that they knew that there was a project to cause an outbreak last year and I am convinced that these men were aware both of last year's intended outbreak and of the recent one (*vide* paragraphs 11 and 12 *supra*). Mussaliar Ahamad was with Moidin Kutti when he saw the gang and immediately went off saying he was going to pray and was not seen afterwards. Under the circumstances I recommend that these men should be deported. They have already escaped deportation once and it would be a great encouragement to them and others should they escape again. Nos. 3, 5, 12, 13, 16, and 18 have been sent to Coimbatore jail and Nos. 4, 9, 10, 15 and 17 to Madras Penitentiary.

37. Five men who are known to have gone to the Mangalasseri illam in Elankur amsam just after the gang had left are believed to have intended to have joined them. They belonged to Payyanad amsam to which they returned at once and which they left upon steps being taken the next day to have them produced. They have been traced to Bombay and are supposed to be about to start for Mecca. One Peringadan Moyan Kutti was with the gang for some time; he hurt his foot and left them. He is believed to have gone to Bombay, from which place a letter has been received saying that he is starting for Mecca. He has been guilty of dacoity and murder and was also concerned in the robbery of the kist. The evidence of witnesses Nos. 45, 46, and 56 to 63 relate to these men. It is not improbable that information may yet be forthcoming against other persons which will bring them within the reach of the Mappila Act, and the Police and the Special Assistant Collector are continuing the inquiries. Over Rs. 1,000 in cash have been recovered and the persons concerned will be dealt with under the Penal Code. They are mostly the wives or relatives of the members of the gang.

38. It is impossible at present to make any recommendation as to the infliction of fines upon the amsams concerned until the inquiries are completed and it is known how much property will be recovered. I can only say that the conduct of the Hindu community as a class has been contemptible almost beyond belief. Not only did they make no attempt to protect their own property, but they absolutely declined to render assistance to the authorities, and even since the suppression of the outbreak have thwarted the inquiries. Able-bodied men, some of whom were in possession of arms, rushed into the jungle, climbed trees, and in some cases descended into wells leaving their wives and children and their property at the mercy of the gang. They provided food for the Mappilas and in one case a cow for the defilement of their own temple. Now they are only too ready to come forward with false and exaggerated claims to compensation. Damage, amounting to about Rs. 200, is magnified into 2,000 and one fraudulent coward, who bolted

from his house in the approved Nair fashion long before the gang arrived, has assessed his losses as follows:—Rs. 300, Rs. 15,000, Rs. 38,000, and finally Rs. 8,000 or 9,000. If the Mappila Act renders it a *sine qua non*, as I fear it does, that the fines should be devoted first to the compensation of such persons, I would almost recommend that no fines should be inflicted. At any rate the expediency of amending the Act so as to render it possible to fine both Hindus and Mappilas is worthy of consideration; but I propose to furnish a separate report later on as to measures to be taken for keeping the peace in future and I will not dwell upon this subject now.

39. The Mussad adhigari of Pandikkad and Teyunni Nair have left the country for a time. These two men are not in serious danger from their own neighbours, but their names have been so sedulously spread abroad by Unnian Haji as the authors of the mosque fire that it is the general opinion of Mappilas residing at a distance that they caused the fire and they are in great danger at the hands of strangers to the locality. They both informed me that they believed themselves to be perfectly safe, but the Mussad was unwilling to return to Pandikkad from Angadipuram even for a few days before going to Cochin, where he has relations, in order to settle up his private affairs, showing that his assertions as to his confidence of his safety were false. Teyunni Nair was not very willing to leave Nemmini, but he also left for Cochin on my informing him that I did not consider his life safe in Nemmini. I think there is reason to apprehend that the burning of the mosque will be made the excuse for future disturbances from time to time. The late outbreak has added very greatly to the danger. It is clear from the inquiries which have been made that every Mappila from Wandur on the north to Mannarghat on the south and from Malappuram and Manjeri on the west to the Ghâts on the east is not only aware that an outbreak has taken place, but also that the outbreak was an attempt to avenge the burning of the mosque which is supposed to have been committed by the Mussad and Teyunni Nair. It is not unlikely therefore that Unnian Haji's remark that outbreaks will occur as long as these men are at Pandikkad will prove true.

40. With the question of confiscations I propose to deal in a future report. Unnian Haji was bound over last year to keep the peace himself in Rs. 2,000 and two sureties in Rs. 2,000 each. It is open to question whether it is legal to recover the amounts of the bonds when he has not been convicted of any offence. I do not think at any rate that the bonds of the sureties who are respectable men belonging to the neighbourhood of Malappuram should be forfeited.

41. Mr. Knapp has been of the greatest assistance to me both during the outbreak and during the inquiry; in fact without his assistance it would have been quite impossible for me to have made such progress. He has taken between 150 and 200 statements and has traversed nearly every yard of the path taken by the gang. I have taken considerably over 100 statements myself. Many of them are unconnected with the facts dealt with in this report and I am only submitting copies of those which relate to the persons whose cases are dealt with in this report. Many have reference only to the recovery of property and the movements of the gang. A statement is enclosed showing how the depositions refer to each of the prisoners whose names appear in paragraph 14. Mr. Wilkinson, the Assistant Superintendent of Police, who arrived in the district the day after the outbreak commenced, has also worked exceedingly well throughout, and Police Inspectors Sweeny and Neill have been simply indefatigable. Mr. Wilkinson has already acquired a remarkable knowledge of his range and of the history of Mappila outbreaks. Mr. Sweeny is an old hand at the work and his knowledge has been invaluable. Mr. Neill also has done exceedingly good work and I trust that both these officers may obtain some promotion as a reward for their exertions.

42. I enclose a copy of a report furnished by Dr. Carruthers on the wounds of the soldiers and the prisoners. The soldiers are doing well. The two men injured by bullets are in hospital still, but the wound of one has healed and the other is progressing satisfactorily. It will be observed that Dr. Carruthers considers that the Mappilas were under the influence of datura when they made their charge.

43. I forward also a map showing the movements of the gang.

From the same Officer, dated Calicut, 22nd May 1894, No. 446/M. Gl.

In continuation of my letter, dated 16th May 1894, No. 438/M. Gl., I have the honour to enclose a translation of a petition received by me from the prisoner Kunholan and of my endorsement upon it. It will be seen that the man even now gives a misleading account of the document registered by him on the 1st and 2nd of April.

2. The description given in the petition of what occurred in the munsif's court on the 4th April seems to support my opinion that the munsif scarcely sat at all on that day, but closed his court as soon as the rumour that the gang was coming to the Angadipuram temple reached him. Kunholan has evidently forgotten that in his former statement he asserted that he left the court at noon.

ENCLOSURES.

PETITION of K. KUNHOLAN, a remand prisoner under Act No. XX, in the Coimbatore Jail, to the District Magistrate of Malabar, dated 17th May 1894.

Some senseless and illiterate Mappilas of Vellangad, Pandikkad amsam, committed dacoity, and, when they found that their crimes will be proved and that they will be apprehended, they took refuge in some forest tracts and perpetrated some more violent and cruel acts; while some others, with an evil intention of misappropriating the booty, joined them also in their adventure. Then your honour marched a regiment and surprised them in Pallikurup temple where they had taken shelter and where they were shot. I am not at all acquainted with the origin of the dacoity. I hold God as my witness and say that I am innocent. On Wednesday (March 28th) I left my amsam for Angadipuram to conduct a case on behalf of my brother; that case was postponed for hearing to the 4th April. After that I stayed at Mullivrisi to arrange for a settlement of property, which the father (Kuriat Moidu Haji) of my nephew's wife intended to give her. This matter was settled and the deed was executed by the woman on Sunday, the 1st April, and registered from the house. On the 2nd, i.e., on Monday, when that woman's father, Moidu Haji, and myself were going to registrar's office with certain deed for registration in connection with the same matter, we met the police inspector who was on his way to Pandikkad. On an inquiry we learnt that on the previous night a small temple at Pandikkad had been set on fire by some unknown persons. We did not seriously inquire about the occurrence, as the persons who committed the offence were still unknown. We both returned to my sister's house after the registration of the deeds. The 3rd April was spent by us in settling the exchange of the property mentioned in the deed. On the following day, i.e., on the 4th, on my way to the court to conduct the case on behalf of my brother, I heard that the persons, who set fire to the temple, were Mappilas who have risen in arms and have gone to Mundakyapetta and that they are expected to come into the Tirumandamkundu temple situated near the munsif's court. I at once ran to the munsif's court and, in order that the munsif may be apprised of the fact, gave Vakil Narayan Pattar and others an account of what I had heard. When the munsif learnt of it, he postponed the cases and at once dismissed the court. After that, when I was going home, thinking to come to your honour, I heard from the wayfarers that the rioters had got into the Ambaliriumkundu. As the temple belonged to my janmi and his house was close by I ran to his place and made arrangements for guarding his house and I tried to collect men to surround the rioters. In the meantime I became quite exhausted by running. I poured some water over me, after which I inquired and found that the rioters had left the place and had talked to Arakaparamba adhigari and others. It was then that a constable came to me saying that your honour wanted me at Pandikkad. On my way to Pandikkad I met your honour and I was sent to Angadipuram. I am put to this grievance as there was no occasion for your honour to know me. The Ponnani-Malappuram Valiya Tungal, Pensioned Inspector Khan Bahadur Ahmed Gurikkal, Hindus, such as Pandikkad Valiya Mussad, Melattur Appadura Pattar of my neighbouring amsam, will speak regarding my state if questioned. I pray that this inquiry may be made at once and I may be released. I am fed on ragi here which does not suit me at all, therefore I drink water and I speak to God by means of prayers about it and to your honour by means of this petition. When I saw in the Angadipuram jail certain remand prisoners, the relations of the deceased Mappila rioters, I had occasion to talk to them with a view to see if discovery can be had of the property concerned in the dacoity. I believe that the property will be recovered from the rioters' relations. I have to talk to your honour regarding that information. It will be for the good of Government. I therefore respectfully pray that I may be ordered to appear before your honour.

Petitioner will be informed that the District Magistrate has obtained a copy of the deed registered on the 1st and 2nd April and has found that it is a mortgage for Rs. 800 of the petitioner's land, so that the account of it given in the petition is not true. If petitioner has any

information to give regarding the property stolen in the dacoity he can do it as easily by letter as by word of mouth. There is therefore no necessity for him to appear in Calicut.

22nd May 1894.

(Signed) H. BRADLEY,
Ag. District Magistrate.

From the same Officer, dated Calicut, 24th May 1894, Dis. No. 462 M/Gl.

I have the honour to forward, in continuation of my letter, dated 16th May 1894, No. 438 M/Gl., a copy of a report from the Special Assistant Magistrate, dated 16th May 1894, Ref. on No. 6/Tour-Magl. of 1894, dealing with the conduct of Erathali Haji, adhigari of Arakaparamba, during the recent outbreak.

2. When I was making inquiries in the amsam immediately after the outbreak, I came to the conclusion that the adhigari had done nothing worse than exert himself to prevent the gang from entering his amsam, the inhabitants of which he hoped to save from fines. The Special Assistant Magistrate, however, has come to a different conclusion as the result of his subsequent inquiries. He found it necessary to move the adhigari from the amsam in order to obtain information regarding his conduct, and he is now under surveillance in Calicut.

3. He appears to be a man of considerable influence in the neighbourhood of his amsam and he is nearly related to Unnian Haji and his brother, though, according to his own account, he has quarrelled with them recently regarding a civil suit. The Hindus affect to be very much afraid of him and I have no doubt that, if he returns to his village, he will require very careful watching. If he should return I thought it better that he should not have been arrested, and hence I have merely kept him in Calicut.

4. I have had his movements carefully watched in Calicut and I find that he spends most of his time in mosques. He lives in anything but a respectable quarter of the town and his associates are not respectable persons. Several of them belong to families, some of the members of which have been deported in connection with previous outbreaks. This may be a mere coincidence, and I do not regard this fact with any degree of suspicion, but it goes to show that he is not on account of his influence and position likely to keep aloof from bad company.

5. It will be observed that Kunholan states in the petition, a translation of which was forwarded with my letter, dated 22nd May 1894, No. 446 M/Gl., that he "heard" that the Arakaparamba adhigari had had conversation with the gang.

6. The Special Assistant Magistrate and the taluk authorities are strongly of opinion that the man's removal is necessary for the peace of the district, and I concur with them. Binding him over to keep the peace will not be of the slightest use, and the alternative lies, I think, between setting him free and keeping him on as adhigari, in which capacity we have some control over him, or removing him altogether from the district. Any leniency is sure to be interpreted as weakness. There is no objection I think to allowing him to retain his liberty provided he lives out of India.

ENCLOSURE.

From A. R. KNAPP, Esq., Acting Special Assistant Collector and Magistrate, Malabar, to the District Magistrate of Malabar, dated Camp Alanallur, 16th May 1894, Ref. on No. 6 Tour-Magl. of 1894.

I have the honour to report to you certain facts in connection with the conduct of Erathali Haji, adhigari of Arakaparamba amsam, which have come to light during my inquiry into the recent Mappila outbreak.

2. You are aware that the fanatics, while on their way from Nemmini to Mannarghat, turned off the main path from Kappil and struck north and east, thus skirting the borders of Arakaparamba amsam. It was from the first no secret that this detour, which was apparently objectless, was due to the efforts of the Arakaparamba adhigari in keeping the gang out of his amsam. Until I arrived at Arakaparamba I was inclined to believe that Erathali's action had been praiseworthy. I found, however, among all classes in the amsam a very general impression

that Erathali had been acting in concert with the fanatics, and among the Mappilas an idea that, though his sympathy and co-operation with the gang must be known to the authorities, yet his position and influence were sufficient to prevent his being punished. Moreover, I found it impossible in Arakaparamba to get any evidence concerning the fanatics even on the most trivial points. Attributing this difficulty in obtaining evidence to the influence of Erathali and considering the impression of the Mappilas to be one which it would be most dangerous to leave undisturbed, I made the adhigari accompany me to Malappuram.

3. The charges which are now made against Erathali are that he communicated with the fanatics, persuaded them to avoid his amsam and take a route which he pointed out and supplied them with food. By so doing he not only showed his sympathy with them, but encouraged them to resist arrest and further prevented their early destruction by the troops and gave them an opportunity to commit one murder and break into five houses.

4. On the 4th of April the fanatics reached the Tiruvalapetta temple. On descending from it they made for the Kappil mosque. On the way there they were met by the adhigari and a crowd of men. The adhigari took aside and spoke to Aliyi Haji and Ahamad Haji, the leaders of the gang, and persuaded the fanatics not to enter the Kappil mosque as it was likely that they would remain and be destroyed there. As a sympathiser he had, perhaps, no reason for wishing them to escape martyrdom. The effect of his recommendation was nevertheless most serious. Had the men stayed at Kappil the troops could have surrounded them before evening.

5. Having agreed to the adhigari's proposal, the fanatics proceeded along the old road which leads to Mannarghat through Arakaparamba. Here again they were stopped and by some arguments, of the nature of which we have no direct evidence, they were induced to turn north. In their way they crossed the public road, skirting Arakaparamba amsam, but not entering it. After a time they had to turn east along an unfrequented path which took them straight to Umanath kalom. This kalom is in Tiruvazhamkunnur, but is situated within twenty yards of the boundary of Arakaparamba. The fanatics spent the night in the kalom, leaving it next morning and joining the public road to Mannarghat at a point just beyond the eastern boundary of Arakaparamba. The detours thus made entailed upon them a journey of four or five miles more than would have been necessary if they had gone by their original route to Mannarghat. They were carrying out no preconceived plan in going to the Umanath kalom; in fact they probably had no knowledge of its existence. The only possible explanation of their action lies on the supposition, which is supported by evidence, that the circuit was made at Erathali's suggestion. The kalom was not harmed in any way by the gang; nothing was stolen beyond a little rice and a few fowls required for food. It is plain, therefore, that there was no private enmity and no prospect of loot to induce the fanatics to leave their original route.

6. I now turn to the conduct of the adhigari. From the Kappil mosque to the main road he and his men followed the fanatics. On reaching the road Erathali, according to his own statement, returned to the Alanallur police station. His men tracked the gang as far as the Palakayi river, whence they too returned to Alanallur, simply reporting that the gang had gone north. Arrived at Alanallur the adhigari purchased a large quantity of jaggery and sugar. He took this with him and started off with his men straight for the Umanath kalom. Now, if the fanatics had really been going north, they would not have come to the kalom at all. The only conclusion to which I arrive, after a personal inspection of the country, is that Erathali, when he left the Alanallur police station, knew exactly where he would find the gang. This is amply borne out by the fact mentioned by one of Erathali's men that the adhigari and the fanatics reached the kalom at the same time. The adhigari is unable to explain away this fact. He would attribute the meeting to accident. It is, however, impossible to suppose that the arrival of the fanatics at the kalom was accidental. The evidence of the witnesses shows that the path followed by the gang was one which they could not have found unassisted. There was only one man among them who had any local knowledge—the Mollah of Vettatur. It is not likely that he would have known this unfrequented path, at some distance from his own amsam, and it is almost impossible that he would accidentally have chosen, as a resting place, a spot which fulfilled so admirably the condition which had already been insisted on by Erathali in the conference at Kappil, namely that it should be situated outside Arakaparamba amsam. I find that the residents in Arakaparamba cannot say in which amsam Umanath kalom is situated except the village officers and the owner of the place. No one else would have accurate knowledge on the point.

7. These considerations seem to me to lead to an irresistible conclusion that, when the fanatics left Kappil, Erathali was not only aware that they would go to the kalom, but had proposed their doing so and had given the necessary directions about their route. As for the jaggery and sugar, the general impression is that it was bought for the fanatics. This idea is corroborated by the statement of the wounded boy, Mammad. The adhigari says that he bought the articles for his own men, when they all started out to watch the fanatics. Probabilities are, however, against Erathali on this point. The amount of sugar purchased is far more than Erathali himself would require; it is much more likely that it was intended for the leaders of the gang. It is, of course, impossible to obtain direct evidence on this point as the whole transaction was witnessed only by the adhigari's dependants.

8. Erathali and his men spent the night in a house near the Umanath kalom with the professed intention of watching the fanatics. No attempt was, however, made to watch them.

Erathali's report written in the morning of 5th April simply states that he left the kalom unseen in the night, probably about 2 A.M. As a matter of fact they left about dawn, some of them visiting a Mappila house in the neighbourhood and getting chewing materials. It is apparent that, even if the fanatics had escaped unseen by the adhigari and his men, the most casual inquiry in the neighbourhood would have enabled Erathali to report correctly the time at which they left. There can, however, be no reasonable doubt that he was well aware that the gang left at dawn. I am forced to believe that he deliberately made a false report. At about 5 A.M., on that day, the troops had reached Melattur. Had a report been sent there by the adhigari, stating the time at which the gang had left the kalom, the troops could have moved along the road by Alanallur. By the time the fanatics rejoined the road they would have been only about five miles in advance of the military. This proximity of their pursuers would have seriously interfered with the movements of the gang. They would have been unable to halt for any length of time to loot, to pray, or to cook. By reporting that the gang had left at 2 A.M. and had got a considerable start, Erathali naturally made it appear that immediate pursuit was useless. Practically what Erathali did was to protect the gang until they had reached the road on which they would have been travelling but for his interference. I cannot help thinking that this protection was promised in his original conference with the Hajis at Kappil.

9. The other reports sent by Erathali are equally suspicious. At 6 A.M., on the 5th April, the Stationary Magistrate of Walavanad received a report announcing that the gang had entered the kalom. This report purported to have been written at 6 P.M. on the 4th. Another report said to have been written at midnight also reached the sub-magistrate at 6 A.M., while the last report, stating that the gang had left the kalom at 2 A.M., was only received by the magistrate at 7 A.M. after he had himself visited the kalom and found the fanatics gone. The magistrate was staying within about three miles of the spot where the gang passed the night and there was no difficulty in reaching him. I am constrained to believe that Erathali throughout antedated his letters. Whether this is so or not the fact remains that he failed to convey to the magistrate information, which, if promptly communicated, would have undoubtedly led to the destruction of the gang at the kalom at daybreak on the 5th of April.

10. The explanation of Erathali's conduct appears to be this. He must have sympathized heartily with the outbreak and been aware of the plans of the fanatics. As a close relative of Kunholan and Unnian Haji it is only natural that he should have done so. At the same time he was anxious to keep himself free from suspicion. He therefore adopted this plan of sending in reports which he knew to be either misleading or useless. The real feelings which actuated him are sufficiently shown by the fact that, as soon as he found that the gang had safely reached Arakurissi, he declined to follow them further, giving out that it was the business of the local officials to take up the pursuit. I need hardly point out that, even as a private person, he was bound to render all possible assistance to the authorities; as an adhigari the obligation on him was still stronger.

11. Erathali contents himself with a simple denial of all communications with the fanatics. It is established beyond doubt that he did have an interview with them at Kappil. The fact that he denies it merely raises a reasonable suspicion that it was for no good purpose that he met and spoke to them.

12. Under all these circumstances I venture strongly to recommend that Erathali should be punished for his complicity and for the assistance which he gave to the fanatics. There is a very large number of Mappilas who were in active sympathy with the outbreak and who received money from, and gave food to, the would-be sahids during their progress through the amsams. It is quite impossible that each of these men should be punished. I would suggest, however, that this man, by far the most important and influential of the offenders of this class, may justly be punished as an example to the rest.

13. If you consider that mere sympathy in a private individual is not an offence under the Mappila Act, I beg to point out that, as an adhigari, Erathali is certainly guilty. In this connection I should like to call attention to what appears to have been exactly a similar case. In paragraph 26 of the Extract from the Minutes of Consultation, dated 25th April 1856, the Government deals with the evidence against one Seyed, the headman of Melattur, in connection with the outbreak in which Mr. Conolly was murdered. The order says with regard to the headman: "It is clear from his own admission and from other evidence that he obtained information of their (fanatics') proceedings, which, if he acted upon promptly and communicated to the tahsildar, would have probably led to their apprehension. Such culpable neglect of duty and collusion with offenders make him as a proper person to be retained amongst the number of those who are to be removed from the district under the Act." I venture to think that Erathali's conduct makes him liable to the same punishment. Men have been deported on former occasions on far slighter evidence of complicity with fanatics.

14. Finally there is one other point of view from which Erathali's case may be looked at. After his conduct on this occasion it is, of course, impossible that he should remain an adhigari. It was found in the recent outbreak that most of the Mappila adhigaris were negligent in giving assistance, some of them, notably the adhigari of Wandur, almost criminally so. The other men can be punished by suspension or dismissal. Erathali's case is different. He is a most influential man. Two of his near relatives, Unnian Haji and Kunholan, have been arrested and removed. He has himself been placed under surveillance. His return unpunished to

the amsam will, I am convinced, be a source of great and serious danger to the peace of the taluk. If he is to return, it would be of course safer to retain him as adhigari as that would give the authorities some small hold over him. Such a step would, however, merely have the effect of bringing the whole administration of the taluk into contempt with the Mappilas. On the other hand if he is dismissed, we shall be letting loose among a wild and ignorant community of Mappilas a man who will be thirsting for revenge and who is only too likely to follow in the steps of his relatives, Kunholan and Unnian Haji. I may remark that the Angadipuram Tangal, who sufficiently showed his loyalty in the late outbreak, mentions these three men together as the most dangerous characters in the district. The feeling of the Hindus is in favour of letting him off. The Meetani Nambudri, his greatest enemy, has pleaded for him, but the reason of this strange conduct is simply that the Hindus believe that, if Erathali is touched, the Mappilas of the amsam will rise in arms to avenge him. This is, to my mind, only an additional argument in favour of removing him, as the same Mappilas, who would rise to avenge him, will be at his disposal if he returns. I, therefore, most strongly suggest that Erathali should be removed from the district. If his complicity with the fanatics or his culpable remissness as adhigari do not give sufficient grounds for so treating him, I would even recommend for consideration the advisability of removing him under Regulation II of 1819 as a person whose presence is dangerous to the peace of the district. I am convinced that his presence is dangerous. My conclusion is based not only on what I have seen and heard of him, but also on the opinion of the revenue, magisterial and police officials of the taluk and also of private persons.

15. I enclose copies of the depositions which have reference to Erathali. For the sake of clearness I have marked the passages which bear on his conduct. Some of the depositions were made before you.

From the same Officer, dated Calicut, 26th May 1894, No. 470 M/Gl.

In continuation of my report, dated 24th May 1894, No. 462 M/Gl., I have the honour to forward a copy of a petition from Erathali Haji, adhigari of Arakaparamba, setting forth his account of what occurred during the Mappila outbreak. Translations of the enclosures are also sent.

2. Before writing the above report I instructed one of my clerks to ask the man if he had any further representations to make and he replied in the negative, but yesterday evening he brought this petition.

ENCLOSURES.

To

H. BRADLEY, Esq.,
District Magistrate of Malabar.

THE humble petition of NADAKOLATHIL ERATHALI HAJI, Adhigari of Arakaparamba amsam, Walavanad taluk, dated 25th May 1894.

MOST RESPECTFULLY SHEWETH,

That, in obedience to the Special Assistant Magistrate's orders, petitioner appeared before the Deputy Magistrate of Calicut on 9th May 1894 and he has been ordered to present himself before him twice every day and sign his name, and that petitioner follows this order. That, on the 22nd instant, petitioner was informed that your honour has no objection to hear petitioner's grievances, if any, and petitioner therefore respectfully begs to submit the following for your honour's kind consideration and favorable orders.

That, on the 4th April last, petitioner received an order from the Walavanad Stationary Sub-Magistrate to proceed to Kuttikat kalom in Melattur amsam with no fewer than 100 men and weapons in order to watch the rioters then believed to be in Mundakyapetta house in Nemmini amsam. Accordingly petitioner at once started for the place with the men. Then he learnt that the rioters were in Ambalirumkundu temple in Vettatur amsam. Petitioner and his men therefore immediately repaired to that place, but no sooner the petitioner and his men reached there than had the rioters bolted away from there to the north after crossing Palakayi river. All these matters were reported to the stationary magistrate then and there (copy of the report enclosed) and information was also given to the Alanallur police. Immediately the petitioner and his men followed the rioters and receiving information that the rioters entered the house of one Umanath Nair in Tiruvazhamkundu amsam went there reaching the place at 5-30 P.M. and remained in the neighbouring houses watching the rioters. An emergent report was sent to the stationary magistrate asking him to come thither at once (copy of report enclosed). A yadast was also sent to Tiruvazhamkundu amsam adhigari, who thereupon came to the place with few men for assistance. Both petitioner and that adhigari further submitted a joint report in the matters at 12 o'clock in the night (copy of report enclosed). As the locality was jungly and as there was very heavy rain and terrible thunders which rendered the night exceedingly dark, the rioters effected their escape towards morning without having

been seen by any one of the men. The petitioner knowing this only in the morning, at once reported the fact to the stationary magistrate (copy of report enclosed) and started in search of the rioters with the men and the other adhigari. On the way petitioner and his men were joined by the stationary magistrate also. The magistrate, the petitioner, Tiruvazhamkundu adhigari and the men then went to Pallikurup temple where the rioters had been hiding. Your honour might see all these facts from the stationary magistrate's report to your honour. Petitioner and his men were with the stationary magistrate until the rioters were shot down and the outbreak quelled. That it was only, after your honour's orders, that petitioner and his men left the scene. These were the actions of petitioner in connection with the outbreak, from which your honour will see that petitioner made all possible endeavours for the safety of the country and Government.

Petitioner ventures to state that he and his family have all along borne a good character; that petitioner alone pays an assessment of Rs. 300 and odd besides that of his family; and that none of the members of his family has ever ventured against Government or has ever been involved in any criminal case up to date. It is about eight years since the post of adhigari was conferred on petitioner. It is owing to good character and reputation which the petitioner bears that enabled the petitioner to get the said post unsolicited, although the sanad-holder, who had a bad record against him, was then living and had tried in all courts to get the post without success. Up to date there has not been a single instance in which his superiors had to find fault with his duty, which, on the other hand, he has done to their satisfaction.

These facts petitioner humbly and respectfully begs leave to place before your honour for your honour's kind consideration and favorable orders. For which act of kindness and justice petitioner shall, as in duty bound, ever pray.

REPORT of ERATHALI HAJI, Adhigari of Arakaparamba, to the Stationary Magistrate of Walavanad, dated 4th April 1894.

I received the court's order written at 7-30 this morning at 10-30 stating that I should be present in Kuttikat kalom in Melattur with no less than 100 people with necessary arms as the court has received information to-day, the 4th April 1894, that about sixty Mappilas have got into Mundakyapetta in Kizhatur desam, Nemmini amsam. When I reached Vettatur with the men, I heard that thirty and odd people (Mappilas) had got into the Ambaliriumkundu temple in the amsam. Before I was able to arrest them they left the temple, got on the footpath running east to west and leading to Palakayi desam, crossed the Chavaltode above the Sirkar bridge and afterwards crossed the Palakayi river and went northwards. I and my men are following them to see whither they are going. The above is submitted. I shall report further on as to what I see. This information has been given to Alanallur police.

REPORT of the Arakaparamba Adhigari, to the Stationary Magistrate at 5-30 P.M. on 4th April 1894.

The rioters left the Chavaltode, crossed the Palakayi river and cut off the kudumi of a Tiyyan from the road in Edathanadkara desam. They went by Chulipura from there, went by the footpath eastwards and got in at Umanath Nair's pathayapura on the borders of Vettatur and Tiruvazhamkundu amsams, when I gave intimation at 5 P.M. to Tiruvazhamkundu adhigari. I and my men are staying to guard them. I submit this information, so that you may be on the spot immediately.

REPORT from the same Official at 10 P.M.

After the rioters got into the Umanath Nair's kalom the top-knot of a Tiyya, who was fencing, was cut. When we were guarding, Tiruvazhamkundu adhigari, with some persons, also joined at 9 P.M. The particulars we are able to gather hereafter shall be submitted.

JOINT REPORT of ERATHALI HAJI, Arakaparamba Adhigari, and KADER, Tiruvazhamkundu Adhigari, at 1 A.M. on 4th April 1894.

After the rioters got into Umanath Nair's kalom they cut the kudumi of a Tiyyan, who was putting up a fence, and let him off. We both stay near the kalom where the rioters live. We will report later on.

JOINT REPORT from the same Officials, dated 5th April 1894.

We have reported yester night on the 4th April at 12 P.M. that the rioters got into the Umanath Govindan Nair's kalom in Tiruvazhamkundu amsam. As the night was very dark and the place jungly, the rioters escaped without being perceived by our men. On inquiry we got information that they have gone eastwards. We are also following.

From the Acting District Magistrate of Malabar, dated Calicut, 5th June 1894, Dis. No. 514/Magl.

ABSTRACT.—Forwarding a map showing the movement of the gang.

Order—dated 20th June 1894, No. 1527, Judicial.

The correspondence read above will be referred to the Inspector-General of Police for an early expression of opinion and the District Magistrate will be requested to report what prosecutions have been instituted and with what result in each case. On the receipt of replies from the Inspector-General of Police and the District Magistrate, final orders will be passed.

(True Extract.)

(Signed) J. F. PRICE,
Chief Secretary.

To the Inspector-General of Police.
,, District Magistrate of Malabar.

READ—also the following papers:—

From H. BRADLEY, Esq., Acting District Magistrate, Malabar, to the Chief Secretary to Government, dated Calicut, 6th June 1894, Dis. No. 514/M.Gl.

With reference to paragraph 38 of my letter, dated 16th May 1894, No. 438/M. Gl. (Confidential), I have the honour to submit the following general remarks regarding the recent Mappila outbreak with a view to the prevention of future outbreaks and their suppression, if outbreaks should occur.

2. One of the most important matters which struck me on joining the troops was the exceedingly meagre supply of medicines and hospital accessories brought out with them. The whole equipment, including drugs, was comprised in a small box about half the size of one-dozen case, or even less, which I understand it was in contemplation, when the outbreak occurred, to return to the Medical Stores, and I believe that it was by the merest accident that it was not returned. The quantity of chloroform, for instance, was so small that Dr. Carruthers was afraid to administer it to the first man wounded for the removal of a bullet from his thigh lest it should be required for a more serious case. As the Government is aware I applied for a pair of field panniers, which were supplied and are now in Malapuram. If another pair is supplied to the Calicut detachment and the drugs in both pairs are kept fresh, there will be nothing to fear in this connection.

3. The transport appeared to be weak, mainly because it was so difficult to get carts to supplement it with. The people in the neighbourhood of the disturbed area removed the lynch-pins from their carts and drove their cattle into the jungles. The elephants, both those belonging to the Commissariat and to the Forest departments, were of the greatest help, especially when we had to go across country, away from the roads. I cannot think what we should have done without them.

4. The howitzer kept at Malapuram, I write with diffidence on the subject, appears to be by no means an effective weapon. It was not until the fifth round that I believe that it hit the mark—a temple at a distance of about 120 yards, and I do not think it is the least use against the strongly built temples and houses in this part of the country. All the three buildings which the Mappilas occupied during the day on the 3rd, 4th and 5th of April—the Mangalasseri Nambudri's illam, the Tiruvalapetta temple and the Pallikurup temple—were very strong positions and

I doubt whether the troops would have been able to drive them out of any of them with the howitzer. I therefore venture to recommend that the Military department should be asked to supply a more efficient weapon.

5. One of the greatest dangers in the country is the existence of numerous strongly built temples and Nair and Nambudri houses in naturally strong positions surrounded with thick belts of trees. The Mappilas have learnt to look for these, and, once in them, they can fire on the troops from a place of safety, while the troops cannot see them although exposed to view themselves. In the present case the Mappilas occupied three such buildings, and at the last one the troops were firing into the windows of the temple, while the Mappilas were sitting in comparative safety in the roof. I do not think there would be any great difficulty in getting every jenmi and temple owner in the parts of the Ernād and Walavanad taluks, which have hitherto been the scene of outbreaks, to cut down the trees within, say, 200 yards of the buildings. This will enable the buildings to be properly seen and will make it much more difficult for Mappilas to find a place suited for their final stand. I think that the Tahsildars should be instructed to make lists of all such buildings as are capable of being defended in the way now usual, to direct the owners to keep a belt clear of trees for, say, 200 yards all round them and to call upon them to supply accurate plans of the buildings. These plans should be in duplicate, one copy being kept at the nearest police station, and the other at the taluk head-quarters. A plan of the Pallikurup temple would have been of the greatest advantage to us.

6. I found that there was no proper apparatus for signalling at Malapuram. There are, I believe, a couple of heliostats, but they are worn out and useless. I do not think that we should be entirely dependent upon the telegraph line. I would also recommend the extension of the telegraph line to Angadipuram about 13 miles from Malapuram, where a combined post and telegraph office might be opened. The line would be inexpensive to construct, and, though it may not pay, it would be of great advantage upon an emergency like the recent outbreak.

7. In the present instance the Hindus showed the most contemptible cowardice, both during and after the outbreak. No information of any value was obtainable from them while we were in pursuit of the gang, though now and then Mappilas assisted us. After the outbreak was suppressed, the Hindus still showed the greatest reluctance to come forward, and, while the Mappilas assisted us, the Hindus were frequently obstructive. At least one man could be convicted of murder if a few Hindus would give evidence of what they saw, and most of the men who fled from their houses to the jungle before the approach of the gang did not return until after they heard of the destruction of the Mappilas. Then they were only too ready to put in exaggerated, and, in some cases, probably false claims for compensation.

8. I have no doubt that several thefts, which have been ascribed to the gang which committed the outbreak, were really committed by others, for who can possibly expect the poorer classes to refrain from helping themselves out of a deserted house. In fact, it is perfectly impossible for the authorities, upon an occasion of this kind, to help the Hindus if they give no assistance to the officials and decline to help themselves. Not unfrequently in former outbreaks Hindus have been almost as guilty as Mappilas. Even in the present case some of the outrages were ordinary agrarian crimes due to oppression on the part of landlords. My argument then is that Hindus are not always free from guilt in the matter of an outbreak, and I would recommend that the Mappila Act should be amended so as to enable Government to inflict fines upon the Hindus as well as the Mappilas of any amsam or desam—

- (1) When the outbreak is traceable to oppression on the part of the Hindus.
- (2) When the Hindus have failed to give reasonable assistance to the authorities both in suppressing the outbreak and in investigating its causes. No doubt the innocent will suffer with the guilty, but I cannot see why Mappilas only should suffer in this way.

9. There are two other points in which the Mappila Act might, I think, be amended with advantage. The latter portion of section 9 should be made permissive and not compulsory, and it should be a standing rule that no compensation whatever should be paid to persons who fail to assist the authorities, or who put in false claims for compensation. I would also add a proviso to the clauses under which fines are imposed in section 9 to the effect that if after the occurrence of an outrage in any amsam the Mappila villagers combine and arrest the gang, no fine shall be imposed upon the amsam, and an additional clause should be inserted that no prosecution or suit shall lie against any villager for any injury, even extending to the causing of death, to any member of the gang. This suggestion is made because I am satisfied that the Mappila inhabitants of almost any of the villages traversed by the gang could have arrested them. They did not do so partly because they sympathized in some measure with the "sahids," and partly because they were afraid of getting into trouble if any one should be killed.

10. With a view to obtaining the views of the leading members of the Mappila community, I addressed the Himayathul Islam Sabha asking them to discuss the recent outbreak and to give me their views as to the best means of preventing outbreaks in future. The Sabha is a Calicut institution which is doing good work among the Mappila poor and has a meeting house of its own where it discusses questions relating to the Mappila community. Some of the members had informed me that they would take steps for the translation of the essential parts of the Quran into Malayalam. But their resolutions, translations of which are enclosed, merely refer to certain opinions given by the kazis of Calicut and make no mention of the translation of the Quran. For myself I do not believe that any rapid progress will be made with Mappila education until the Mappilas can read the Quran in their own language. Now the greater part of their education consists in learning to read the Quran in Arabic. They do not learn a word of that language, but they master the alphabet and read parrotwise without understanding a word of the meaning. More than half the time given up to a Mappila boy's education is wasted in this way, and the whole of their knowledge of their religion is traditional. Could anything be worse in a fanatical people? Until, therefore, the Mappila community can get over its objection to the translation of the Quran, improvement in their education must be slow, as so much time is wasted. As soon as a translation is accepted, a Mappila will be able to learn his religious book, and to get on with his general education at once. The present Quran reading, except to the few who learn the Arabic language, is sheer waste of time.

11. With regard to Mappila education generally, I venture to recommend that they should be treated as a backward class at least in the chief Mappila taluks, if not in the whole district. I am aware that in G.O., dated 12th May 1894, No. 864 L, Mr. Marsden's proposal to treat Malabar as a backward locality for Mappila schools was rejected, but I do not see why under rule 25 (ii) of the Grant-in-Aid Code they should not be treated as a backward class in certain localities.

12. It will be seen that the Mappila Sabha attributes outbreaks to agrarian causes, and I do not think they are far wrong. Mr. Logan was distinctly of this opinion, and even in the present case, where there was a religious origin also, there were distinct traces of agrarian discontent. The Sabha therefore proposes—

- (1) a special commission to investigate the cause of the outbreak;
- (2) the opening of a boarding school in each of the two taluks—Walavanad and Ernād—for Mappilas;
- (3) an enactment to punish both Hindus and Mappilas in case of an outbreak;
- (4) that all Government appointments should be given neither to Hindus nor Muhammadans in the two taluks;

The first suggestion is unnecessary now as nothing reliable relating to the late outbreak would be forthcoming. The second is, I fear, impracticable; the third I have already recommended in a modified form and the last is impossible, as sufficient Malayali knowing christians could not be obtained. The Sabha also suggests that the opinions of the kazis, translations of which are enclosed, should

be printed at its cost and distributed in the taluks, and requests the sanction of Government to this being done, which, I think, may be granted.

13. The Government is aware that Mappila converts who have reverted from the Muhammadan faith have been in times past a very fertile source of trouble in this district. I beg to recommend that power be given to the District Magistrate to transfer such persons from one part of the district to another, or to direct them not to live in a particular locality. There are many such persons in the district. They join the Mappila faith for temporary reasons, such as the desire to marry a Mappila wife or husband, to improve their position, if Cherumars, because they are told they will recover from some disease from which they are suffering, &c. They can be made Mappilas in a couple of minutes by any one; no ceremony is necessary, and circumcision can be postponed. The Mappilas consider it very meritorious to make converts, and once a Mappila always a Mappila is their view. In times of excitement no one who has reverted from the Mappila faith is safe, and it is very advisable that the District Magistrate should have power to move such persons from dangerous localities. Persuasion is perfectly useless. In a case that came before me a few days ago, a Cherumar woman, who had been a Mappila some years ago, received a friendly warning from the Mappilas of her village and was so frightened that she immediately went away and selected Pommundam of all places, the scene of the outbreak of 1885, to live in. A rich Nair of Pudiayangadi provided protection for her and her husband while the Sub-Magistrate was inquiring into the case of which he had received anonymous information. The Sub-Magistrate asked for instructions. I gave the man and woman the following alternatives:—

(1) That she should live in her village as a Mappila; (2) that she should go to native Cochin; (3) that she should accept employment under the Wynaad Taluk Board. She at first elected to go to Cochin, but then declined to do so, and the Nair has found accommodation for her just outside the police station and cutcherry at Pudiayangadi. She then petitioned to be allowed to return to her village. She is really under police protection, but it is absolutely impossible to provide in this way for all the apostates from the Muhammadan faith in the district.

14. An increase of stringency in the rules as to the sale of ammunition and guns also is, I think, necessary. Under the present system a licensee can, with impunity, sell ammunition to any one. He only needs two or three friendly licensees to whom he can attribute all his sales to unlicensed persons. I have not the least doubt that this is constantly done, and in the Angadipuram case last March something of the kind was done. I am cancelling the license of this shopkeeper on this ground. The only suggestions which I can make are that ammunition shops shall be only at the head-quarters of Sub-Magistrates, and that no one should be allowed to make a purchase of ammunition without the written permission of the Sub-Magistrate endorsed upon a stamped application showing the quantity proposed to be purchased. The Sub-Magistrate's endorsement would be returned by the licensed dealer for record in the Sub-Magistrate's office, and the dealer's books would be checked with the applications. The Sub-Magistrate would insist upon the production of the license before allowing the purchase of ammunition. There is no necessity to allow guns to be manufactured at all, and gunsmiths licensed to repair guns should only do so under similar precautions. There have been cases of importing ammunition from Mahé, and one was convicted only recently. I request that applications from the Mahé shopkeepers may be carefully scrutinized and cut down if they are obviously in excess of the French requirements. Mr. Knapp suggests the establishment of a State monopoly in the sale of ammunition; something is needed to prevent a licensed dealer from selling to unlicensed persons with impunity.

15. There are, I am sure, many unlicensed guns in the district. Several were found with the dead Mappilas. I would suggest the introduction of a system of rewards for convictions for possessing arms or going armed without a license.

16. With the sanction of Government I propose to cancel the gun license of every Mappila living in any of the amsams traversed by the men concerned in the

outbreak and of every Hindu who allowed his gun to be taken away by the gang. This will be an additional punishment to the Mappilas and one which I think they will feel very severely, and I would recommend that it should be an understood thing that this should always be done. There are a very few men who rendered notable assistance to the authorities whose licenses I should renew at once.

17. I do not, however, believe that any precautions will prevent outbreaks as long as the present tenancy system exists. Something in the nature of a tenancy law which shall give permanent rights to old tenants, shall abolish the melcharth and substitute a fair annual rent for the terribly oppressive exactions made every twelve years under the name of renewal fees, is absolutely necessary. It will be more than ever necessary after the introduction of the new settlement, as the landlords themselves say that any increase in assessment will fall on the tenants, who will no doubt obtain no benefit, where the levelling of rates results in a decrease. It is a notable fact that recent leases impose the burden of paying any increase that may be imposed by the new settlement rates upon the tenants. Should any enactment be passed for the benefit of the tenants, something in the nature of a land court to fix rents will be required. The present compensation for improvements Act is practically of little use. The number of ejectment suits has not decreased under it, and one of the chief native judicial officers in the district recently told me that they had largely increased and would continue to do so, as the jenmis are afraid to allow their tenants to improve their holdings on account of the compensation that will have to be paid.

18. Another suggestion has been made to me, namely, that it is possible to keep the Mappilas quiet by selecting a certain number of their leading men in each amsam and taking from them agreements in writing to keep their co-religionists quiet and to report the occurrence of any preparations for an outbreak to the authorities. This method might be tried if outbreaks again become frequent. I do not recommend it at present, because I do not see how the selected Mappilas could be punished for failing to give timely information in the absence of a special enactment, or unless they were compelled to sign bonds binding themselves in specific penalties to give information. They would not willingly enter into any such agreements.

ENCLOSURES.

From MUTHU KOYA TANGAL, President of Himayathul Islam Sabha of Calicut, to the District Magistrate of Malabar.

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter, Reference on C. No. 1334/M. of 1894, dated 22nd April last, requesting me to consider at the said Sabha meeting the recent Mappila outbreak in Ernad and Walavanad taluks and the best method of preventing such occurrences in future and to communicate the result to you.

2. I beg to enclose copy of a notice issued on the subject to the members of the Sabha and to other leading members and others of the Mappila community. A copy of the proceedings of a meeting held at the said Sabha office on the 20th May, pursuant to the above notice, is also enclosed.

3. Copies of two fathwas (decisions) referred to in paragraph 2 of the said proceedings are also submitted herewith. If you concur in the opinion expressed in the proceedings that the said fathwa should be printed and published, I request that the sanction of Government may be obtained for the purpose.

PROCEEDINGS of a general meeting held at the office of the Himayathul Islam Sabha of Calicut at 7 P.M. on Sunday, the 20th May 1894, to consider the recent Mappila outbreak in Ernad and Walavanad taluks, and the best method of preventing such occurrences in future, and to communicate the result to the District Magistrate of Malabar in pursuance of his letter, Reference on C. No. 1334-M of 1894, dated 22nd April last.

PRESENT:

1. Puthiya Malikakkal Sayid Hussan Jeeferi Muthu Koya Tungal (President).
2. Valiya Veetil Imbichi Muhammad Avergal (Secretary).

3. Malikakkal Kunjammad Avergal (Treasurer).
4. Sayid Baraminda Akath Ahamed Barami Avergal.
5. Mussapla Akath Mulla Koya Tangal (Kazi of Calicut.)
6. Thoppilakath Koyoth Haji Avergal (Khan Sahib), District Board Member and Municipal Councillor.
7. Malikakkal Koyassan Koya Haji Avergal.
8. Sayid Baraminda Akath Ummer Barami Avergal.
9. Puthiyangadi Mulla Koya Tangal (Honorary Magistrate).
10. Makranam Veetil Moidin Koya Haji Avergal.
11. Cheekilotan Ahamed Kutti Haji Avergal.
12. Puthiya Malikakkal Saiyidali Kutti Avergal, of Tanur.
13. Palli Veetal Ahai Kunhi Avergal and others, numbering not less than 600.

I. Read the following letter from the District Magistrate.

* * * * *

II. Read fathwas and letter sent respectively by Mussapla Akath Mulla Koya Kathiyar Tangal and Palli Veetil Muhammad Haji Kathiyar on the subject.

III. As the subject of the District Magistrate's letter is one of very great importance, it is necessary to give mature consideration thereto. The matter accordingly received serious consideration at the meeting, and was regularly discussed. The meeting records the views of the Sabha as follows:—

(1) Our scriptures do not permit of the commission of outbreaks such as the one recently committed by the Mappilas in Ernad and Walavanad taluks, and it is therefore opposed to our religious principles to perpetrate such offences. This view of the meeting is strengthened by the two futhwas (opinions) furnished by the said two kazis at the instance of the Sabha and now read before it, containing expositions on the subject in various parts of the works written by the learned ulmas.

(2) The next point in the letter requiring consideration is as to the best method of preventing such occurrences in future. This is a very serious matter on which the meeting regrets its inability to give a definite opinion. Moreover, as we are residing at a distance from the scenes of such offences, we find it difficult to discover some specific which will be effectual in preventing a future attack of such maladies. But after a long consideration of the matter we express the following humble opinion.

(3) While the commission of such outbreaks is diametrically opposed to our scriptures as already stated above, it is a mistake to associate with religion such an occurrence which entails serious misery on many and more particularly on the families of the perpetrators. It is of primary importance to know the causes of such outbreaks before arriving at a definite conclusion as to the methods of preventing such occurrences in future.

In spite of the remedial measures taken by Government in the shape of the introduction of the Mappila Act and the punitive force, it is to be regretted that they have not produced the desired effect.

(4) The Mappilas of the said two taluks differ in various respects from those of other taluks. In short, the advantages of civilization now widely enjoyed are not at all shared in by the Mappilas of the said two taluks. When they find anything done contrary to their wishes by the members of other castes, they will do anything and everything like a set of Negroes who are not at all civilized.

(5) Most of the Hindus of these two taluks are influential men and jenmis, while a majority of the Mappilas are their tenants and dependents in straitened circumstances. The acts of the Mappilas, such as slaughtering cows and buffaloes, constructing mosques, receiving converts to their religion, which are deemed by them to be meritorious, prove repugnant to the feelings and religious principles of the Hindus. But the Hindus, finding that they cannot bring matters to their taste under the principles of justice administered by the British Government which governs its subjects with equity and affection, and without any distinction of caste or creed, resort to the practices of obtaining redemption without payment of proper compensation and granting melcharth, &c., in respect of landed properties granted either by their ancestors or by themselves on kanom with almost a nominal rent, and which have been enjoyed by the Mappila tenants with their families after having invested all available capital and labour therein for their improvement. As a result the Mappila tenants are put to unbearable annoyance and destitution and are at a loss to find out proper remedial measures, as they are not better than beasts as already stated in paragraph 4. They are, therefore, led to do unjust acts by their wicked thoughts.

(6) As the Hindus are well aware that the provisions of the Mappila Act, which are put into operation after the occurrence of a riot, apply only to the Mappilas, it cannot be presumed that they do not abet the commission of such outbreaks.

(7) The Government appointments are now conferred on those who have sufficient educational qualifications and abilities, but the Mappilas of Malabar have but recently commenced to study English and there are, therefore, very few of them who are as qualified and able as the Hindus. The majority of the Government officials in the said two taluks are therefore Hindus,

It might be that these officials discharge their duties consistent with justice. But the wicked thoughts of the Mappilas make them think that it is the said officials who magnify things considered trivial by the Mappilas and bring them to rigorous punishments.

(8) The above circumstances do not, when taken separately, constitute cause for an outbreak. But we think it probable that these circumstances, when taken in the aggregate, had occasioned the outbreak.

IV. As regards the measures to be taken by Government in the matter, we express the following opinion:—

(1) If inquiries be instituted by means of a special commission appointed by the Government for the purpose, the actual cause of the outbreak can be ascertained without difficulty and measures taken to prevent such future occurrences.

(2) On a consideration of the aforesaid circumstances we think it very expedient to open a boarding school in each of the two taluks at the cost of Government, teaching for the higher examination including some technical education. The schools should be under the supervision of a committee consisting of Government representatives and two or four respectable Mappilas. Moreover, the futhwas above referred to should be sent to the District Magistrate herewith and sufficient number of copies thereof be printed at the cost of the Sabha with the permission of the Government and published specially in the said taluks and elsewhere. Similar productions should be obtained from other competent men and published.

(3) From the operations of the Mappila Act referred to in paragraph 3 (6), the Hindus attain their object to a certain extent as stated in paragraph III (5). If, therefore, a special enactment be passed by Government holding both the Hindus and Mussalmans of each locality alike liable, instead of making the Mappilas alone amenable to fine and penalty as is now done after the occurrence of an outbreak, the Hindus will not only have no hand in such outbreaks, but will also be careful to prevent such occurrences.

(4) Until it is found that the Mappilas of the said two taluks have attained educational qualifications, the Government appointments should not be conferred on Hindus and Mappilas but only on the christians and others.

(5) If such arrangements are made by Government, we feel confident that they would prove effectual in preventing such future occurrences.

Fathwa (opinion) of Mussapla Akath Mulla Koya Tangal, Kazi of Calicut.

Reply to letter dated 29th April 1894, from the Himayathul Islam Sabha of Calicut, requesting me to favour my views on the recent outbreak in Ernad and Walavanad taluks. My views are based on the following texts of our Muhammadan religion which is very sacred. Riots committed with war-weapons have never been witnessed in the towns of Calicut and Ponnani, &c., in the district, though the taluks of Ernad and Walavanad have always been the scenes of such offences. This, I need hardly say, is due to the fact that the Mappila residents of the towns of this district, such as Calicut and Ponnani, &c., are more respectable and are versed in the principles laid down in their religious books which are observed by them.

Riots have been frequently committed by the inhabitants of Ernad and Walavanad taluks for a long time, because they are utterly ignorant of the principles laid down in the Muhammadan religion as regards *prayers, alms giving, haj, fast, faith, rites, slaughter* and (jihad) *war* and the consequences of the commission of riots, &c. By committing such riots which are prohibited by religion, they bring danger upon themselves, their country and the learned ulmas. It appears to me very clear that these people commit such things wantonly and make themselves more idiotic because they have no opportunities of benefiting themselves by the instructions from the ulmas. When the Mussalmans form the subjects of a foreign sovereign, who administers justice to them without trenching upon their religious and personal rights, the commission of riots and other offences upon any pretext whatever against the said sovereign and the subjects and the consequent entailment of serious danger and risks upon the Mussalman and other subjects are prohibited by our religious works. It is said in the various parts of the scriptures, and in the sayings of Muhammad, the Prophet, that the perpetrators of such outrageous acts will be liable to punishment from the creator and be deprived of salvation. The books known as *Thuffath, Nihayathul, Futhaval, Kubra* and *Futhavaramli Senajvi* forming the commentaries on the scriptures and the sayings of the prophet, by the illustrious commentators *Ahmadbin Hajar* and *Muhammad Rambli Imam Tangal*, as also the works known as *Thiyya Ulum Mudin, Nimhaj* and several others, which are of a more remote origin, still form the standing authorities for guidance, in *Sham, Rome, Misser, Irrak, Mecca, Medina*, and *Malabar* and elsewhere. Of these works, *Futhaval Kubra* contains the interrogatory put to *Ibin Hajir Tangal* and the answer given by him which, I think, has special bearing on the subject. I therefore append an abstract thereof.

Question.—In the case of a member of the Hindu and other religious persuasions in Malabar becoming a convert to Muhammadanism and the castemen of the neophyte exerting force to get

him back to his former religion, whether the Muhammadans can possibly deliver him up, being unable to restrain him, and whether they will be obliged to quit their country by reason of the dangers resulting from such a non-delivery?

The answer given by Ibin Hajir Tangal and recorded on page 249 of the IV volume of Fathaval Kubra is as follows:—

Answer.—When the member of another religion becomes a convert to Muhammadanism, and his castemen prevail upon the Mussalmans to deliver him up, there can be no offence in the sight of God on the part of Mussalmans by so delivering him up, the act being deemed permissible. Similarly, the interrogatory put by the Mussalmans forming the subjects of a christian king in the town of Urgoon (Aragon) in the province of Undulusia (Andalusia) was answered as follows by Samsudin Muhammad Ramli Imam Tangal.

Question.—The said king used to levy land assessment from his Mussalman subjects and govern the country equitably without interfering in any way with their religious rites and observances. These subjects nevertheless entertained ungrounded fears and reposed no confidence in the sovereign. Under the circumstances it is necessary that the Mussalmans should quit the country by reason of such fears or can they continue to remain there? The answer is as follows:—

Answer.—It is not proper for the Mussalmans to quit the country, inasmuch as their continued stay there will give opportunities for other religionists to embrace Muhammadanism. They should therefore remain there in view to this end. It is evident from the very question that they can repose confidence—*vide* page 52, volume IV of Fathavaramli.

The commission of such unwarranted riots is also prohibited by Sayif Ahmadbin Hajarul Haithami Tangal in his work called Savajir—*vide* page 174, volume II. This is also laid down by Islam Muhamatul Gossali, the fountain of all knowledge (may the creator grant His blessings on him and us) in his work called Thiya Ulumudin, page 392, volume 2. Such being the rulings of our scriptures, it is evident, from the authorities and works herein quoted by me, that the Mappila outbreaks in the said taluks committed against the British Government and its subjects—a Government which does not in any way interfere with our religion, our person and our property—are greatly unwarranted. As the commission of acts prohibited by the Quran renders the offenders liable to punishment both here and above, I pray to the Almighty to lead us in the path of rectitude and to guard us all against committing such outrages.

Fathwa (opinion) of Palli Veetil Muhammad Haji, Kazi of Calicut.

I am desired by a letter addressed on the 29th April 1894 by the Himayathul Islam Sabha of Calicut to favour my views on the recent outbreak in Ernad and Walavanad taluks. As such outbreaks are committed by some ignorant members of the Mussalman community under some mistaken impressions, it is necessary that the texts of our religion bearing on the point should be widely promulgated for the general information of the Mussalman community in the said taluks and elsewhere. I therefore record my fathwa (opinion) as follows for the information and guidance of all concerned.

The commission of such outbreaks is absolutely prohibited by our revered Muhammadan religion, inasmuch as the justice of our honorable Government is evidently manifested in granting religious toleration to the members of every creed and in not interfering with mosques intended for the performance of devotional courses. Such being the case, if any one is to commit an evil act, the matter should be brought to the notice of Government and no attempt should be made for making war which amounts to a (religious) violation and which is fraught with many evil consequences.

That this is strictly prohibited by our religious principles and is a religious violation is evident from *hadiz* (sayings) emanated from the prophet Muhammad and recorded on page 229 of the 2nd volume of the important religious work entitled "*Thiyya Ula Mudin*," as also from the commentaries thereof on pages 374 and 379 of the said work. That no act done in contravention of the religious principles can secure any blessings from the creator is the fundamental law on which our revered and true Muhammadan religion is established. Such being the case, it is a matter of wonder to presume that these riotous wars are identical with the *fizabil jehad* (religious war) ordained by the creator in the Quran or that those who fall in such wars can secure the special merit of *sahadath* (salvation). Moreover it is recorded in verse 270 of Soora (chapter) entitled *Albakhara* and in verse 27 of Soora entitled *Nissa* of the Quran, as also in the *hadiz* (sayings) collected in the most celebrated works named *Schehubbukari* and *Secheehul Mushi*, that the act of sacrificing one's life or causing oneself to be put to death in some improper ways constitutes a mortal sin, and that he who commits such an offence is a dweller in hell. This is applicable to the foolish persons who commit such riots. Although it is laid down in various parts of the Quran that those who forsake the religion after having been a follower thereof, either by birth, or conversion, will incur serious Divine displeasure; it is set forth in verse 28 of Soora entitled *Thaha*, in verse 259 of Soora entitled *Albakhara* and in verse 116 of Soora entitled *Mayideth*, as

also in their commentaries contained in the second volume of the work called *Kessaf*, that such apostates should be brought to a sense of duty by coaxing and by reminding them of the severe visitations from above; that exertions of force cannot implant religious faith; and that the advisers do not suffer any disqualification by reason of the refractory conduct on the part of the advised.

Further, it is laid down in the commentary on verse 89 of Soora entitled *Ali Quran* contained in the 1st volume of the work called *Kessaf*, as also on pages 391 and 405 of the second volume of the aforesaid work called *Thiyya Usu Mudin* that, as the ruling power alone is competent to inflict corporal and other punishments according to circumstances on those who offend against religion, no subject has either power to deal with such cases or can do so, and that if any one acts thus, he will bring on danger in various ways. Moreover, to a reference made regarding the perpetrators of such riots to Muhammad Sayid Baba Seel, who is the paramount authority in our religion and who is the Mafhi of the celebrated Mecca which forms the fountain of the Mussalman religion, he has replied in writing that such rioters are decidedly in the wrong and that such acts are prohibited by our religion. Under the aforesaid circumstances, the conclusion to be arrived at is that no one can commence such outbreaks; that if any such act is being committed by the ignorant the learned should prevent them from doing so without giving them any assistance, and that in the event of non-submission, intimation should be given to Government in view to an effectual suppression. May the Almighty make all of us do what is ordained by Him, and refrain from what is prohibited. Amen.

To

HIS EXCELLENCY THE RIGHT HONORABLE THE GOVERNOR

OF FORT ST. GEORGE.

The humble memorial of PATHOO OOMMAH and MOOTHA, wife and son of KALATHIL KUNJOLAN, in Vettathoor amshom, Walawanad taluk, Malabar.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

That with humble submission and great pain of mind memorialists beg to place their grievances, regarding the arrest and detention of the said Kunjolan (husband of 1st memorialist and father of 2nd) in Coimbatore Central jail, before Your Excellency for favourable consideration.

1. That memorialists beg to submit that the said Kunjolan was not in any way connected with the Mopla riot which took place lately nor did he know anything about it; that none of the offenders are related to Kunjolan, nor are they his friends or residents of his amshom.

2. That the late Mopla riot originated from the robbery regarding the Government kist money; that one Variyankunnnan Kunjolan and 11 others, who are old offenders and have been several times convicted before, ventured to commit highway robbery concerning the above Government money.

3. That after committing the said robbery they (offenders) thought, petitioners now learn, that they would be transported and they therefore wrongly took to their heads to rather die in a riot than be convicted, and hence the cause of the outbreak.

4. That memorialists further beg to submit that, as far as they know, there was no evidence to show that Kunjolan ever took part in the said robbery case, or had he any knowledge about it and the subsequent actions of the said rioters. That if there be any evidence forthcoming against Kunjolan since his arrest and detention, it must have been concocted by his bitterest enemies, Nettani Nambudiri and Thodakatrimingar, who are very influential in the place. That about 10 years ago these enemies, who have been cherishing a great hatred since about 20 years of Kunjolan, cooked up a riot case against him and coined several evidences by nearly 40 witnesses, but the then Collector of Malabar, disbelieving all those evidences, discharged Kunjolan of the charge.

5. That from a letter now received from the said Kunjolan from Coimbatore Central jail, it is observed that the Collector of Malabar, at the time of Kunjolan's arrest, made him understand that as no evidence in the riot case would be got if Kunjolan be at large he should be detained in out-district until the enquiry is completed.

6. That memorialists further beg to state that on the date of the offence and on the dates subsequent and prior to it, the said Kunjolan was in a place named "Mul-liakurshi" in connection with the registration of a partition deed on which he had to get some money from the parties. That this will be proved by records if enquired into.

In conclusion petitioners most humbly beg to state that it is very painful and distressing that on account of the misdemeanours of certain foolish persons, respectable and loyal subjects as Kunjolan are involved in the end. That memorialists also submit that Kunjolan is the sole stay and support of their family; that as he (Kunjolan) was snatched away from their family since about 3 months, memorialists are in greatest distress and sorrow. Memorialists therefore most humbly and respectfully pray Your Excellency will be generously pleased to take a benign view of all these circumstances and to mercifully order the release of Kunjolan, who is innocent in the matter, and thus protect your unfortunate, helpless, friendless and poor memorialists. For which act of kindness and justice memorialists will, as in duty bound, ever pray.

CALICUT,
12th June 1894.

(Signed) (1) PATHOO OOMMAH.
(") (2) MOOTHA.

From H. BRADLEY, Esq., Acting District Magistrate, Malabar, to the Chief Secretary to Government, dated Calicut, 14th June 1894, Dis No. 546/Magl.

I have the honour to submit the following proposals for the levy of fines under section 9 of the Mappila Act in connection with the recent outbreak. I will take the amsams in the order in which the gang passed through them as shown in the map forwarded with my letter dated 5th June 1894, Dis. No. 514/M. Gl. of 1894.

2. The whole of the Payyanad and Pandikad amsams should be fined at the maximum rate which it may be decided to levy after the usual nominal lists of the Mappilas resident in the amsams liable have been prepared. It was from these two amsams that the majority of the men came, and the details of the plot appear to have been arranged in the mosque in Vellangad near their common border. In Chembrasseri amsam I recommend that only the Cherampura desam should be fined. All the outrages occurred in this desam, and the remainder of the desams were merely traversed by the gang for the most part at night and without stopping. The rate should be the maximum rate, as at least two members of the gang lived in the desam, and no less than five murders were committed in it. The Tuvur amsam should not be fined at all. The gang merely passed rapidly through on the night on which the outbreak occurred. For similar reasons Porur amsam should not be fined. The gang merely passed through rapidly on the night of the 2nd April.

The whole of the Elankur amsam which contains only one desam should be fined. The Kavungal Mangalasseri Illam was entered and defiled in this amsam, and I have little doubt that it was the original intention of the gang to make their final stand here. It was only the close pursuit of the troops which prevented them from being joined by their expected reinforcements that caused them to evacuate the Illam. Only one man joined from the amsam, and the damage to the Illam was not very great. I therefore recommend that the rate should be 75 per cent. of the maximum.

3. From Elankur the gang again passed through Pandikad and Payyanad and entered the Manjeri amsam. I recommend that only the Pandalur desam of this amsam should be fined. The gang avoided the remainder of the amsam which is inhabited chiefly by a less backward class of Mappilas including many of the people of Manjeri town itself, who may be regarded as absolutely innocent. The eight men who joined from this amsam all belonged to different hamlets of the Pandalur desam, and there were three cases of arson in it. Hence I recommend that the fine should be at the maximum rate.

4. In Nenmini amsam the gang passed through the following desams:—Nenmini, Nallur, Tachanangad, Kondiparamba, Chemmantatta and Kilatur. They committed one house-breaking in the amsam in the Kilatur desam, but it was unattended with personal violence or loss of life. Nenmini and Nallur were simply marched through in the dead of night. Tachanangad is the residence of Unnian Haji, and the Oravampuram mosque is in it. I recommend that all the desams passed through by the fanatics, with the exception of Nenmini and Nallur, should be fined 50 per cent. of the maximum rate. I do not recommend that the remainder of the amsam should be fined. It is a very large one and stretches nearly to Angadipuram, and the influence of Unnian Haji and his mosque is chiefly confined to the north of the amsam.

5. The next amsam entered was Kariyavattam. From this point forward there can be no doubt that the Mappilas showed active sympathy with the fanatics. In this amsam the gang did nothing beyond helping themselves to cooking vessels from the Kunnoth Illam, a Nambudri house. The Tiruvalapetta temple, however, is very near the borders of this amsam and Vettatur, although really in the latter, and a good deal of damage and desecration was done there. I therefore recommend that only the two desams entered by the fanatics Chemmaniyad and Talakkad should be fined. The rate should be 50 per cent. of the maximum.

6. Vettatur amsam showed active sympathy. The Tiruvalapetta temple was entered and desecrated and the Ummanath Kalam, where the gang passed the night of the 4th April, is on the borders of the amsam. A Mollah joined the fanatics here, and one or two others either joined and were brought back by their relations, or were only just prevented from joining. There was a constant stream of sympathizing Mappilas going to and fro up and down the hill on which the temple stands while the fanatics were there. I therefore recommend that the whole amsam should be fined, the Karkitankunnu and Vettatur desams at the maximum rates, and the two outlying desams—Palakkali and Etantanatakara—at 50 per cent. of the maximum rate.

7. The Tiruvazhankunnu amsam contains only one desam. In this amsam and in Arakaparamba the gang did very little. They spent the night on the very confines of the two amsams, and the Adhigari of Arakaparamba did all he could to keep them out of his amsam. There can be no doubt that this Adhigari and perhaps 200 adherents of his visited and spoke to the gang in the neighbourhood of the Tiruvalapetta temple, and it appears to have been by his advice that they spent the night in the Ummanathkalam. They did very little harm here. In consideration of this and of the fact that the greater part of their time in these amsams was after night fall I recommend that the Tiruvazhankunnu and Arakaparamba amsams should be fined at the rate of 20 per cent. of the maximum.

8. In Kottapadam amsam the gang did very little. They passed rapidly through. It is doubtful whether they have entered any houses though they cut off a few kudumis. I would recommend a fine of 20 per cent. of the maximum rate for the Bhimanad and Kottapadam desams only.

9. In Kumaramputtur they entered three houses and sharpened their knives in the river amidst a group of sympathizing Mappilas. They passed through fairly rapidly and one resident of the amsam joined them at the Pallikurup temple. I recommend the fining of the whole amsam at the rate of 50 per cent. of the maximum.

10. In Arakurissi they entered only two desams—Perimbadari and Pukkunnu. They merely passed through Perimbadari. It was here that they were warned not to go to Mannarghat, and received the information which led them to go to Pallikurup. I consider that the whole of this amsam should be fined. There can be no doubt that nearly all the Mappilas in the Mannarghat bazaar, and in the rest of the amsam, visited the fanatics in the Pullikurup temple on the afternoon before their death. There was a murder committed in the amsam and the inhabitants showed their sympathy with the gang by taking gifts of food and sweetmeats to them at the temple, and received in return some of the property which had been

stolen. The same remarks apply to the Tachambara amsam in which the Pallikurup temple is situated. I recommend that the whole of the two amsams should be fined at the rate of 75 per cent. of the maximum.

11. The following statement shows my proposals in tabular form:—

Amsams.	Desams to be fined.	Rate per cent of maximum.
1. Payyanad	All	100
2. Pandikad	Do.	100
3. Chembrasser	Cherampra	100
4. Elankur	Elankur	75
5. Manjer	Pandalur	100
6. Nenmini	Tachanangad	50
	Kondiparamba	
	Chemmantatta	
	Kilatur	
7. Kariavattam	Chemmaniyod	50
	Talakkad	
	Karkitamkundu	
	Vettatur	
8. Vettatur	Palakkali	50
	Etatanatakara	
	All	
9. Tiruvazhankundu	Do.	20
10. Arakaparamba	Do.	20
11. Kottapadam	Bhimanad	20
	Kottapadam	
12. Kumaramputtur	All	50
13. Arakurissi	Do.	75
14. Tachampara	Do.	75

12. I recommend that all followers of the Kondotti faction, and all Rauthans (there are a good many at Mannarghat) be exempted from fines, as well as individuals who rendered us notable assistance, such as the Mappila in whose house Mr. Knapp passed the night of the 2nd April (*vide* paragraph 3 of my report, dated 4th April 1894, No. 1—Tour) and one Ali who was sent by Mr. Hadfield in charge of the Paniyar elephant drivers, and who is an inhabitant of Pandikad.

13. With the permission of Government I propose to apply, under section 3 of the Mappila Act, to the Sessions Court for the confiscation of the property of all those who were killed at Pallikurup.

14. I propose to take no further proceedings against the women, relations of the deceased fanatics, who have produced money received from their dead relatives. It is doubtful whether there is sufficient evidence for their conviction, as there is little against them except their own statements. These have been duly recorded as confessions under the Code of Criminal Procedure, but they are not sufficiently definite to form the basis for a conviction. In most cases the woman says that she received the money from her husband, brother, or son, as the case may be; that he told her that he earned it in the Wynaad or obtained it in some other legitimate way; and that it was only afterwards that she came to know it was stolen. These qualified confessions are unsupported by any evidence except the fact that money was given up. In some cases it was produced from hiding places. It is better, I think, to withdraw from the prosecution and allow the women to be discharged than to run the risk of their being acquitted. The money need not, under section 517 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, be returned as it is practically admitted that it was acquired by the dacoity. The cases are all sessions cases falling under section 412 of the Penal Code. The total recoveries now amount to Rs. 1,275; an application will be put in for the amount to be returned to the adhigari from whose servants' possession it was taken.

15. On receipt of the orders of Government the Tahsildars will be directed to prepare the usual nominal lists after which definite proposals can be made as to the rates at which the fines are to be levied.

From H. BRADLEY, Esq., Acting District Magistrate of Malabar, to the Chief Secretary to Government, dated Calicut, 25th June 1894, Dis. No. 587-Magl.

In continuation of my letter, dated 26th May 1894, No. 470 M.—Genl., I have the honour to append a translation of a portion of a letter addressed by Kalattil Kunholan, brother of Unnian Haji, to his own son, which has passed through my hands to-day under Article 906 of the Jail Code:—

“As my Oravampuram brother's son Mutha has not attained sufficient experience of matters you must show Mutha this letter and ask him to manage matters in consultation with our brother Kugni Mammad and Erathali Haji.”

The Oravampuram brother is Unnian Haji and this passage gives the lie to Erathali Haji's statement that he was on bad terms with Unnian Haji.

Petition from PATHUMMA and MOOTHA, wife and son, respectively, of Kalattil Kunholan, Walawanad taluk, South Malabar, to His Excellency the Governor of Madras, dated 7th July 1894.

HUMBLY SHEWETH—That your Excellency's memorialists beg to state that the said Kunholan is now kept under remand and removed in the jail at Coimbatore on the ground that he (Kunholan) had been taking a part in the Moplah riot lately ensued at Pandikat and that a memorial has been submitted to your Excellency by the memorialists on the 12th June last that the said Kunholan is really innocent in the matter, that with men who had concerned in the riot he had no connection whatever, that he had no knowledge of the said offence and that his name might have been given out by his bitterest enemy, Mittani Nambudri.

That your Excellency will observe that the said Kunholan has been under remand for more than three months and no trustworthy evidence seems to have got against him and we the memorialists humbly submit that he has been unjustly kept under remand.

That your memorialists are prepared to give better evidence to show that the said Kunholan is innocent of the whole matter.

That your memorialists submit that it is very painful that your Excellency has not hitherto ordered the discharge of the said Kunholan against whom no evidence has been hitherto adduced.

That your memorialists are put under several difficulties in Collector's taking away the said Kunholan and keeping him in remand for an unlimited period.

The memorialists submitted an application to the Collector to this effect and the order was that the papers were submitted to your Excellency.

The rioters are of Ernad taluk and the said Kunholan is in Walawanad taluk, far away from Ernad.

We, the memorialists, in conclusion submit that your Excellency will be pleased to peruse all the papers connected with the riot from beginning and the memorials and to order the discharge of the said Kunholan from remand.

Transferred to the Chief Secretary to Government for disposal.

(By Order.)

OOTACAMUND,
9th July 1894.

(Signed) C. F. MACCARTIE,
Private Secretary.

From H. BRADLEY, Esq., Acting District Magistrate, Malabar, to the Chief Secretary to Government (through the Inspector-General of Police), dated Calicut, 27th June 1894, No. 611-Magl.

In continuation of my letter, dated 18th June 1894, Dis. No. 533-Magl., I have the honour to forward for perusal copies of judgments in Sessions Cases, Nos. 32 and

33 of 1894, in which Punnakadan Chek, Moidin Kutti Haji and Ismail were convicted, the first two to transportation for life and the third to three years' rigorous imprisonment.

Forwarded.

(Signed) C. A. PORTEOUS,
Inspector-General of Police.

From Colonel C. A. PORTEOUS, Inspector-General of Police, to the Chief Secretary to Government, dated Ootacamund, 25th July 1894, No. 14-C.

With reference to G.O., No. 1527 (Judicial), dated 20th June 1894, calling upon me for an expression of opinion on the correspondence (on late Moplah outbreak) forwarded therewith, I have the honour to submit the following remarks.

2. (i) *On the night of February 13th, 1893, or very early in the morning of the 14th, the Orampuram mosque (Nenmeni amsam), of which Kalattil Unnian Haji was a trustee or karnavan, was burnt.*

(ii) This burning could have occurred in only one of three ways—

- (1) it was either the act of the Hindus, or
- (2) it was the work of Moplahs themselves in order to get up a bad feeling against the Hindu landlords, or
- (3) it was accidental.

(iii) I discussed the matter very fully in my letter (Confidential), No. 2627, dated 16th May 1893, to Government.

* February 1893.

† 8th April 1893.

(iv) At first Hindus were suspected and some were even arrested * on evidence of the worst character, but enquiry shewed that they, at all events, were innocent, on which they were released †.

(v) I contended that the burning was the work of the Moplahs, but the Government considered that it was more probably accidental, and this opinion afterwards came to be generally accepted.

(vi) But in whatsoever way it was caused or whatever others thought, Kalattil Unnian Haji, Adhikari of Nenmeni, was determined that the blame in this matter should attach to the Hindus and chiefly to his enemies, Subbramanayya Mussad, Adhikari of Pandikkad, and Teyyunni Nayar, of his own village (Nenmeni), and he took care to spread his views far and wide, the consequence being that the Moplahs generally came to believe that the burning of their sacred place of worship was really the work of Hindus. Great weight was lent to this belief by the arrest and prosecution of certain Hindus on this charge, for the Moplahs found it difficult to understand that such strong measures (as arrest and prosecution) would have been taken unless there had been evidence to support the charge.

Had the unfortunate Hindus been convicted (although unjustly) and punished, the wrath of the Moplahs would have been appeased and there would have been no more talk of revenge, but their release was made the subject of a grievance.

The burning of a Moplah mosque was considered too grave an insult to be allowed to pass unpunished.

3. Rumours of Moplah revenge filled the air and so much uneasiness prevailed that the police were considerably strengthened and the station moved from Pandikkad to Nenmeni.

4. *About the end of June 1893, Unnian Haji was convicted of rioting (Teyyunni Nayar's nephew being complainant in the case) and sentenced by the Special Assistant Magistrate to 18 months' imprisonment; this sentence, unfortunately, on appeal to the District Judge, was reduced to 6 months.*

5. *In June 1893, Inspector Chey Kutti reported (with no definite information) the threatening of an outbreak to revenge the burning of the Orampuram mosque and gave the names of twelve (12) Moplahs said to be concerned. Four (4) of the men named were shot at Pallikurup in the present outbreak.*

NOTE.—Inspector Chey Kutti obtained his information from being a Moplah and having relations on the spot, but he took no notes, could not piece his information together, differed as to the locality to which accused belonged, and, when he produced the men whom he arrested before the Special Assistant Magistrate, had to admit that he had no evidence against them. Nevertheless I have no doubt that he stayed an outbreak at that time or perhaps the Moplahs were not quite ready (had not been worked up sufficiently) and the Inspector's action prevented things coming to a head, &c.

6. *About the end of December 1893, Unnian Haji was released from jail and, as was anticipated, excitement commenced again.*

7. (i) *In February 1894, a conspiracy on the part of 12 young Moplahs of Angadi-puram to murder a Teyan named Choyi, of Mannárakkót, who was alleged to have reverted to Hinduism after having been made a Moplah, was accidentally discovered, an outbreak of fanaticism prevented and the parties concerned arrested*.*

(ii) One of the objects of the gang of fanatics effaced at Pallikurup in going to Mannárakkót was to deal with the pervert Teyan.

8. *In March 1894, nerchas (ceremonies at which most sacred vows are taken) were held in Payanad and Vullavankad close to the residences of Unnian Haji and Retired Inspector Khan Bahadur Ahmad Gurikkal.*

9. *At the end of March 1894, Unnian Haji was short of funds and his landlord, the old Mussad of Pandikkad, was pressing him for money.*

- † 1. Panakkadan Mammad Kutti.
2. Varian Kannu Kuniyolan Kutti.
3. Do. Alvi Haji.
4. Do. Ahmad Haji.
5. Do. Moi.
6. Do. Cherya Kuniyolan Kutti.
7. Puthukati Kuniyolan.
8. Koleri Ahmad.
9. Adavekaran Kunhin.
10. P. Moyan Kutti (gone off to Arabia).

10. *On March 31st, 1894, the Chembracheri amsam kist, Rs. 2,296, was dacoited near Kakalode, in the Pandikkad amsam, by a gang of ten Moplahs.†*

11. *On April 1st, 1894, the Pandikkad temple, the property of the Mussads (one of whom was accused last year by Unnian Haji of setting fire to the Orampuram mosque), was burnt.*

12. With these facts before us there is only one conclusion to be arrived at, *i.e.*, that the burning of the Orampuram mosque in February 1893 was the *fons et origo* of the Moplah outbreak of 1894—an outbreak of undoubtedly a fanatical character for which Unnian Haji chiefly, and next to him his brother Kuniyolan, were assuredly responsible.

13. The fanatical character of the outbreak is evidenced by the following:—

(i) The nerchas in March in Payanad and Vullavankad, at which vows were most probably taken.

(ii) The sending away of wives to their parents' houses, equivalent (or nearly so) to divorce, before setting out on their expedition.

(iii) There is no evidence of a "Mavalad" or consecration ceremony of any sort, either of persons or arms, but it is highly probable that the fanatics started with the blessing of the Vullavankad Tangal, who, with Moidin Kutti Haji* and Chekku* gave information against the gang on April 1st, 1894, but did nothing afterwards.

* Since transported for life.

NOTE.—This Tangal knew much more than he reported and afterwards had information which he did not report at all. His coming forward on April 1st was a blind in order to try and save himself to some extent.

He should not be allowed to escape in this manner.

(iv) The preparation of arms, &c.

(v) The robbery of the Government kist and the devotion of the plunder, not to themselves who were about to die as sahids, but to their families and other Moplahs.

(vi) The burning of the Pandikkad temple in revenge for the burning of the Orampuram mosque.

(vii) The desecration of temples by killing within them the sacred cow of the Hindu and by committing nuisances in the holiest places.

(viii) The robbing and murder of several Hindus (infidels) and the removal of the top-knots of many others (31) because they would not repeat the Kelmathe article of faith of the Moplah, and lastly rushing to their deaths all clothed in white, thus offering themselves as martyrs for their faith.

14. There cannot be a doubt that this outbreak was quite as fanatical and quite as carefully planned, even to the robbing of the Government kist, as any of former years. As in previous cases the more influential men kept in the background while they employed poorer tools to do the more dangerous work.

Although the Moplah Act has been in existence for 40 years and the very strongest repressive measures have been employed from time to time during the above period, the spirit of Moplah fanaticism burns as fiercely now as it ever did; for although but comparatively few took part in the present outbreak, a very unpleasant feature in the business is the evident sympathy of nearly the whole Moplah community with the movement. Under these circumstances the stronger the repressive measures now used, the more effective will be the results in the direction of peace and order.

15. The case has been so fully reported by Mr. Bradley, the District Magistrate, to whose personal energy and ability the prompt suppression of the outbreak was due, that there is little for me to say.

16. (i) Of the eighteen persons in custody under the Moplah Act, Punakkaden Chekku (No. 6) and Varian Kanna Moidin Kutti Haji (No. 7) have been convicted by the Sessions Court of South Malabar of mischief by fire (section 436, Penal Code), and sentenced to transportation for life, while Punakkaden Ismail (No. 14) received three (3) years' rigorous imprisonment from the above Court for possession of stolen property (section 412, Penal Code) and 2 years from the District Magistrate for an offence under the Arms Act. There thus remain fifteen.

(ii) I fully concur with Mr. Bradley that all these men should be deported and Punakkaden Ismail also when his term (5 years) of imprisonment is concluded.

17. (1) In addition to the above, I beg to bring to notice the case of Eruthali Haji.

(2) Nadakalattil Eruthali Haji is the Adhikari of Arakaperamba, the amsam next to Vettatur (the residence of K. Konyolan) and his daughter is married to Unnian Haji's son.

(3) Eruthali Haji admits having met the gang at Vettatur and having bought jaggery, and sugar and although he does not admit having given these articles to the fanatics, there is other evidence to shew that he did do so. There is moreover evidence—

(i) that he interviewed the gang and its leaders;

(ii) that he shewed the gang the road to Govinda Nayar's Umanath kallum;

(iii) that while keeping the gang out of his own amsam, he accompanied it and got others to do so as far as Pallikurup;

(iv) that he threatened Mittani Nambudri saying that he would not live long if he (Eruthali) were deported.

(4) I think that this man is a most dangerous character and that he has committed himself to an extent to justify his deportation. If he was not against the side of law and order, he was certainly not for it. He and many others of influence like him, had they been disposed, could have prevented this outbreak, instead of which they were passively indifferent, if not actively sympathetic. To meet such cases the Moplah Act was instituted.

18. I regret being obliged to take an unfavourable view of Retired Inspector Khan Bahadur Ahmad Gurikkal's conduct in this case. Many of the fanatics came from his neighbourhood, where also the movement commenced, he must have known something of what was going on and could (should) have given information thereof. No doubt he is in bad health but not in such a helpless state as to prevent his sending information to the divisional inspector.

19. The case of the Vullavankad Tangal I have alluded to.

20. The Velliangode Tangal, who blessed the gang just before it arrived at Pallikurup, has not been found but is being looked for.

21. As deportation out of India is not permissible under the Act and as the Rajahmundry Central Jail is perhaps the only convenient jail in which to confine deported Moplahs, I would suggest the transfer of some of these men to jails of Bengal or Northern India.

I quite agree with Mr. Bradley that none of the Moplahs should be allowed to go to Arabia.

22. The Ernad and Walawanad taluks being the chief seat of Moplah outbreaks, I would recommend that the police therein be considerably augmented and a larger infusion of the European and Eurasian element being introduced.

A station of two head constables and thirteen constables is much required at Natakai, between Angadipuram and Mannarakkót, 20 miles.

23. I am able to endorse fully the very favourable report made by Mr. Bradley on Inspectors Sweeney and Neill. The former belonged to the Coimbatore district but on learning demi-officially from Mr. Bradley of uneasiness at Manjeri, Malabar, I at once deputed Mr. Sweeney to that district. He only arrived at Manjeri on March 31st; from that date till the middle of June he was the most valuable subordinate we had in connection with the case.

Mr. Neill, being only third-class Inspector, I am able to reward with promotion to second class. Mr. Sweeney, on the other hand, already a first-class Inspector, can obtain no further promotion at my hands. I would therefore suggest a reward of Rs. 1,000 to him from Government. I consider that he has fully earned it.

24. I enclose two (2) judgments forwarded by the District Magistrate, Malabar, to Government through me.

Copy of telegram, dated 22nd August 1894, No. 406, addressed to the District Magistrate, Calicut.

How is Topiath Mammad mentioned in paragraph 15, Bradley's letter 438, 16th May, progressing? What has been done prosecute him and Kattuvala Kundil Ahmad?

Telegram from the District Magistrate of Malabar, Calicut, to the Chief Secretary to Government, Ootacamund, dated 24th August 1894.

Your telegram 406. Topiath Mammad progressing favorably and fit to stand prosecution. Will take necessary steps. Letters about him and Ahmad will follow.

From H. MOBERLY, Esq., Acting District Magistrate of Malabar, to the Chief Secretary to Government, dated Calicut, 1st September 1894, Dis. No. 964-M.

Topiath Mammad and Kattuvala Kundil Ahmad, referred to in paragraph 14 of Mr. Bradley's letter, dated 16th May 1894, No. 438, were yesterday placed before the Special Assistant Magistrate on the charge of murder. Mr. Knapp has examined all the witnesses produced and is of opinion that it is not advisable that the case should be committed to the Sessions Court.

2. His letter, No. 434 M., dated 31st August 1894, with the enclosures, I forward herewith. If we except the statements of the two prisoners, there is only one witness to prove that they were present at the murder of the Nayar. There is no doubt that the two prisoners were members of an unlawful assembly, but the question is—What was the common object of that assembly? That murders, indignities and two robberies were committed by members of that unlawful assembly is undoubted, but unless we can prove that these crimes were committed in prosecution of the common object of that assembly, the case against the two prisoners must fall through.

3. The two prisoners fell wounded, with arms in their hands, fighting against the soldiers. They, along with the men who were killed, undoubtedly endeavoured to kill some of the soldiers and were guilty of an attempt to murder; and, so far as I can judge, this is the clearest charge against them. No doubt they could be charged with offences under sections 148, 302, 307, 451 of the Penal Code, but unless it can be proved that the common object of the rioters was to rob and murder, I am afraid that the prisoners would get off cheaply.

4. In the circumstances it would be better, I think, to deport the two prisoners. The younger could be sent to the Reformatory at Chingleput and there educated.

5. Mr. Knapp has adjourned the case till the 14th September. I have the honour, therefore, to request that orders may be passed at an early date. The prisoners are in custody at the barracks.

ORDER—dated 8th September 1894, No. 2186, Judicial.

The Government is now in possession of the views of the District Magistrate of Malabar and the Inspector-General of Police regarding the disturbance which occurred in the Ernád and Walawanád taluks in March and April last, and is therefore in a position to pass orders on the subject.

2. The history of Moplah outrages is a long one; they were known in the times of Tippu Sultan and, in 1822, Mr. Babar spoke of them as "a disgrace to the Moplah community." These disturbances seem, however, to have been particularly rife between the years 1836 and 1853, during which period of 18 years no fewer than 22 Moplah outbreaks, in addition to numerous abortive conspiracies and threatenings of disturbance, are stated to have taken place. In 1854 severe repressive legislation was undertaken and its effect has been striking, for, in the forty years between 1855 and 1894, only 11 actual outbreaks occurred. The serious disturbance which has just been suppressed proves, however, that, beneficial as the special laws enacted in 1854 and re-enacted in 1859 have unquestionably been, they have not been so completely successful as might have been anticipated.

3. To trace the history of the occurrence now under consideration it is necessary

*The word denotes a class of Brahmans as explained on page 120 of the District Manual.

Padiyil Teyyunni Náyar a melkanam (a form of mortgage) over certain lands which were at the time in the possession of persons belonging to the family of Kalattil Unnian Háji, the Adhigári of Nenmini. The result of the grant of this melkanam was a prolonged and bitter contest between the families of Teyyunni Náyar and Unnian Háji which led to civil suits, criminal charges and numerous acts of incendiarism. In February 1893 a fresh cause of enmity between the two families arose, for, on the

13th of that month, one Krishnan Náyar, a tenant of the Karukamanna Mussad, transferred to Unnian Háji his rights over a plot of land which he had previously mortgaged to Teyyunni Náyar and which that individual was given to understand would be sold to him.

At 3 A.M. on the day following the completion of this transaction (*i.e.*, on the 14th February) the Oruvámpuram mosque in the Nenmini amsam was discovered to be in flames and on the 21st of the same month, Unnian Háji, whose family claims the ownership of the mosque, informed the Tahsildar of Walawanád that he suspected the Pandikkád Adhigári and his adherents to be the authors of the sacrilege. Certain other Moplahs came forward with evidence against the Pandikkád Adhigári, Teyyunni Náyar, and another Hindu, and they were prosecuted before the Special Assistant Magistrate who threw out the case. The matter was reported to Government, which came to the conclusion that the fire was, in all probability, the result of an accident and the Pandikkád Adhigári obtained sanction to prosecute Unnian Háji for giving false evidence.

The Pandikkád Adhigári does not seem to have taken any action upon this sanction but, in June 1893, Unnian Háji was convicted and sentenced to imprisonment upon a charge of rioting in connection with a dispute regarding certain land; this charge was brought by a nephew of Teyyunni Náyar.

In the same month the police received tidings of a conspiracy to murder certain Náyars. Twelve Moplahs were implicated and five of them were arrested by order of the District Magistrate but, as no evidence was forthcoming against them, they were released and Mr. Bradley reported to Government that the alleged conspiracy seemed to be a hoax. In February 1894 the Special Assistant Magistrate received information of a conspiracy to murder one Choyi, of Mannárhát, who had abjured the Muhammadan religion. Twelve Moplahs of Angádipuram amsam were arrested in connection with this affair and, the evidence of their guilt appearing sufficient to justify severe measures, the Government ordered their removal from Malabar and the confinement of six of them in jail.

On the 31st March last the disturbance now under consideration commenced with the robbery of the revenue collections of the Chembrasseri amsam amounting to Rs. 2,996. The remittance was guarded by four men who were easily overpowered by the ten or eleven Moplahs concerned in the dacoity and two of the guards seem to have been wounded in the affray. This crime was committed in the Ernád taluk at a few miles distance from Pandikkád and the dacoits remained in the neighbourhood throughout the following day. On the night of the 1st April the dacoits set fire to the Pandikkád temple which seems to be the property of the Pandikkád Adhigári's family and, after committing this act, the gang marched through the Tuvúr amsam into the Chembrasseri amsam. Here they attacked the house of Kodalayil Krishnan Náyar who had distrained the property of two members of the gang who were his tenants. Krishnan Náyar and one of his servants were murdered and another Hindu was shot and left for dead. The gang then made for the Nilancherri Ayappan Kavu temple which they burnt and, at a short distance from the temple, they shot Koyaseri Krishna Pannikkar on his refusal to repeat the Muhammadan creed. The next place visited was Malian Chathu Panikkar's house where they murdered the Panikkar, wounded two other men and cut off the top-knots of two others; some property was also stolen from this house the owner of which had had a quarrel with some of the members of the gang about certain land. A little later the gang met and murdered one Achuthan Náyar who was remotely connected with the quarrel above alluded to. The insurgents then proceeded through the Porúr amsam into the Elankúr amsam and halted at the Kavungal Mangalasseri illam* which they began to prepare for defence but, abandoning their intention, they marched through the Payyanád,

*The word denotes the house of a man of superior class.

Pandikkád, Manjeri, Nenmini and Kariyavattam amsams, stealing three guns and firing and looting several houses in their course. At the Tiruvalapetta temple, in the Vettattúr amsam, the band halted for a few hours and then set off again on the main road for Mannárhát. Before they reached the borders of the Arakaparamba amsam, however,

(8) Pathumbulavil Suppi admits that he accompanied a member of the gang for some distance but declares that he returned when he discovered the object of the fanatics. But from the evidence of Achutodiyil Alavi it appears that Suppi was with the gang and witnessed the murder of the Kodiliyil Náyar and that he then ran away in a fright. It is incredible that Suppi was ignorant of the objects which the gang had in view and he seems to have brought a gun with him when he joined it. There is probably not enough evidence to obtain a conviction in a Court of Law but there is quite enough to justify deportation. Suppi is only twenty years of age and a cooly; it is also in his favour that he abandoned the gang at the first murder which he witnessed. He will not therefore be confined in jail but will be kept under surveillance at Nellore.

(9) The case of Edapathi Alivi Gurikal is a particularly bad one. He was in Krishnan Náyar's house a few moments before the gang rushed in and murdered him and there is evidence that it was he who cut off, on the same occasion, the top-knot of Rámá Panikkar after he had been wounded by the gang and stuffed it into his mouth. The Government is inclined to think that it would be advisable to prosecute this man, if there is probability of a conviction being obtained. If not, he must certainly be deported and confined in jail during the pleasure of Government. The District Magistrate will report at an early date regarding this and meanwhile the man will remain in confinement.

(10) The case of Punakadan Ismail is also a bad one. He has been sentenced to three years' imprisonment by the Sessions Judge for receiving stolen property and to two years' imprisonment by the District Magistrate for an offence against the Arms Act. The District Magistrate and the Inspector-General of Police recommend deportation but this is a matter which can be considered when the prisoner is about to be released from jail. He is only twenty years old and he has received a severe lesson. The Inspector-General of Prisons will report specially to Government three months before Ismail's sentence expires.

(11) Padatodiyil Paradi is said to be a friend of Kolattil Kunholan and there is evidence tending to show that he held intercourse with the gang. He admitted the same to Inspector Neill but afterwards withdrew his statement. Paradi is said to be a dangerous character and there seems to be enough against him to justify his removal from Malabar. He will be kept under surveillance at Trichinopoly.

(12) The cases of Mussaliar Moidin Kutti, Akaramal Ahamad Kutti and Katodiyil Poker are similar. Suspicion was directed against all three in June 1893 and they were warned that they would be expected to give information to the authorities of any symptoms of disturbance. They failed to do so although they must have been aware that trouble was brewing and although a younger brother of the first named actually joined the gang and was shot. They will be deported and kept under surveillance—the first at Cocanada, the second at Anantapur and the third at Salem.

(13) Mr. Bradley's letter of the 24th May deals with the case of Nadakolattil Erathali Háji, Adhigári of Arakaparamba. This man is connected with Unnian Háji to whose son his daughter is married; he professes to have quarrelled with his son-in-law's family but Mr. Bradley's letter of the 25th June contains a disproof of this assertion. The evidence against him leaves little doubt that he met the gang near the border of Arakaparamba amsam and, in order to protect himself from risk, induced the fanatics to follow a path to the northwards and outside his amsam as far as the Umanath Kalam; that he arranged to meet them at this kalam and had them guided thither by his own men; that he purchased supplies for the gang at Alanallúr and that he suffered it to slip away from the Umanath Kalam on the morning of the 5th April and so worded his reports on the subject as to make it appear that immediate pursuit was hopeless, thus enabling the gang to get a start. Erathali Háji admits that he spent the night of the 4th April in the neighbourhood of the Umanath Kalam, that the gang slipped away on the following morning and that he purchased food at Alanallúr, but he declares that his presence at the kalam

was due to his anxiety to watch the movements of the party, that it escaped from the kalam unseen by him and that the supplies purchased were for the use of the men he had with him.

Mr. Knapp, Mr. Bradley and Colonel Porteous agree in urging Erathali Háji's deportation and the Government considers that the evidence fully justifies this step. It does not, however, seem necessary to imprison him or to require him to leave India and he will be detained under surveillance at Chittoor.

It is noted that the District Magistrate says nothing regarding the Moplah Adhigári of Tiruvazham Ramur who was concerned equally with Erathali Háji in the occurrences at the Umanath Kalam. He should report his opinion as to the advisability of taking measures against this man. It is also observed that, in the joint report of the Adhigáris which forms an enclosure to Erathali Háji's petition of the 25th May, nothing is said of the gang having escaped at 2 A.M., as mentioned by the District Magistrate.

(14) Little is said by Mr. Bradley regarding Ahmad Gurikal Khan Bahadur, the retired Police Inspector, but Colonel Porteous regards his conduct as suspicious and the Government regrets to be compelled to adopt the same view. This man has done good service for Government and has been rewarded on several occasions but his behaviour has been discreditable in more than one instance. Thus, in 1874, Mr. Macgregor hinted his suspicions that Ahmad Gurikal was cognizant of the intention to commit the outrage which occurred in September 1873 and pointed out that, in 1866, he had attempted to construct a mosque over the remains of the 63 fanatics who were killed in 1849 and whose leader was a relative of his own. The Government thereon, in G.O., dated 23rd April 1874, No. 747, Judicial, expressed the opinion that Ahmad Gurikal should be compelled to retire as soon as possible, but he continued to serve and generally to hold the confidence of his superiors for many years. Mr. Tate, however, had a good deal to say against Ahmad Gurikal in 1883 and he pointed out that he is Unnian Háji's father-in-law and that he was the police officer who reported as false the charge of attempting to murder a Nambudri Brahman which was made against Unnian Háji in 1869. Again, from Mr. Galton's letter read in G.O., dated 2nd July 1884, No. 1605, Judicial, it would seem that Ahmad Gurikal took no active steps to suppress the conspiracy of March 1884, although he had knowledge of it. And on several occasions Ahmad Gurikal's relatives have been concerned in risings.

He is now said to be in bad health but the Inspector-General observes that he was not too ill at the time to lay information and that it is incredible that he was ignorant of what was going on.

The Government concurs in regarding Ahmad Gurikal's conduct as most unsatisfactory and the District Magistrate will call upon him to show cause at an early date why he should not be required to reside in some district (other than Coimbatore or South Canara) outside Malabar. His property will not, in any case, be exempted from fine.

(15) Regarding the wandering Tangal of Veliangode and the six others who have fled, the District Magistrate will report whether anything further has been discovered.

(16) The Inspector-General suggests that severe measures should be taken with the Vullavankád Tangal; the District Magistrate will furnish Government with his views on this subject.

(17) For the maintenance of the persons placed under surveillance in accordance with this order Rs. 6 *per mensem* will probably suffice, except in the case of Padatodiyil Paradi and Erathali Háji, who might receive Rs. 9. The District Magistrate will report whether these rates are suitable considering the status of the parties.

(18) Five persons are to be imprisoned. Unnian Háji is now in the Penitentiary and Kunholan and Valluvampazhi Moidin in the Coimbatore Central Jail. These three persons should be detained in the jails in which they at present are. Topiath Mammad and Kattuvala Kundil Ahnrad are in the barracks and will be

transferred to Bellary Jail and the Reformatory School as stated above. The Government of India will be moved, in accordance with Colonel Porteous' suggestion, to transfer all of these persons, except the last-named, to jails in Bengal under section 5 of Act III of 1858. The case of Edupathi Alivi Gurikal will be disposed of on the receipt of the further report from the District Magistrate called for above.

7. The further punitive measures to be adopted have now to be considered. Mr. Bradley's proposals regarding the levy of a fine appear in his letter of the 14th June and they have the general approval of Government. The first thing to be done is to determine the amount of fine that should be levied and this depends on three considerations, viz., the amount of property of the resident Moplahs, the percentage of that property which should be taken generally and the reductions or enhancements of that percentage which should be made in particular cases. The first and second considerations cannot be disposed of until Government is in possession of the usual nominal lists which are said to be under preparation. As regards the third, the District Magistrate has overlooked the fact that the unit for the purposes of section 9 of Act XX of 1859 is the amsam but there seems to be no doubt that the law practically allows the District Magistrate to refrain from collecting any portion of the fine imposed in such particular localities or instances as he considers to be deserving of this concession. Subject to these observations, and to the substitution of Tachampara for Pallikurup which seems to be a mere error, the Government approves generally of the classification into more and less guilty areas given in paragraph 11 of Mr. Bradley's letter of the 14th June. Also the Government agrees with the District Magistrate that all Rowthans and Moplahs of the Kondotti faction should be exempted from fine.

The Government further approves the proposals to apply to the Sessions Court for the confiscation of the property of the men killed at Pallikurup and to take no further proceedings against the female relatives of the deceased fanatics for receiving money obtained in the dacoity.

8. Mr. Bradley's letter of the 6th June contains his suggestions regarding the measures to be taken to prevent a recurrence of similar disturbances. They are dealt with in order below:—

(1) The complaints regarding supplies, transport, the howitzer and the signaling apparatus which are made in paragraphs 2, 3, 4 and 6 will be considered in the Military Department.

(2) The Government has no power to direct owners of houses and temples to clear away the cover around them or to furnish plans thereof to the Tahsildar. If the owners of defensible buildings are willing to have plans made and to clear away trees and brushwood there is, of course, no objection, though it is doubtful if much advantage will thereby accrue.

(3) The origins of Moplah outrages are generally involved in doubt and the extent to which agrarian discontent operates as a cause is uncertain; the reluctance of Hindus to co-operate with the authorities against the Moplahs is not altogether unnatural when the risk they would run in doing so is considered. The Government is not, therefore, prepared to entertain the proposal that Act XX of 1859 should be amended so as to provide for the levy of fines from the Hindu community under the circumstances set out in paragraph 8 of Mr. Bradley's letter.

(4) Paragraph 9 contains further proposals for the amendment of Act XX of 1859 but the Government is not disposed to adopt them. If the District Magistrate refuses to grant compensation under section 9 to any person, such person cannot, the Government considers, compel the District Magistrate to grant it, and there is nothing in the law as it stands to prevent the District Magistrate from excluding from liability to fine any village the Moplah inhabitants of which have assisted the authorities. As regards the proposal to relieve from liability to suit or prosecution persons who cause injury to Moplah insurgents, the Government is decidedly of opinion that any alteration of the general law in the manner suggested would be exceedingly dangerous. The law, as it exists, protects from punishment persons who cause injury to others while assisting in the preservation of the public peace.

(5) The Government concurs with the District Magistrate in considering the translation of the Qurán into Malayalam to be a matter of importance. It appears from Mr. Logan's letter read in G.O., dated 2nd May 1885, No. 1169, Judicial, that a Malayalam translation is in existence at present but that it is in the Arabic character and of prohibitive price. Mr. Bradley states that certain members of the Himayathul Islam Sabha at Calicut are ready to take steps for the translation of the Qurán and the District Magistrate may inform them that Government will be prepared to meet all expenses in connection with publication. It should of course be ascertained, before this offer is made, that a translation of their sacred book into the Malayalam language and character will in no wise offend the feelings of the Muhammadans.

(6) Mr. Bradley's proposal in paragraph 11 to treat the Moplahs as a "backward class" for educational purposes is approved and the Director of Public Instruction will make the necessary addition to Article 4 (ii) of Chapter II of the Grant-in-aid Code when it is republished in October. In the first instance the concession will, however, be restricted to Moplahs in the Ernád and Walawanád taluks. If it proves successful it can, if necessary, be extended hereafter.

(7) The Government agrees with the District Magistrate that the four proposals of the Sabha specified in paragraph 12 of his letter must be rejected, but observes that there must be numerous Malayalam-speaking Christians in Travancore and Cochin and that it might be a useful measure to employ this class to a large extent in the Ernád and Walawanád taluks. The printing and distribution by the Sabha of the fatwas of the Qázis which form an enclosure to the District Magistrate's letter is unobjectionable.

(8) The proposal in paragraph 13 must be decidedly rejected. Government cannot "give power" to the District Magistrate to determine the places of residence of persons who abjure the Muhammadan faith and legislation with this object is, for many reasons, out of the question. It is the duty of Government to protect these people and not to punish them for their change of faith.

(9) The proposals in paragraphs 14, 15 and 16 next demand attention. The suggestion that sales of arms and ammunition should be restricted to persons who produce the written permission of a Sub-Magistrate endorsed on a stamped application is illegal and cannot be adopted. The proposal to restrict the sale of arms and ammunition to the head-quarters of Sub-Magistrates is approved, so far as regards the Ernád and Walawanád taluks; this is a matter entirely within the power of the District Magistrate who is the authority responsible for the issue of licenses to keep and sell arms, ammunition and explosives generally, and he can, if he sees fit, refuse to renew during 1895 the licenses of shopkeepers who conduct business at places which are not the head-quarters of a Sub-Magistrate.

Mr. Bradley remarks that there is no need to allow the manufacture of guns at all; if the District Magistrate thinks so, he can refuse to permit the renewal of licenses in Form VI in the Ernád and Walawanád taluks. Mr. Bradley's remarks regarding the transport of arms across the Mahé frontier are not understood. Importation from French territory is entirely prohibited and the District Magistrate himself is responsible for exportation from British territory into Mahé. It is, of course, the duty of the police to see that no smuggling occurs.

On the whole, the Government is inclined to accept, so far as regards the Ernád and Walawanád taluks, the District Magistrate's proposal to establish a system of rewards to persons who give information of offences against the Arms Act. Detailed recommendations on this subject will be awaited.

The cancellation of existing licenses to possess and carry arms can best be performed by Government, and His Excellency in Council accordingly resolves to cancel, under section 18 of the Indian Arms Act, 1878, all such licenses as are possessed by Moplahs in the amsams which were traversed by the gang. It will be left to the District Magistrate to re-issue licenses to such Moplahs affected by the notification to this effect, which will be published in the *Fort St. George Gazette*, as he considers trustworthy, and he is also at liberty to refuse to renew during 1895 the licenses held by such Hindus as he thinks deserve punishment.

(10) The important questions alluded to in paragraph 17 are under the consideration of Government in another connection.

(11) The suggestion referred to in paragraph 18 need not be considered at present.

9. The proposals in paragraph 22 of Colonel Porteous' letter of the 25th July are approved. It seems to Government that the circumstances of the case justify the charging of the cost of the additional police force, for the first two years at all events, to all the inhabitants of the Ernád and Walawanád taluks and a notification to this effect for publication in the *Fort St. George Gazette* should be prepared and submitted to Government by the Inspector-General of Police. The fact will have to be taken into consideration in fixing the amount of the fine to be levied under the Moplah Act.

10. It is a noteworthy circumstance that Moplah outrages are almost confined to the Ernád and Walawanád taluks and that they have generally occurred in or near the old Velattiri Raj. In the two taluks mentioned Moplahs are very numerous, they are mainly engaged in agriculture and they are sunk in the densest ignorance. Fanaticism and agrarian discontent appear to be almost equally potent causes of trouble. The position of the Malabar tenantry is under separate consideration and need not be alluded to further. Fanaticism is likely to retain its power until something has been done towards materially improving the educational condition of the people. The establishment of a system of scholarships for Moplahs has recently been ordered and, in this Proceedings, the classification of Moplahs as a "backward class" has been sanctioned. It seems, however, to Government that further measures are necessary and the Director of Public Instruction will be requested to give his opinion as to the establishment on a large scale of Government primary schools for Moplahs in the Ernád and Walawanád taluks. Other fertile causes of discord, according to Mr. Logan, are the building of mosques and temples in close proximity and the difficulty of obtaining land for Moplah burial-grounds.

Some 40 years ago Mr. Strange proposed legislation on this subject and, in 1874, and again in 1885, Bills were actually drawn up with the object of preventing the recurrence of disorders in connection with the building of places of worship and the formation of burial-grounds. The Government of India raised, however, strong objections to the Bill of 1874 and it was abandoned. The later Bill shared the same fate, the objections raised ten years previously seeming equally applicable to it.

The recent outbreak affords no grounds on which legislation could be justified, but, as trouble may arise in the future, as it has in the past, from the causes which the Bills of 1874 and 1885 were designed to remove, the Government considers it advisable to state that it will be disposed to consider the question of acquiring land for Moplah cemeteries under the Land Acquisition Act should it appear at any time that a portion of the Moplah community will otherwise be subjected to great inconvenience. It must, of course, be borne in mind, if the question of acquiring land for burial purposes ever arises, that a mosque is likely to be erected wherever Muhammadans bury their dead and the selection of the land will have to be made with reference to this consideration.

11. A few miscellaneous matters remain to be noticed.

(1) The Government notes with great displeasure the conduct of the Eliya Raja of Calicut which is commented upon in paragraph 10 of Mr. Bradley's letter of the 16th May. Something more than a rebuke seems to be necessary and the District Magistrate will call upon him to show cause why he should not be fined a substantial sum calculated with reference to the amount of his pension.

(2) With reference to paragraph 12 of Mr. Bradley's letter of the 16th May and paragraph 5 of Colonel Porteous' letter, the Inspector-General of Police will consider whether Inspector Cheyi Kutti should not be compensated for any punishment which may have been inflicted upon him on the supposition that there was no truth in the rumour of an outbreak which he reported in June 1893.

(3) Captain Ridley and his detachment of the Dorset Regiment have already been thanked for their services in connection with the suppression of the serious outbreak now under consideration and it remains to congratulate Mr. Bradley, the District Magistrate, on the results of his prompt and effective action and to notice the

excellent work which appears to have been done by Messrs. Knapp, Wilkinson and Macartney, Surgeon-Major Carruthers and Police Inspectors Sweeney and Neill. The proposal to reward Inspector Sweeney with a present of Rs. 1,000 will be separately considered.

12. The local officers of Malabar should be careful regarding the spelling of names in their reports to Government; variations in the transcribing of proper names such as are frequent in the correspondence now under consideration cause much trouble. Bare references to titles, such as the Karukkamanna Mussad, the Veliangode Tangal, should be avoided, especially when these titles are not generally understood.

13. The following notification will be published in the Fort St. George and Malabar District Gazettes:—

NOTIFICATION.

In exercise of the powers conferred upon him by section 18 of the Indian Arms Act, 1878, the Governor in Council hereby cancels all licenses in Forms VIII and XI to possess arms and ammunition and to go armed which are held by Moplahs resident in the following amsams of Malabar, viz, Pandikkád, Tuvúr, Chembrasserí, Porúr, Elankúr, Payyanád, Manjeri, Nenmini, Kariyavattam, Vettatur, Tiruvazhankunnu, Arakaparamba, Kottopadam, Kumarampattúr, Arakurussi and Tachampara.

14. The following letters and warrants will be issued:—

[Here enter Nos. 2187—2192, dated 8th September 1894.]

(True Extract.)

J. F. PRICE,
Chief Secretary.

To the District Magistrate, Malabar.
" Inspector-General of Police.
" Inspector-General of Prisons.
" Commissioner of Police, Madras.
" Accountant-General.
" Educational Department.
" Military Department.
" Revenue
" Superintendent, Government Press.
Copy to Mr. H. Bradley.
" the Surgeon-General.

Govt. of {1894} Madras.

JUDICIAL.

Issued

Recd.

Encl.

G.O., 8th September 1894, No. 2186.

SEPTEMBER.

Moplah Outbreak.

Passing orders on the — which occurred in the
Ernad and Walawanad taluks of the Malabar
district in March and April last.

[G]
[53]
2,000-19-4-95.

Judicial Department.



PROCEEDINGS OF THE MADRAS GOVERNMENT.

Read the following paper:—

From the District Magistrate of
Malabar, dt 17th May 1895, No. 1793

In paragraph 6 of his letter
dt 6th June 1894, No. 514 all printed
with G.O. dt 8th September 1894, No.
2186-2192 Judicial, Mr. Bradley
recommended the extension of the
telegraph line to Angadipuram, and
remarked as follows:—

"The line would be inexpensive
to construct, and, though it may not
pay, it would be of great advantage
upon an emergency like the recent
outbreak."

As orders have not been passed
on this point, I beg to invite the attention
of Government to the matter. If a telegraph
office cannot be established at Angadipuram,
telephonic communication between
Malapuram, Kadammanna
and

and Angadipuram might be established.

~~Kadavanna~~ Kadannamanna is almost
midway between Malapuram and
Angadipuram, and a Police Station
is to be established there.

Order - 3^d July 1895, No. 1395.

The District Magistrate's letter
will be communicated to the Public

Works Department with a request
that it may be ascertained from the
Telegraph Department whether they
cannot extend the telegraph line
to Angadipuram in the Malabar
District, and what the cost would be
of telephonic communication between
the three places named.

(True Extract)

David Davidson
Sg. Under Secretary
for Chief Secretary

to

The Public Works Dept.,
with copy of G.O. 8-9-94, no. 2186.
District Magistrate Malabar

Gobt. of { 18 } Madras.

To

Encl 1

P. W. Dept.

Recd: 10.7.95

Proceedings, dated 3-7-1895.
No. 1395

Subject.

Comr. to the P. W. Dept. letter from the D. Magistrate Malabar with the request that it may be ascertained from the Telegraph Dept. whether they cannot extend the telegraph line to Angadi-
puram in the Malabar D. & what the cost would be of telephonic communication between the three places named

No. 1776 Wd 17th July 1895

PROCEEDINGS OF THE MADRAS GOVERNMENT.

Read the following

Proceedings in the Judicial Dept. No. 1395 of 3rd July 1895.

The Director General of Telegraphs will be addressed.

H. E. No. 1777 Wd 17th July 1895

To The Director General of Telegraphs.

Sir,

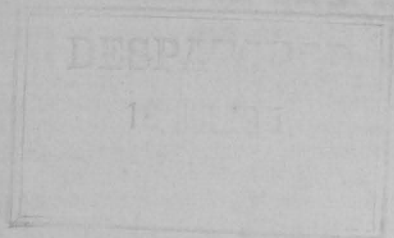
In forwarding copies of the correspondence originally quoted, I am directed to inquire whether it would be possible to extend the telegraph line to Angadipuram in the Malabar District, and

Pres. of Govt. of 3rd July 1895, No. 1395 Judicial.
Extract para 6 of letter from the Collector of Malabar of 6th June 1894, No. 514 P. G. D.

and what it would
cost to establish telephonic
communication between
Khalapuram, Kadamamanna
and Angadipuram

I have seen

S W
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Nos: 1776-7 W of 17 July 1895

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