Government {1896} of Madras.

JUDICIAL.

Recd. } 1896. *Enclosures*

Regd. } *Spare copies*

G.O., No. 1567, 30th September 1896.

R. 3153 W 3-11-96

Communicated to the Supdg. Engr IV circle in Continuation of C.P. Rc. 2844 W dt 2 October 96 & Rc. 3006 W dt 23 idem.

1 Cy dy Sheet

SEPTEMBER.

S.E IV Circle

N.L. This Govt order is issued 30-10-96

Mappilla Outbreak.

Passing orders on papers relating to the — which occurred in East Ernad in the Malabar district in February and March last.

GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS.

JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT.

Read—again the following papers :—

G.O., No. 502, Judicial, dated 11th March 1896.

Abstract.—Directing Mr H. M. Winterbotham, I.C.S., to make inquiries regarding the causes, ultimate and immediate, of the recent Mappilla outbreak and the reason of the delay which occurred in the assessment and collection of the fines imposed under the Mappilla Act in connection with the outbreak of 1894.

G.O., No. 662, dated 4th April 1896.

Abstract.—Stating that His Excellency the Governor in Council has perused with much interest Mr. Hewetson's testimony to the good work done during the recent outbreak by Mr. Fawcett, the Special Police force and the Reserve in the Malabar district.

G.O., No. 699, Judicial, dated 8th April 1896.

Abstract.—Requesting the District Magistrate of Malabar to expedite the report on the outbreak and reminding him that it is necessary that he should justify his action at the affair at Manjéri temple.

Letter from the District Magistrate, Malabar, No. A, dated 18th April 1896.

Abstract.—Replying to the order last quoted.

G.O., No. 733, Judicial, dated 21st April 1896.

Abstract.—Recording the interim report by the Inspector-General of Police upon the outbreak.

G.O., No. 791, Judicial, dated 30th April 1896.

Read—the following papers :—

From H. M. WINTERBOTHAM, Esq., Member, Board of Revenue, to the Chief Secretary to Government, dated Madras, 10th April 1896.

With reference to G.O., No. 502, dated 11th March 1896, Judicial, I have the honour to report that I left Madras on the evening of 11th March, and reached Malappuram at 6 P.M. on 12th March.

On 13th March after taking a statement from a wounded fanatic at the Malappuram Barracks (Enclosure No. I), I rode on to Manjéri ; and, on arrival there, received news that the remnant of the fanatics, whom Mr. Fawcett, the Superintendent of Police, had been diligently pursuing through forest and jungle for nearly a fortnight, had taken up their stand in a granary about 19 miles away, near the foot of the Koondah mountains.

Mr. Hewetson, the District Magistrate, arrived in the evening from Pandikad, and with 25 men of the S. Staffordshire Regiment, we marched 12 miles by night to Wandur. On arrival there at dawn we learnt that the number of fanatics in the

granary was only three ; that they had refused to surrender ; that the Special Police had attacked their position on the previous evening ; and that two of the three fanatics had been killed, and the third severely wounded.

2. This news was confirmed by the arrival of Mr. Fawcett at Wandur, with the wounded man. The latter expressed his wish to make a statement, and I at once proceeded to record what he had to say (Enclosure No. II). Exhaustion prevented him from completing his story. Up to 31st March, he was still too ill to stand further interrogation, but is likely to recover.

3. That same morning (14th March) certain Mappillas brought in two young men (Mappillas) from the jungle, and on being confronted with the wounded man he identified them as two of the gang of seven referred to in his statement.

I took statements from them (Enclosures IV and V). Another of the seven committed suicide by shooting himself in the jungle. Six were thus accounted for, and on 16th March, the seventh, who had been arrested at his hut in Vettatur, about 20 miles away, was produced before me and made a confessional statement (Enclosure No. III).

4. Adding the seven men above referred to to the ninety-two killed and wounded at Manjéri on 1st March, the total number concerned in the outbreak was ninety-nine ; and so far as we could learn the tale of those who had pledged themselves to die in fight was thus complete.

5. After recording all available evidence relevant to my enquiry, I left Wandur on 17th March, and spent a fortnight in touring with Mr. Fawcett through the Chembrashéri, Tuvur, Pândikâd, Paiyanâd, Manjéri and Mangada Pallipuram amsams ; following as far as we could the wanderings of the fanatics, visiting many of their houses, and the scenes of their outrages, and collecting what evidence came to hand.

6. The houses and huts of the fanatics are scattered over about one hundred square miles of wild, hilly, jungle-covered country, much of which is deadly feverish at this time of year. Nearly half the gang belonged to the Chembrashéri and Tuvur amsams, and dwelt within a few miles of the foot of the old Sispara Ghaut road, which in the first half of the century was the best route for reaching Ootacamund.

For the last fifteen years the ghaut has been abandoned, and a white face is now seldom seen in that neighbourhood. Right up to the foot of the ghauts much of the virgin forest has been burnt and cleared for fugitive hill cultivation, and the swamps between the smaller hills have been reclaimed and converted into paddy-fields.

The abandoned hill-clearings are generally covered with a dense growth of lantana, brushwood and scrub jungle. Scattered along the hill sides, on the edges of the paddy-fields, are the huts and houses of the Hindu and Mappilla inhabitants, each dwelling standing in its own compound, and generally overshadowed by plantations of jack and mango trees, areca palms, and clusters of bamboo.

7. Roads are few and far between, and the proper maintenance of these, with their many bridges and culverts, is already beyond the resources of the Local Boards. Off the made roads it is well high impossible to travel except on foot, and walking over such difficult country is slow and toilsome work.

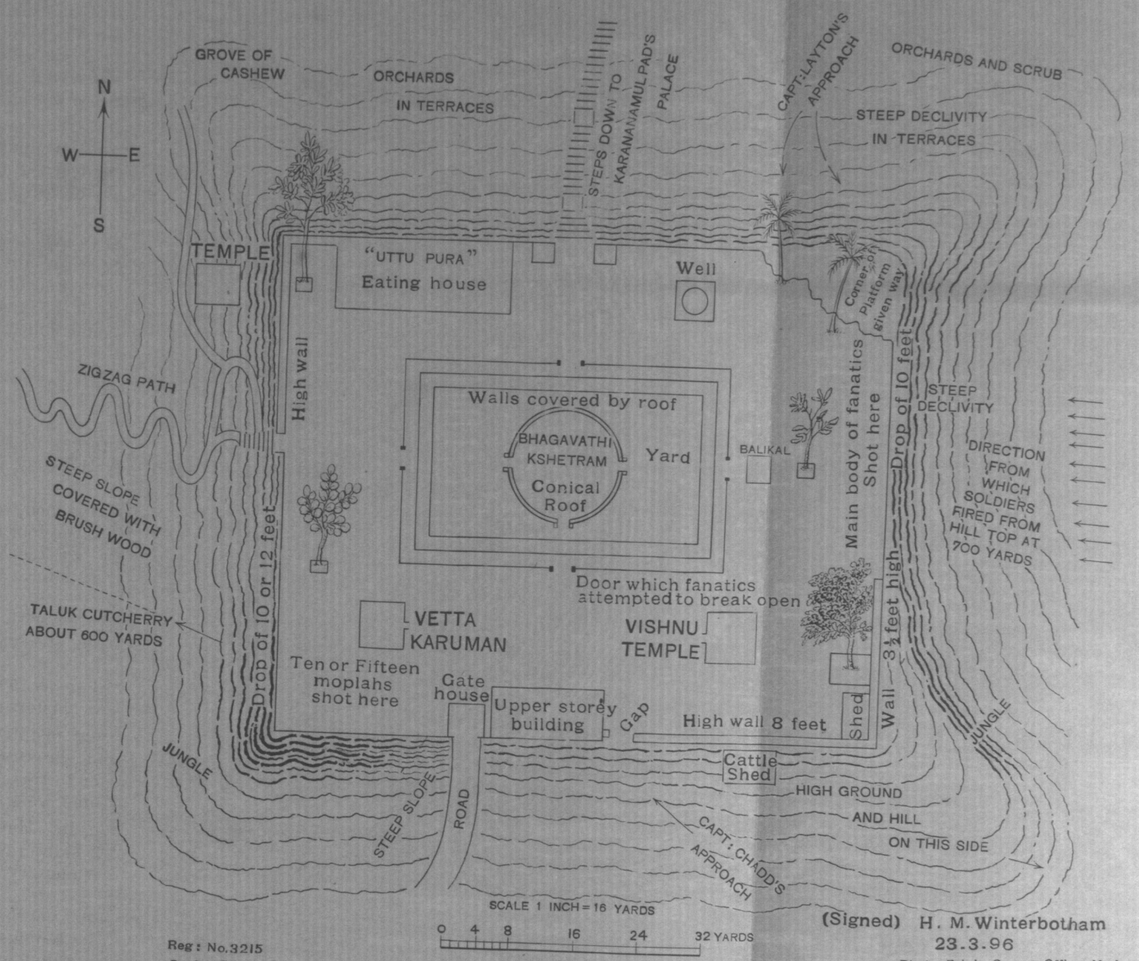
8. Most of the fanatics killed at Manjéri on 1st March came from the jungles many miles away and were quite unknown at Manjéri.

It was impossible to preserve the bodies pending enquiry, and when they were burnt only twenty-five had been identified.

The identification of the rest, and the ascertainment of their individual circumstances and grievances, can only be accomplished by tedious enquiry throughout the difficult region above described, and the task is still far from finished. The Special Assistant Magistrate, and two Sub-Magistrates temporarily employed for the purpose, are pushing on with it.

9. With the permission of Government I came back to Madras on 2nd April to obtain instructions on certain points ; and before returning to complete my task I think it desirable, in case of accident, to submit for the information of Government the more important of the statements which I have recorded, with some

Rough Ground Plan
of
MANJÉRI TEMPLE



Reg: No. 3215
Copies 50+118+40

(Signed) H. M. Winterbotham
23.3.96

Photo-Print., Survey Office, Madras
1896

remarks thereupon. It is impossible to report with confidence on the causes of the outbreak until I am in possession of fuller information regarding each individual member of the gang; but the statements appended to this letter will show what the survivors have to say for themselves, and will perhaps help Government to form an opinion as to whether it was possible to effect the apprehension of the fanatics by any means other than those which were in fact used.

10. The Manjéri temple has on two previous occasions been the scene of locally famous Mappilla outbreaks. In 1784, the temple and the Kâranamulpâd's palace were attacked by a large body of Mappillas, and after a three days' siege were burnt to the ground.

A detachment of Tippu's troops, one thousand strong, marched from Malappuram and attacked the rebels, but sustained a signal defeat with the loss of their commander. (Vide *Correspondence on Mappilla Outrages*, Vol. I, page 101.)

11. The temple was not fully restored till 1849, in April of which year a new idol was installed and consecrated (page 85).

The Mussulman Month of Fast ended on 20th August 1849 (page 72), and on 28th August a gang of about 30 Mappilla fanatics, who had occupied and desecrated the temple, repulsed and put to flight two companies of sepoys, killing four privates and a European officer (page 7).

The gang, which rose in number to 64, was eventually destroyed on 4th September 1849 by European troops, with a loss of two privates killed, and two officers and six privates wounded (page 17).

12. These exploits are still the talk of the whole country side, and it was doubtless in emulation of the prowess of their fathers and grandfathers that the last gang of fanatics selected this temple as a fitting theatre for their death struggle.

13. I enclose a rough ground-plan, and sketch, of the temple. The District Magistrate, writing in the hurry of the moment, stated in his first report that the fanatics had no protection. It would have been more correct to say that they scorned to use the available shelter. If they had chosen, and if their actions had been directed by the dictates of common sense, they might have gained their end, viz., a hand-to-hand encounter with the troops, by taking cover in safety behind the granite basement of the temple on the western side, a position from which they could not have been dislodged except at close quarters.

It was also open to them, at any time, to have retreated or escaped down the north-western slope of the temple hill, under cover of a thick growth of cashew trees, which would have completely hidden them from view.

The Kâranamulpâd, and many other trembling Hindus, who had sought refuge in the Taluk Cutcherry, would then have been at their mercy, and Providence alone is to be thanked that the fanatics were too mad to adopt the only tactics which would have enabled them to shed the blood for which they thirsted.

14. It is perhaps hardly necessary to remark that the past history of Mappilla outrages should be studied before any opinion is formed as to whether the fanatics in the recent outbreak could have been arrested alive. Government is familiar with the two printed volumes of *Correspondence on Mappilla Outrages in Malabar for the years* 1849 *to* 1859, and with the brief account given by Mr. Logan (pages 581 to 598, Vol. I, *Malabar District Manual*) of the suppression of the various outbreaks from 1859 to 1885. The records of a century will be searched in vain for a single instance in which a gang of Mappilla fanatics has been induced to surrender, or in which any member of such gang has been captured unwounded.

15. I served in Malabar continuously from 1870 to 1878, and was Divisional Officer in charge of the Mappilla taluks (Ernâd and Walluvanad) for five years. I served again in Malabar as District Magistrate in 1886, and from 1887 to 1890.

What I received from my predecessors I passed on to my successors in office, viz., that it is, and ever must be, the prime duty of the Malabar Magistrate to suppress a Mappilla outbreak without delay at all costs, and that the special endeavour should be "to prevent them (the fanatics) having the opportunity they covet of personal conflict hand-to-hand with the troops, and of exchanging thier lives for the lives of opponents" (Extract from Minutes of Consultation, dated 20th November 1851, No. 700, para. 17).

16. Mr. Conolly, District Magistrate of Malabar, three years before he himself was murdered by Mappilla fanatics, wrote: "The Mappilla insurgent is a fanatic mad man, whose sole object is to throw away his life after doing all the damage possible to his adversary" (*Correspondence on Mappila Outrages*, Vol. I, page 216), and again (page 227) "They will receive no quarter and fight like mad-men." In the same letter he expresses his entire despair of ever being able to invent a method of capturing the fanatics alive.

Every officer of Malabar experience, who has had to deal with these outbreaks, will confirm the above statements, and share in the despair.

17. The provisions of section 46, and of Chapter IX, of the Criminal Procedure Code, regarding arrests by the Police and the dispersion of unlawful assemblies, were hardly drafted with a view to dealing with gangs of savage fanatics pledged to sell their lives in fight, in a wild country covered with hill and jungle; but the law as it stands will be held, I hope, to completely justify and protect the District Magistrate, the Military and the Police in attacking and destroying the gang.

18. Chapter IX provides that, if an unlawful assembly conducts itself in such a manner as to show a determination not to disperse, and if it is necessary for the public security that it should be dispersed, and if it cannot be otherwise dispersed, the Magistrate of the highest rank who is present may cause it to be dispersed by Military force.

The officer obeying such requisition shall do so in such manner as he thinks fit; but in so doing he shall do as little injury to person and property as may be consistent with dispersing the assembly and arresting and detaining the members of it.

19. In considering the conduct of the District Magistrate and the Military in causing the deaths of ninety men inside the compound of the Manjéri temple on 1st March 1896, the following questions arise:—

(1) What was the nature of the assembly?
(2) Had it shown a determination not to disperse?
(3) Was it necessary to arrest the persons forming members of it?
(4) Could this be done except by firing on the said members at the risk of causing their death?

20. I am not yet in a position to give a full account of the wanderings of the gang and all that they did, but the following facts are accurate as far as they go, and are substantiated by ample evidence:—

For four days, from 26th February to 29th February 1896, the gang wandered about the jungle hunting up recruits, and collecting guns, ammunition and arms by burglary and robbery.

The resolution to go out and die as a 'saint' must always be sealed, and made irrevocable, by some murder. Accordingly, on the night of 26th February they visited the house of one Paniyankunnath Raru Nair, and hacked him to death in a small shed in his front-yard. His blood still stained the ground when I visited the place with Mr. Fawcett on 19th March.

The house is in a secluded spot in Chéramba Désam, Chembrashéri amsam, close to the foot of the uninhabited mountains. The only inmates of the house were the nephew and niece of the murdered man, who escaped and hid in the jungle. Some Cherumars (low-caste Hindu labourers) were sleeping in a shed in the yard, and these also fled. There are rumours, not yet fully investigated, that the murdered Nair had taken a second mortgage over the head of two of the fanatics; but the only motive suggested by the nephew is that the Nair was murdered because the fanatics were disappointed at not finding a gun in the house, and believed that the Nair had hid it.

21. About 7 P.M. on 28th February the gang were seen bathing in a river at Panikod, about 5 miles from Wandur, and their number was then apparently 47. Passing southwards that night, they burnt the Kârai temple in Pandikad amsam about dawn, and reached the Pandalur temple in the fore-noon of February 29th. This temple is a large and ancient one belonging to the Zamorin and is well endowed. The fanatics broke into the large central temple dedicated to Durga, entered the holy-of-holies, dragged out the image of the goddess, and smashed it into three pieces. They also smashed the metal utensils used in worship. From

the shrine dedicated to Vishnu they dragged out the image and broke it at the neck, waist and ankles. The image of Ganapathi was dragged from its shrine and smashed to bits. Some of the band perambulated the temple yard, shouting their war-cry, and smashing the tiled eaves.

22. While thus engaged they were interrupted by the near approach of Captain Layton's Company, and apparently not desiring an encounter there, the gang passed rapidly over several low ranges of hills on the western slopes of Pandalur Hill, descended on the southern side and proceeded to visit two Nambûdri houses in Mangada-Pallipuram in search of arms and food. All the Hindu inmates had fled and hidden themselves. From one of these houses the gang procured a good supply of rice, salt and curry-stuff.

They fired guns, and danced round the yard, chopping the wooden verandah pillars, smashing the tiled eaves and shouting their war-cry. While passing along the hill-side, close to the Nambûdri houses, the gang came upon a Hindu goldsmith. The unfortunate man ran, and the gang started in pursuit, as if playing at hare-and-hounds. The goldsmith rushed down to the paddy-flat, and one or two of his pursuers, overtaking him, cut slashes on his buttocks and shoulder as he ran. The victim then doubled and ran along a deep ditch, overgrown with brush-wood, and there he was shot dead in the back.

The goldsmith lives about half-a-mile from the spot where he was killed, and must have been known to many of the gang, who joined from that vicinity; but up to date enquiry has failed to disclose that the murder was other than wanton and unprovoked.

23. With the food which they had looted the gang ascended a spur of the Pandalur Hill, where there is a spring of water. Some of the gang shot a cow in the cow-shed of a Hindu near by, and near this spring they cooked their beef and rice, and passed the night.

At dawn on the morning of 1st March they reached and entered the Manjéri temple, where they remained until the troops and the District Magistrate arrived.

24. It is to be remembered that both Captain Chads' and Captain Layton's Detachments had been in hot pursuit of the gang for the whole of the preceding day, and at short intervals were receiving reports of the misdoings of the gang, from panic-stricken fugitives, in much greater detail than I have here given.

25. When the troops and District Magistrate arrived at the hill-top and saw the crowd of armed men in the temple-yard, they had ample information that this was the gang of fanatics of which they were in pursuit. The very presence of these Mappillas within the sacred precincts of a Hindu temple was an outrageous trespass, and taking the murders, arson, and desecrations which they had already committed into consideration, along with the well-known history of scores of similar outbreaks, the District Magistrate was, in my opinion, justified in concluding not only that the unlawful assembly showed a determination not to disperse, but also that every member of it intended to fight to the death.

26. It was further known that the fanatics had been engaged with the twenty soldiers at the treasury, and that the latter were short of ammunition. The soldiers could not be seen, and from the cessation of firing there was room to fear that they had been overpowered.

27. Between the hill-top and the temple was a deep valley covered with trees and bushes and broken ground.

Was it under these circumstances incumbent on the Officer Commanding to throw away his advantage of position, and to descend through brushwood and broken ground, where his soldiers might have been attacked hand-to-hand at a grievous disadvantage, merely in order to perform the useless formality of calling upon the fanatics to surrender?

Judging from scores of precedents the probability was that a volley at the fanatics would be answered by their immediately charging out upon the troops, and in view of the necessity of trying this experiment it was prudent not to leave the only position in which such charge could be advantageously met.

To send a message and get back a reply would have taken half-an-hour, and it was clearly undesirable that the fanatics should be given time to consider whether their best course was not to retire upon the taluk cutcherry, and try conclusions with the twenty men by whom it was guarded.

An immediate challenge to combat was the surest way of preventing such retreat, and, in my opinion, the Commanding Officer was justified in trying the effect of a volley. As soon as the firing began, the conduct of the fanatics in not taking shelter, and in exposing themselves to the bullets on the open platform, "howling, shouting, waving their arms, and firing off guns," showed that they were courting death, and that they were true fanatics of the sort described by Mr. Conolly. (*Vide* para. 16 *supra*.)

28. This fact was soon placed beyond doubt by the advance of the troops, when the survivors of the gang were invited to surrender with all due formality, and shouted back nothing but cries of defiance. It will be seen from the ground plan that the south-east half of the temple platform was completely hidden from the advancing troops by a high wall, and it was not till after the last fanatic had fallen at a gap in the wall, in the act of rushing at Captain Chads, that the officers became aware of the deadly execution which the fire of the soldiers had occasioned.

29. Here follows the strangest and most horrible part of this sad tragedy. It had been observed during the advance that some of the gang were apparently engaged in mutilating the wounded. When the two Surgeons of the Detachments examined the bodies of the dead, they found that the throats of "fully twenty" of the corpses had been cut from ear to ear, in many cases so as almost to sever the head from the body. In several cases the skulls of the wounded had been bashed in by blows from a chopper, and two or three of the fanatics had clearly been killed by shots from their own guns fired so close that the clothes and skins of the dead were burnt by the powder.

The evidence of the medical men shows that a considerable number of the fanatics, whose throats were cut and skulls bashed in, had bullet wounds which would certainly not have caused death. These men were deliberately murdered by some of their comrades to prevent their being captured alive.

For sheer inhuman bloody-mindedness this conduct is without precedent in the annals of Malabar, and I received the first reports of it with incredulity. It is, however, established by overwhelming evidence both European and native. The wounded fanatic, who is one of the two survivors of the gang (Statement No. I), was found to have a small cut-wound on his throat, and he states that one of the gang, whom he did not know, was in the act of cutting his throat, when a bullet struck the would-be murderer dead.

30. No bullet wound could be found on three of the bodies which had their throats cut.

31. Sergeant Aldridge, who was in command of the twenty men at the Treasury, tells an extraordinary story of how, before he returned the fanatics' fire, he saw one man amongst a cluster of the fanatics, on the exposed south-western corner of the temple platform, take another by the hair, and deliberately cut his throat. My first impression was that this might have been done in pantomime, to indicate the fate that was awaiting the soldiers; but Captain Chads informs me that the Sergeant told him this story as they were entering the temple compound, and that on proceeding to the corner referred to, he (Captain Chads) found the corpse of a long-haired man lying there with his throat cut, and that he could find no other wound upon the body.

Mappilla mendicants, who go about beating drums, and tumbling, wear their hair long, and there were several of these in the gang. I have not been able to find a particle of evidence to explain the alleged murder, and it can only be surmised that possibly the victim was an intending deserter.

I have not been able to find any native who witnessed the occurrence.

32. The conduct of some of the gang in killing their own wounded is a striking example of the determination of these fanatics that there shall be no prisoners, and completely exemplifies the futility of running any risk in approaching them with a call to surrender.

33. It is a fact that certain members of the gang, when they occupied the temple, expressed a wish to speak to the Collector. I have failed, on diligent enquiry, to ascertain what they meant to say. Probably their chief wish was to speak to him with a knife; but the Mappillas, who call themselves the Kâranamulpâd's guards, suggest that the fanatics intended to request that their bodies should not be burnt, and to represent that if their mothers and sisters were punished or molested, arrangements had been made for taking proper vengeance. Statement No. X, appended, contains all the information I could gather as to the sayings of the gang while in the temple.

34. My remarks on the causes of the outbreak, the constitution of the gang, and the antecedents of the individual members, must be reserved till the completion of the enquiry which is now being diligently prosecuted. In general terms it may be stated that the gang was composed of field-labourers, porters, timber-floaters, mendicants, and others of the lowest class, living from hand to mouth. Many of them (as in all former outbreaks) were mere lads.

35. It is perhaps as well to record here a few remarks regarding what may be called the Pandalur contingent, concerning whom my information is tolerably complete.

No less than 30 of the gang belonged to the Manjéri Amsam, which stretches about six or seven miles south-eastwards from the Manjéri Taluk Cutcherry and bazaar to the summit of Pandalur Hill. Eleven of the thirty belonged to Mudikôd, about two miles east of the Pandalur temple, and most of the rest lived along the south bank of the Anakayam river.

36. The leader of this contingent was undoubtedly one Manjapalli Ahamad Kutti, who has been for some years the terror of the Hindus in his neighbourhood. His reputation previous to this outbreak is apparent from a petition presented by certain Hindu servants and tenants of the Pandalur temple to their Overlord the Zamorin in November last. (*Vide* Statement No. XI.)

At the back of Ahamad Kutti's dwelling half-a-dozen low ranges of hills, covered with thick brushwood and jungle, offer a safe hiding place for stolen cattle, and there is no doubt that this man, with a score of Mappilla lads at his back, had been carrying on a thriving trade as cattle stealer and professional depredator.

From the Police Crime Register I find that in 1891 he was convicted of housebreaking by the Ernâd Stationary Magistrate, and sent up to the Special Assistant Magistrate for enhanced punishment, but was acquitted by the latter officer.

In 1892 he was charged again with having committed house-breaking and theft by breaking into the strong room of a Hindu temple.

The case ended in his discharge.

This man and his contingent joined the gang on February 29th, when the Pandalur temple was desecrated; and at the Manjéri temple, on the following morning, he gave out that his joining in the outbreak was unpremeditated, and was due to the various anonymous petitions and complaints against him by which he was being worried.

That his intention to die as a fanatic had not been long entertained appears from the fact that he had married a second wife only two or three weeks before the outbreak. His first wife alleges that she also is undivorced, and I have been able to discover no renunciation on Ahamad Kutti's part of his worldly affairs.

37. No words can depict the abject terror of the Hindus of all ranks and classes, while a gang of Mappilla fanatics is on the warpath. Their plight is as humiliating as it is pitiable. It is remarkable that by the first gang only two murders were committed, but I am convinced that this moderation is chiefly due to the effectual manner in which the leading Hindus concealed themselves.

An invasion by a hostile army could not cause more consternation or a greater panic. Against a Mappilla fanatic no Hindu seems able even to contemplate striking a blow in defence of himself, or his women. Those who had arms either delivered them to the Government officers for safe custody, or hid them, or gave them up to the fanatics, and put their whole trust in flight, or in the security of their hiding places.

Every Hindu within possible reach of the gang remains in mortal terror of his life till the gang is destroyed, and this pitiable condition of the law-abiding section of the inhabitants should not be forgotten when considering the propriety of the prompt and drastic measures taken to restore public security.

38. My further report shall be submitted with the least possible delay.

Order—No. 791, Judicial, dated 30th April 1896.

A copy of the report will be transmitted to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State and the Government of India.

* * * * *

(True Extract.)

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

Read—also the following paper :—

From J. HEWETSON, Esq., I.C.S., Acting District Magistrate, Malabar, to the Chief Secretary to Government, dated Camp, Manjeri, 2nd May 1896, No. A-Camp.

I have the honour to forward a report from the Special Assistant Magistrate on the recent Mappilla outbreak. The report is divided into four sections :—

Section A (paragraphs 2—26) is a narrative of the outbreak from the point of view of the pursuers.

Section B (paragraphs 27—58) deals with the movements and outrages committed by the two gangs.

Section C (paragraphs 59—66) deals with the causes and origin of the outbreak.

Section D (paragraphs 67—91) deals with the evidence against some of the men now in custody.

The report is accompanied by three enclosures :—

List A is a list of the ninety-nine fanatics who took part in the outbreak. Nos. 2, 13, 24, 43, 44, 49 and 99 formed the second or smaller gang. Of these 43 and 49 were shot dead and 44 shot himself, 24 was shot through the lungs and is still in hospital at Manjeri; No. 99 stole money from the rest of the gang, ran away and was arrested in his wife's house; 2 and 13 are in custody unwounded. The other ninety-two formed the gang who made a stand in the Manjéri temple. All of them are dead except Nos. 14 and 98. Some account of the position and antecedents of these ninety-nine men would naturally have formed part of the report, but this will be dealt with by the Special Commissioner and it was not thought necessary to do the work twice over.

List B is a list of the men in custody and includes the survivors of the two gangs: the following shows the corresponding numbers in the two lists :—

List A.	*List B.*
2	24
13	25
14	5
24	7
98	6
99	27

List C shows the amsams and desams to which the fanatics belonged. Thirty-three came from three desams of Manjéri, chiefly from the Pandalúr Hill. Thirty-one came from four desams of Chembrasséri, and eighteen came from Túvúr amsam, and ten from Payyanad amsam. The remaining seven came from Elankúr, Irimbuzhi, Pándikád, Vettathúr and Mangadapallipuram.

In addition to these enclosures I will forward in a few days a map showing the movements of the gang.

2. *Section A.*—Mr. Gillespie deals with the movements of the Malappuram detachment, but says nothing of the earlier movements of the Calicut detachment under Captain Layton. As Government is aware, I was in Madras on the 26th February, and on reaching Calicut on the afternoon of the 27th found that the Deputy Magistrate had warned the troops that their services might be required. This warning reached the barracks at 4-15 P.M. I at once issued orders for the troops to leave for Tirúr by the 5-35 P.M. train. My order reached the barracks at 4-45 P.M., and at 5 P.M. the men left barracks and caught the train. Mr. Bidie, Assistant Superintendent of Police, and I went with them. We were detained at Tirúr to get carts for the men but left about midnight and reached Malappuram between seven and eight next morning (the 28th) and Manjéri about 2 P.M. There I left the troops and Mr. Bidie and pushed on to Pándikád, where I found Captain Chads and his detachment just starting for Wandúr and went on with them. Captain Chads as senior officer ordered Captain Layton to march to Pándikád, which he reached early next morning (the 29th). The subsequent movements of the troops are detailed by Mr. Gillespie. The promptitude with which Captain Layton started deserves great praise.

3. *Paragraphs* 17 *and* 18 deal with Sergeant Aldridge, who had been sent to guard the Manjéri temple. I forward his statement (No. 382) and also statements from the Head Accountant (No. 72) and a Revenue Inspector (No. 118), both of whom were present at the cutchery on the morning of March 1st. It seems to be clear that Sergeant Aldridge did not fire until he had been fired on, and I think he acted quite rightly. It is to be regretted that no magistrate was with him, but the Tahsildar and Stationary Magistrate were both with the troops, and as Sergeant Aldridge was sent out without my knowledge I had no opportunity of sending a magistrate back to Manjéri.

4. *Section B.*—The list of offences given shows that the larger gang committed two murders, cut off three kudumis (topknots), burnt one temple (Káráyi) and desecrated two temples (Pandalúr and Manjéri); they also set fire to a kalam (granary) and looted twenty houses principally to get provisions and arms. The smaller gang were guilty of one attempted murder, desecrated a temple, cut off a kudumi, looted twelve houses and burnt six houses and huts. This second gang seem to have taken money and ornaments to a greater extent than the first. As regards Rárú Nair's murder, I understand that the Superintendent of Police has obtained information as to the reason for the murder and further enquiries will be made.

5. *Section C.*—As a Special Commissioner has been appointed to enquire (amongst other things) into the causes of the outbreak, I have not thought it necessary for myself or my subordinates to go deeply into the question, but only to forward to Government such information as we have incidentally obtained.

6. Kochu Kayan Mussaliar (No. 1 in List B) undoubtedly preached to the Mappillas in Túvúr and Chembrasséri on the advantages of their dying as "Sahids" and so roused the fanaticism of the people. His grudge against the brother of the adhigari of Túvúr is detailed by Mr. Gillespie in paragraph 62.

7. The four following causes for the outbreak were given by Kunhólan (statement No. 380), who was one of the second gang and now in custody (No. 24 in List B) :—

(1) Because apostates from the way are walking about in freedom.
(2) Because a Niskárapalli (praying-shed) was pulled down.
(3) Because women were tortured after the outbreak two years ago.
(4) Because janmis grant mélchárths over the heads of poor tenants.

The first reason alludes to a Tiyathi woman who was a Mappilla for a few days some forty years ago and who has ever since lived quietly in Chembrasséri amsam. At the end of January this year there was some talk of her life being in danger from the

Mappillas and she was accordingly sent into Calicut. It cannot for one moment be admitted that the protection of such persons from murder is any insult to the Mappilla faith and Government must retain their right to protect the lives of all their subjects.

8. The second grievance is explained by Mr. Gillespie in a foot-note to paragraph 63. It is very curious that, though Abdulla Gurikal professes to have had no grievance about this and even denies that the building was meant for a prayer-shed at all, the matter was talked about all over the Túvúr and Chembrasséri amsams, which are at least ten miles from the site. It is also a curious coincidence that Abdulla Gurikal holds a large extent of land in Chembrasséri amsam. Abdulla's statement was taken by the Special Commissioner. Government will no doubt remember that Abdulla's father was under grave suspicion after the 1894 outbreak (paragraph 6 (14) of G.O., Nos. 2186–2192, dated 8th September 1894).

9. There seems to be no foundation for the third grievance: all the women who gave up property after the 1894 outbreak gave full confessional statements to the Stationary Sub-Magistrate of Ernád and none of them made any allusion to torture or the use of force. If they had any complaint to make they should have made it then, and no evidence given now would be worth anything.

10. The fourth grievance relates to the grant of mélchárths or second mortgages without allowing the first mortgagee the option of making the further advance required. The result, of course, is that the first mortgagee is evicted at the end of twelve years—the period allowed by custom to the holders of land on kánam. No doubt, a good tenancy law is badly needed in Malabar, but Mappillas have no special grievance and in practice are probably treated more leniently than Hindu tenants.

11. *Section D.*—The first four men in List B are the men who were arrested on the 25th February before the outbreak began.

Paragraph 69—*No.* 1, *Kochu Kayyan Mussaliar.*—Avarán (statement 298) says that Mootha (prisoner No. 2) told him that the Mussaliar had preached jehád, and Mootha (statement No. 139) says that the Mussaliar tried to persuade him to join an outbreak. The Mussaliar denies having encouraged any one to join an outbreak, though he admits having been consulted on the subject, and denies that he had preached jehád. His wife (statement 170) admits hearing that her husband had preached jehád.

12. *Paragraph* 70—*No.* 2, *Kappa Kunnan Mootha.*—This man told Avarán (alluded to above) that he had been impressed by the Mussaliar's preaching and later he tried to borrow a saw from Avarán. Prisoner No. 3 says that No. 2 told him about an intended outbreak. The Special Assistant's expression "asked him to join in an outbreak" appears to go rather beyond the prisoner's admission. The prisoner admits that the Mussaliar had asked him to join an outbreak. The prisoner's statement is not satisfactory, for he denies having ever fired a gun in his life, though Ayappan (statement 296) proves his practising at a tree and he had been convicted of unlawful possession of two guns. He asserts that he belongs to the Kundotti faction, but the evidence against him is too strong for this to be believed.

13. *Paragraph* 71—*No.* 3, *Pottemmal Unni Mammad.*—He admits that No. 2 told him about the outbreak and he was with No. 2 when the latter asked Avarán for a saw. He also told V. Unni Kammu (statement No. 276) about the intended outbreak and the reasons for it. There is also evidence that this man had agreed to attend a *nercha* at the house of No. 2 on the very night of his arrest. The prisoner admits that he knew of the outbreak and gave no information; the explanation that he did not know how to give information is most unsatisfactory.

14. *Paragraph* 73—*No.* 4, *Alingal Aidru.*—This man is believed to have gone out in the 1894 outbreak: the evidence against him is not so strong as against the first three prisoners: there is evidence that the Mussaliar (prisoner No. 1) and Pálóli Mammu who was shot at Manjéri visited his house: he sent his wife away without apparent reason, did not thatch his house or fence his compound and mortgaged his domestic utensils. All these things may be taken as an indication that he intended to go out, though each of them taken singly might be explained away.

I think there can be no doubt that these four men intended to join in the outbreak: the fact that they failed to give information of the outbreak would alone be sufficient reason for deporting them, and I recommend that they be deported.

15. *Paragraph* 75—*No.* 5, *Aruviralan Mootha*, is one of the two survivors of the Manjéri gang. His statements are numbered 377 and 13. He admits joining the gang on the 25th February and that he was with them until they fell at Manjéri. He says that their object in going out was to fight with the soldiers and die and that this was their intention when they started. There is no evidence to connect him with any particular offence, unless Government is willing to try the survivors for waging war against the Queen. I recommend that he be deported.

16. *Paragraph* 76—*No.* 6, *Cheruman Kaman*, is the other survivor of the Manjéri gang. His contention is that he did not go willingly with the gang, but was taken away by force. The Special Assistant accepts this story as probably true and recommends that the man be set at liberty. The Superintendent of Police, who at first agreed with this suggestion, now says that the Cheruman must have left his work and run after the gang, who did not pass the place where he was at work; his family will not receive him back as he is a Mappilla and they have no intention of becoming Mappillas. Moidu (statement 87) says that he joined voluntarily and that no one forced him. Everything said by the boy Moidu that can be tested has turned out to be true and I see no reason to disbelieve him on this point. The theory that he was forced to join the gang can hardly be accepted and I recommend that he be deported.

17. *Paragraph* 77—*No.* 7, *Puzhuthini Kunháyu*, is the man who was shot through the lungs on the 13th March. He is not yet out of danger and if he survives should be deported. There is no evidence to connect him with any particular offence.

18. *Paragraph* 78—*No.* 10, *Mattummal Veeran.*—Two of his brothers (56 and 57 in List A) were shot at Manjeri and another—Moidu (No. 23)—is in custody. K. Arimbra Nair (statement No. 319) and M. Moidin (statement No. 31) saw him at Arimbra Nair's house armed with a gun. Moidin Kutti Mulla (318) saw him with the gang at Veluthédathpara, and K. Ali Ammu (320), E. Góvinda Váriar (321) and P. Athan Móyan (323) saw him at Udumbath house. Moidu (No. 87) has also given a statement implicating his brother. He says that he and Veeran (No. 10) went to fetch the other two brothers back, but as they refused to return, he and Veeran remained with the gang and Veeran was given a gun and himself a chopper. He and Veeran left the gang just as it was entering the Manjéri temple. There can therefore be no doubt of the guilt of No. 10 and I recommend that he be deported.

19. *Paragraph* 79—*No.* 12, *Veluthedath Moidin.*—His son (No. 52 in List A) was killed at Manjéri, and he himself was arrested in 1893 on suspicion of getting up an outbreak, but was eventually released. Paravan Kutti (330) and Veluthedath Check (328) give evidence showing that No. 12 left the Manjéri temple, of which he was a guard, at 9 P.M. on the 29th February and did not return. Paravan Kutti gives evidence of a suspicious conversation between No. 12 and his wife showing that he was inclined to follow his son's example. The Special Assistant recommends that he be bound over under section 107, Criminal Procedure Code, but the Superintendent of Police and I am of opinion that he should be deported. Accused's statement is 20; he says that he only heard of his son's joining the gang after he had been shot.

20. *Paragraph* 80—*No.* 20, *Arakkuparamban Avulla.*—This man is a beggar who was arrested on suspicion. There is no evidence against him and I have ordered him to be released. His statement is No. 114.

21. *Paragraph* 81—*No.* 21, *Chakkala Kunnan Kunhiyan.*—The statement of this boy is No. 110. The gang visited his house at least three times and left some food with him. He is at present in a very bad state of health and is in the Manjéri hospital, and may be excused for not reporting the movements of the gang to the authorities. Unless Government issue contrary orders, I will release him as soon as he is fit to leave the hospital.

22. *Paragraph* 82—*No.* 23, *Mattummal Moidu.*—This prisoner is a boy of twelve, is brother to prisoner No. 10, Veeran and two other brothers were shot at

Manjéri. There is no doubt that he went willingly with the gang, though he could not have understood the real nature of the expedition. He has a mother alive and married sisters, of whose children he is very fond. Mr. Gillespie recommends that he be sent to school in Calicut and given a small allowance and that his mother be induced, if possible, to live in Calicut. I regret that I cannot take the same view. The mother would not live in Calicut and would be always trying to get her boy back, so that he would be a continual source of anxiety. It would be much better to remove him to a distance and I recommend that he be sent to the Chingleput Reformatory. The boy sent there after the 1894 outbreak is, I believe, doing very well, and I think this will be the best way of training Moidu to lead a useful life.

23. *Paragraph* 83—*No.* 24, *Kayithavalappan Kunholan.*—Two witnesses (statements 83 and 208) saw this man with the first gang, though he himself denies it that he was ever with the first gang. He admits having been with the smaller gang for three days. I recommend that he be deported.

24. *Paragraph* 84—*No.* 25, *Aruviralan Athoyi.*—This is the other member of the second gang who was arrested unwounded and is brother to Mootha (prisoner No. 5), a survivor of the Manjéri gang. He left his house with Mootha on the 25th February, but denies ever having joined the larger gang. He admits that he was with the smaller gang on the 7th and 8th March. The wounded man Kunháyu (statement 378) also mentions the prisoner as a member of the gang. I recommend that he be deported.

25. *Paragraph* 85—*No.* 26, *Naipadath Kunhunnian.*—C. Krishnan Nair (statement 322) and prisoner No. 23, Moidu (statement 66), prove that this man joined the gang on the 29th February. The prisoner himself (statement 113) denies that he joined the gang but admits leaving the Udambath house where he was a guard twice in 24 hours for meals, but his witness, Ráru Nair (statement 106), says that he was on duty the whole day and never once left the Udambath house. There can, I think, be no doubt of this man's guilt and I recommend that he be deported.

26. *Paragraph* 86—*No.* 27, *Ambat Aidros.*—This is the man who joined the second gang and ran away with Rs. 36 which he took from the cloth of another member of the gang while he was asleep. The money was given up by one of his daughters. His confessional statement is No. 379. I recommend that he be deported.

27. *Paragraph* 87—*No.* 28, *Tayyil Alivi.*—The case against this man is not complete and will be included in my next report. There is no need to release him on bail until the enquiry is completed.

28. *Paragraph* 88—*No.* 29, *Kundur Ayammad Kutti Mulla.*—This man did not join the gang and the statements that he intended to join can hardly be relied on. The story that two of the gang called on him is not credible, for Mappillas never call each other by their house names. I have released him with a warning.

29. *Paragraph* 89—*No.* 30, *Maliyakkal Moyan Kutti.*—This man did not join the gang and the evidence that he intended to join cannot be relied on. I have released him with a warning.

30. To sum up I recommend that Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10, 12, 24, 25, 26 and 27 be deported, and that No. 23 be sent to a Reformatory. I have released Nos. 20, 29 and 30, and will release No. 21 as soon as he is fit to leave hospital. The cases against the other prisoners are not complete and will be reported on shortly.

31. *Other Punishments.*—None of the men killed appear to have had any property which it would be worth while to forfeit. As regards *fines*, I am inclining to doubt whether fining whole *amsams*, guilty and innocent alike, does not do more harm than good. On the present occasion, there are some reasons which may be urged in favour of no fines being levied. In 1894 six murders were committed and on the present occasion only two, and there was a similar decrease in the number of attempted murders. Moreover, there seem to have been none of the usual preparations for an outbreak which the neighbours could report to the authorities: in fact one of

the fanatics, Manjipalli Ahmed Kutti, married a wife only ten or fifteen days before the outbreak began. If fines are to be levied, the following amsams and desams are liable to fine:—

		Fanatics residing in the desam.	Outrages.
Manjéri ..	Pandalúr	22	
	Anakayam	10	
	Vakkattodi	1	
	Manjéri		Attempt to murder—final stand.
Payyanad ..	Nellikuth	4	
	Payyanad	6	
Elankúr ..	.. ..	2	
Irumpuzhi ..	Pappinipara	2	
Chembrasséri ..	Chembrasséri	1	
	Cheramba	6	One murder.
	Pariangad	1	
	Poongode	4	
	Trikkunnasséri		Kudumi-cutting.
	Vellayúr	19	
Túvúr ..	.. ..	18	Attempted murder and three kudumis cut.
Pándikád ..	Valluvangad	1	
Vettatur ..	Karkitagamkunnu	1	
Mangada Pallipuram.	Vallikapetta	1	One murder.

32. Several of these localities have only just paid up the fines for the 1894 outbreak. Pandalúr, Cheramba, Pándikád, Payyanad, Elankúr and Vettatur (part) were all fined for 1894, and this enhances the difficulty of suggesting fines on the present occasion. Túvúr and Vellayúr, of Chembrasséri, deserve to be heavily fined, if fines are levied at all, and they were not fined on the last occasion.

If fines are to be levied, some more speedy way of assessing and collecting the fines must be devised than we had recourse to after 1894; great delay must occur if all the items of a man's property, every field and every tree, are to be accounted for in elaborate written statements. I would recommend that the divisional officer go round to each amsam to be fined, and, with the assistance of the adhikari and menon and three or four mukhyastans (chief men of the place) make out a rough list of property, assess the fine at a rate to be fixed by Government, and then collect the money on the spot. Each amsam should be dealt with in a week or ten days, and the whole work should be done in less than three months. A *minimum* fine should be fixed, for every cooly can easily pay eight annas, and there should be no fines of two or three pies as after the last outbreak.

33. *Possible Remedies.*—This is to be specially dealt with by the Hon'ble Mr. Winterbotham, so I will only mention briefly a few points that have occurred to myself.

The most disaffected parts of the country—Pandalúr Hill and the Túvúr and Chembrasséri amsams—are unprovided with roads. The local fund board cannot undertake to make more roads; in fact, they are not able to maintain all the existing roads. The drag on the district is the Wynaad taluk, which absorbs quite Rs. 60,000 more than the revenue raised in it. If the district board is to be left to its own resources, I can only suggest that a few bridle-paths might be made and kept open at no great expense.

34. Great stress has been laid on educating the Mappillas, but this will be a very slow task at the best and the present educational system seems to waste too much time on the Koran.

35. There can be no doubt that poverty and ignorance of the world have a great deal to do with the outbreaks, for Mappillas on the coast who have property never go out. Some Mappillas go to the Kolar mines, but very few go to the Wynaad as coolies. Both these occupations should be encouraged and also the scheme to enlist Mappillas in the Native army. Cottage industries have also been mentioned, but whether the

Mappillas would adopt them I do not know. At present the Mappillas of the affected parts have only two occupations—cultivation and porterage. This latter industry would be assisted by the bridle-paths I have suggested.

36. Mr. Logan more than once made suggestions as to regulating mosque services and stopping seditious sermons, but Government (paragraph 14 of G.O., No. 1169, Judicial, dated 2nd May 1895) declined to interfere, and it is difficult to see how any practical suggestions could be made that would be at all likely to be approved.

37. In conclusion, I must again remark on the exceedingly good work done by the South Staffordshire Regiment. The police officials I leave the Superintendent to deal with, but my own subordinates all did good work. Mr. Gillespie did very good work during the outbreak and has worked hard at the subsequent enquiry. Three hundred and eighty statements have been sent up as the foundation of his long and full report on the outbreak. The Tahsildars of Ernád and Walavanad, Ramier and Ananta Patter, and Kunhayan, the Mappilla Sub-Magistrate of Ernád, all did good work.

38. I hope that Government will not think that this report has been unduly delayed, but it must be remarked that the second gang was not disposed of until the 13th March, and the enquiry has been a very big affair in consequence of the number of men who went out.

Enclosure.

From J. T. GILLESPIE, Esq., Acting Special Assistant Magistrate, to the District Magistrate of Malabar, dated Malappuram, 26th April 1896, Dis. No. 47-M.

I have the honour to submit the following detailed report on the recent Mappilla outbreak for your information. My former reports were of necessity meagre, having been written whilst I was actually engaged in the pursuit of the rebels. I have therefore, at the risk of repetition, included in this report a full account of the outbreak from its very inception.

A.—2. At about 1 P.M. on the 25th February 1896, I received a report from the Stationary Magistrate of Ernád stating that he had just received information from the Wandúr amsam adhigari to the effect that certain Mappillas of Chembrasséri, Pórúr, Pándikád and Manjéri amsams were preparing to commit an outbreak and that they had fixed on the 26th February as the day on which they were to make their intentions public by the commission of an outrage or outrages. The report further named four men—(1) Kochu Kayan *alias* Thoppitta Moidin Kutti Mussaliar, (2) Kappa Kunnan Mootha, (3) Pottemmal Unni Mammad and (4) Alingal Aidru—as the organisers of the outbreak.

3. This information I at once communicated to you by wire, and as it was exceedingly vague I directed the Stationary Magistrate to proceed to Chembrasséri and to report more fully at once, whilst I held myself in readiness to set out at a moment's notice to whatever place the rioters might choose as their rendezvous. I also wrote to the Assistant Superintendent of Police, Mr. Wilkinson, who was then at Cherpulchéri, giving him the information and asking him to join me at once at Malappuram. He, however, as I afterwards discovered, went direct to Pándikád without returning to Malappuram.

4. On the 26th February I received a second report from the Ernád Stationary Magistrate stating that the four men mentioned in paragraph 2 as the organisers of the outbreak had been arrested and that twelve other Mappillas had left their houses and gone off into the jungle with intent to die as "Sahids."

5. This information I at once communicated to you by wire and also by letter, and after warning the Special Force Police Inspector and Captain Chads, Officer Commanding, Malappuram, to have their men in readiness to march at a moment's notice, I proceeded to Pándikád on the evening of Wednesday, the 26th February.

6. At about 9 P.M. the same evening I received news at Pándikád that the fanatics had perpetrated their first outrage by dacoiting the kalam (farm-house) of a Nair in Túvúr amsam about eight miles away from Pándikád. I at once wired to you and asked you to order the Officer Commanding, Calicut, to have his troops also in readiness to march and at the same time I sent to Malappuram for twenty men of the Special Force, of whom I directed ten to remain at Manjéri to reinforce the Treasury guard, while the others were directed to come on and join me at Pándikád.

7. The night of the 26th February I spent at Pándikád. At about 4 A.M. on the 27th February I received information that the Nair's kalam in Túvúr referred to in paragraph 6 had been burnt, that another Nair had been murdered, and that the gang of fanatics had grown in numbers to fifty. Again I wired to you requesting that the Calicut troops might be ordered up to Pándikád and at the same time I requested the Officer Commanding, Malappuram, to bring out his troops at once.

8. At about 10-30 A.M. on the 27th February I left Pándikád with the Ernád Tahsildar and all the Special Force constables mustered there and set out across country to the Túvúr adhigari's house. We arrived there at about 1 P.M. and found Mr. Wilkinson, the Walavanad Tahsildar and Stationary Magistrate and the Stationary Magistrate of Ernád encamped there. They had then no further information of the whereabouts or the doings of the fanatics, so we called a halt there to await the receipt of information from the spies who were sent out on all sides.

9. Captain Chads arrived at Pándikád from Malappuram with his men about 3 P.M. the same day. I at once sent the Ernád Tahsildar back there to look after the requirements of the troops and to act as Civil officer to that party and to keep them there until he received further instructions.

10. During the night of the 27th and the forenoon of the 28th February we remained inactive at Túvúr. Several persons from time to time brought in vague rumours of the numbers and equipment of the gang and of their movements. I took statements from all these persons, but as their information was of the most meagre description we had no alternative but to remain inactive until the receipt of definite tidings. Here we experienced the greatest difficulty in obtaining information. Hindus were fleeing the disaffected country in all directions and those who remained were too terrified to stir out of hiding or to describe coherently any deed of the fanatics of which they had had the misfortune to be the victims or the unwilling witnesses. The Mappillas on the other hand, most probably from sympathy with their co-religionists who aspired at martyrdom, were exceedingly inert and did not bring in the information we waited so anxiously for. All we could ascertain was that the fanatics in two or three separate gangs were wandering about in Túvúr and Chembrasséri amsams, but their exact whereabouts we could not learn. One rumour reached us that they had designs on the Manjéri Sub-jail, which they proposed to attack in order to release the four ringleaders mentioned in paragraph 2 who were in confinement there. I accordingly transferred those four prisoners from Manjéri to the Malappuram barracks for greater security.

11. Until afternoon on the 28th February we got no more definite news of the gang. But about 2 P.M. that day information was brought in to our camp that the rioters had gone towards Parambayil, about seven miles north-east of Wandúr. We accordingly proceeded to the latter place at once and arrived there at about 8 P.M. There shortly afterwards, as you are aware, you joined us with the Malappuram troops under the command of Captain Chads A little later, Mr. Fawcett, the District Superintendent of Police, also joined us.

12. About midnight on the 28th February one of the Wandúr adhigari's men brought in information to the effect that the gang, fifty-three in number, had left Parambayil and was going southwards again. The Walavanad Tahsildar and Police Inspector Chékkutti were therefore sent off to Pándikád at once to join the Calicut detachment, which under Captain Layton was expected to arrive there early on the morning of the 29th February. As it was anticipated that the fanatics intended to return to Túvúr, the Walavanad Tahsildar had orders to escort Captain Layton's detachment to Túvúr to cut them off. The subsequent movements of the fanatics prevented the execution of these orders.

13. At about 4 A.M. on the 29th February we struck our camp at Wandúr and retraced our way to Pándikád, where we arrived about 7-30 A.M. *En route* we learnt that the fanatics had crossed the Wandúr-Pándikád road during the night and that at dawn they had burnt a temple situated to the west of the road in Káráyi desam, Pándikád amsam, at a distance of $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the Pándikád travellers' bungalow. When we reached Pándikád we found there Captain Layton and his party who had just heard that the rioters were in their neighbourhood and were preparing to set off in pursuit. Orders were given to Captain Layton to follow up the gang, while Captain Chads and his men halted at Pándikád for a little rest and food. By 9 A.M., we (*i.e.*, the District Magistrate, the District Superintendent of Police and myself with Captain Chads and his detachment) were again on the march advancing due west along the road to Manjéri in order to intercept the fanatics should they escape southwards from Captain Layton and his men. Before we had proceeded very far along this road we received information that the gang had already crossed it in front of us, closely followed by Captain Layton's party. We accordingly left the Pándikád-Manjéri road and, marching a mile or so to the south across very uneven country, advanced in a direction parallel to the road in order to prevent the gang from proceeding towards the south-east in the direction taken by the fanatics in 1894. We continued our march in this direction until at about 3 P.M. we came up with the Calicut detachment at a point about two furlongs to the east of Pandalúr temple. From Captain Layton we learnt that he had closely pursued the fanatics and that at one place he had been within about two miles of them and had distinguished them clearly with the aid of a glass and that he had counted them and made them out to be fiftv-five in number. We also learnt that the fanatics had entered and desecrated the Pandalúr temple and had just vacated it before Captain Layton and his men came into view over the hill to the north of it.

14. Again we called a halt to give the men a well-deserved rest and to await fresh information as to the direction taken by the fanatics. No sufficiently reliable information coming in, we entered the desecrated temple and prepared to camp there for the night. During the night we heard that the fanatics, having been largely reinforced in and around Pandalúr, were by this time 100 strong and were halted on a rock named Ottupara on the side of Pandalúr Hill about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the south of our camp. Information was also received that they had visited three Nambudiris' houses and had taken food therefrom and that they had murdered a goldsmith in Mangadapallipuram amsam.

15. At about 6-30 A.M. on the 1st March a report was received from the Ernád Taluk Head Accountant that the fanatics had entered the Kunnath temple belonging to the Manjéri Káranamulpád at Manjéri and that the troops guarding the treasury had been drawn into an engagement with them and were running short of ammunition. We accordingly set out with all possible speed in a bee-line for Manjéri, and about 9 A.M. we reached a hill which overlooked the Kunnath temple from the south-east at a distance of about 750 yards from it. Having heard on our way that the garrison of twenty men of the South Stafford Regiment at the Manjéri Treasury were hard pressed by the Mappillas and had lost two of their men, we were in some concern for their safety. At length it was decided to fire at the fanatics from our position on the hill instead of advancing closer to the temple; for, had we done so, we would have lost all the advantages which the higher ground afforded us and would have given the Mappillas the opportunity they most certainly longed for of rushing on our bayonets and perishing there after dealing death to as many of our men as they could. We accordingly opened fire, and after the first volley, which did not take effect, the Mappillas defiantly returned the fire and the action proceeded. A detailed account of the action which followed I leave to the Officer Commanding.

16. After several volleys, during the firing of which we had gradually advanced on the temple, we reached the gates and almost without opposition took possession. We found ninety-two fanatics in the temple, of whom several were still alive. I took statements from two of them—Aruviralan Mootha and Cheruman Raman—the only two who were capable of speech. These two are still alive and are in custody in the barracks at Malappuram. Of the other wounded men only one lived to reach the Manjéri hospital, where he died a couple of days later without recovering sufficient consciousness to be able to speak coherently.

17. Sergeant Aldridge *, who was in command of the twenty men of the South Stafford Regiment who had been sent out from Malappuram at the request of the Manjéri Taluk Head Accountant to protect the Manjéri Treasury, gives the following account of the commencement of the action between him and the Mappillas. At about dawn on the 1st March the shouts of the fanatics entering the temple were distinctly heard by the troops at the treasury (about 700 yards distant). Sergeant Aldridge formed his men up on the side of the treasury nearest to the temple. The Mappillas opened fire on the troops as soon as they caught sight of them, but as the fire was ineffectual the soldiers did not return it at once. At last when the Mappillas seemed to be collecting in a body with the evident intention of charging down the hill on the treasury, Sergeant Aldridge gave the order to fire. After he had fired a few volleys the fanatics in the temple, of whom eight or ten seem to have succumbed to the fire, called out that they wanted two hours' armistice in order to cook their meals; and that if this was not granted they would come down at once to the treasury. They asked that food might be sent to them and they intimated that they had some grievances to represent to the Collector. Asked what their grievances were, they replied that they had come away without bidding farewell to their wives and children, that their bodies should be buried in a mosque instead of being burnt, and that their wives and children should not be put to trouble on their account. A message was shouted back to them that the armistice was granted and that the Collector would arrive shortly.† The Manjéri Karanamulpad sent some food stuffs up to the temple and the Mappillas began to prepare their meal. Just before the armistice was granted, Krishnan Nair, a servant of the Karanamulpad, had a very narrow escape from death by a Mappilla's bullet. He had been sent from the Karanamulpad's palace to the treasury with some message and was running along the foot of the temple hill when one of the rioters called out: "There goes a *kudimi man*; shoot him." The Mappillas fired several shots at the man as he ran past them at a distance of two or three hundred yards and one of their bullets grazed his left side causing a slight abrasion of the skin.

* (*Vide* Statement No. 382.)

† (*Vide* Statements Nos. 72 and 118.)

18. It is not for me to attempt to justify Sergeant Aldridge's act in firing on the fanatics as he did, but I should like to point out that he was left in a most trying position. He had no magistrate with him from whom to take instructions, so that he had to use his own discretion in the choice of means taken to defend the treasury and temple from the fanatics as the orders he had received directed him to do. The clerks and others who were with the Sergeant at the treasury had in all probability completely lost their heads and did their utmost to reduce him to the same pitiable state by recounting their fears. This young Sergeant was thus thrown absolutely on his own resources, and he was not even left to measure the danger of the situation by his own judgment, but was led to magnify it considerably by the statements of his affrighted companions.

19. When we entered the temple, we found there the weapons with which the fanatics had been armed. They consisted of twelve guns, one sword, nine spears, one axe, a huge pile of choppers and knives, three powder-flasks and some loose gunpowder and bullets. It is impossible now to give correctly the exact number of choppers and knives, though there can be no doubt that every fanatic was armed with at least one of these weapons, which is so easy to get hold of. When we first entered the temple, our attention was completely taken up with the care of the wounded. It was no easy task to examine the ninety-two bodies to separate the living from the dead, to tend those whose lives it seemed possible to save, to take statements from those who were capable of speech, and to try to ascertain the identity of all. When this was accomplished, I set myself to collect the arms and make a list of them, but by that time a considerable number of the smaller and more portable ones, *e.g.*, choppers and knives, had been concealed or carried off as trophies.

20. The names of the fanatics killed in the action are shown in a separate list (Enclosure A). Considerable difficulty has been experienced in ascertaining correctly

the names and house-names of those who came from Túvúr and Chembrasséri, many miles from the spot where they finally stood and fell. The difficulty was enhanced by the fact that the majority of these men, as in former outbreaks, were mere coolies whose existence even was unknown to any one beyond a radius of two or three miles of their houses. The list is, however, at last complete and, it is believed, accurate.

21. I am extremely thankful that I have not to record a single casualty on our side. When the temper of the fanatics and their determination to die themselves and to kill as many white men as they can first are borne in mind, we have every reason to congratulate ourselves on the satisfactory termination of the engagement at Manjéri.

22. Surgeon-Captain Hinge and Surgeon-Lieutenant Saman at once attended to the wounded men and, after having done all that was possible for them, examined the corpses of the killed. This examination showed that several of the fanatics had died from simple throat-cut and not from the bullets of the soldiers. Steps were at once taken to identify the bodies of the killed. Forty-four bodies were identified on the spot. As the number of corpses was very large and a great many belonged to distant amsams, it was found impossible to have all of them identified. Long before persons could have been brought for the purpose from the places where the deceased were known, putrefaction would have rendered identification impossible. The bodies were accordingly burnt in the compound of the Manjéri sub-jail on the evening of the 1st March. Subsequent enquiries have been made in order to determine the identity of the killed.

23. After the death of the fanatics at Manjéri we hoped that the trouble was over and the riot completely stamped out. Not so, however. On the 2nd March information was received from the Pándikád station-house officer that a second gang of fanatics was still at large and had burned a temple and dacoited a house belonging to Pattikátthodiga Govinda Panikkar, of Pándikád amsam, on the previous night. Immediately Captain Layton and the Calicut detachment accompanied by Mr. Bidie, Assistant Superintendent of Police, started for Pándikád, while the remainder of our forces waited at Manjéri for further information. On the next day, 3rd March, I also pushed on and joined Captain Layton at Pándikád. At about 1 A.M. on the morning of the 4th March one Valia Vretti Ittirarichan Nair, who had been dangerously wounded and left for dead by the fanatics at Peruvazhikode kalam in Túvúr amsam was brought in a cart to our camp at Pándikád. I recorded statements from him and from his brother, Kannan Kutti Nair, whose kudumi the fanatics had cut off, and sent the wounded man on to the Manjéri hospital. This Nair is still in hospital and is slowly recovering. He has had a most wonderful escape. One of the cuts dealt him by the fanatics just missed the carotid artery. It appears that the man was the agent of another Nair, E. Krishnan Nair, whose life it was the fanatics thirsted for, though what grudge they bore him has not been elucidated. On the next day, 5th March, we got information that the fanatics had moved to the north as their predecessors had done. We therefore pushed on to Wandúr after calling on Captain Chads to send another party of troops up to Pándikád to take up the important position just vacated by us. On the 6th and 7th March Captain Layton and I remained inactive at Wandúr. We could not obtain any clue as to the exact whereabouts or the intentions of the gang, which seemed to have gone off into the fastnesses of the jungle. On the 8th March Captain Layton and I with thirty-six men returned to Pándikád, leaving Lieutenant Corbett with twenty-four men to do outpost duty at Wandúr.

24. Meanwhile the District Superintendent and the Assistant Superintendent of Police, Mr. Wilkinson, with the special and reserve forces, were pursuing the fanatics through the wilds of Túvúr and Chembrasséri, where the European troops were not able to follow. At last on the evening of the 13th March the fanatics were forced to make a stand in a house in Parambayil, in Trikunnasséri désam of Chembrasséri amsam. The fanatics had dwindled down to three in number by this time. They obstinately refused to surrender and were accordingly shot by the police, two being killed outright and the third badly wounded. The wounded man was removed with all despatch to Manjéri hospital, where he is still under treatment and is in a critical condition.

25. The second gang of fanatics consisted by all accounts of seven persons only; and the seven whose names are noted in the margin have been thus accounted for:—No. 1, the leader of the gang, and No. 2 were killed by the police at Parambayil, No. 3 was wounded at the same place and is at present undergoing treatment in the Manjéri hospital. No. 4 deserted the gang on the 6th March and was arrested in his wife's house in Vettathúr amsam, Walavanad taluk, on the 8th March. No. 5, a younger brother of No. 1, committed suicide on the 11th March in a jungle close to his father's house in Túvúr amsam. No. 6 is a brother of Aruviralan Mootha, who was wounded in the Manjéri temple on the 1st March and who has since recovered and is in custody in the barracks at Malappuram (*vide* paragraph 15 above). No. 7 is a brother of Chêk, who was killed at Manjéri temple by the troops on the 1st March. These two were arrested on the 13th March at Kálikávu by three Mappillas of Chembrasséri amsam named Tenath Kunhólan, Namban Valia Mammad and Namban Cheria Mammad, who escorted their prisoners to Wandúr and handed them over to the District Magistrate, who remanded them and sent them to the sub-jail at Manjéri, where they now are.

1. Keeri Ahmed Unni.
2. Ossén Unnien.
3. Pazhuthini Kunháyu.
4. Ambat Aidros.
5. Keeri Abdullah.
6. Aruviralan Athóyi.
7. Kaithavalappan Kunholan.

26. Having thus completed the narrative of the outbreak from the point of view of the pursuers, it is necessary to follow the movements of the fanatics and to recount the outrages perpetrated by them in their deplorable career.

B.—27. As the fanatics did not always move about in a single body but worked at times in different sections, it is difficult to give a clear and concise account of their movements. It will perhaps impart lucidity to the following narrative if the gang which made a stand at Manjéri temple on the 1st of March and that which was subsequently reduced at Parambayil on the 13th March are treated as distinct and separate gangs, although there can be no doubt that such was not the case but that the latter gang was merely a detachment from the former which somehow remained behind when the rest set out southwards for Manjéri.

28. On the evening of Tuesday, the 25th February 1896, the Vellayúr (Chembrasséri amsam) section of the fanatics set out from their houses in Vellayúr. For 24 hours they remained inactive on the top of Chevika mala (hill) within a mile of the Túvúr amsam adhigari's house. At about 6 P.M. on Wednesday, the 26th February, they inaugurated their career as Sahids by setting fire to Mampuzha kalam in Túvúr amsam which belongs to Chembramunda Panikkar. The gang then proceeded northwards to Erádiathra *padam* (in Túvúr amsam), where at about 8 P.M. the same evening they cut off the kudumis or top-knots of Karoppu Nair and Tiyan Parangódan. The scene of these two outrages is about a quarter of a mile to the north-east of the Túvúr mosque and two miles to the west of Mampuzha kalam. The gang is supposed to have numbered about sixteen at this time.

29. At about 10 P.M. on the 26th February the fanatics, now headed by Poonthiruthi Moidin Kutti Háji *, were seen in a lane to the east of the Túvúr mosque going off towards the east. Ten or twelve of the fanatics went to Kuttathi kalam in Chéramba desam of Chembrasséri amsam and examined the dead body of one Ráru Nair † which was lying in a shed there.

* No. 40 in List A.

† This Ráru Nair had been murdered by another section of fanatics headed by Válakódan Moidutti, whose movements are described below.

30. Shortly after this the gang, in number twenty, visited Válakóttil Parangodan's house in Túvúr half-a-mile to the east of Kuttathi kalam. They demanded a gun there but did not get one. However they went away without doing any damage. Thence they proceeded northwards, passed through Anakallu nilam in Túvúr, then turned westwards to Nanthalapoil (in Túvúr); thence they went to the house of Tházhathéthara Krishnan in Vellayúr desam of Chembrasséri amsam, where they got some jaggery. At about midnight they left this house and went off in an easterly direction and at sunrise on the 27th February they turned up at Cheriyódath Chóyi's house at

Pattarvákkayil, in Túvúr amsam. They entered the house, took from it what provisions they could find such as raw rice, cocoanuts, &c.,* and then continued their march to the east. They next crossed Mékkánian hill in Túvúr and visited Neelánchéri Panikkar's house, made an unsuccessful search for weapons there, and carried off twenty cocoanuts. From this house they went to Chathu Panikkar's house situated a quarter of a mile further west. They entered the house after breaking open the door and carried off some ornaments, three choppers and one axe.

* The wounded fanatic Aruviralan Mootha states that the fanatics got a gun and a spear from this house, but the owner of the house denies it.

31. The gang had by this time increased to thirty in number. They next visited Chólóttil Kundu's house and removed from it some earthen pots in which they prepared jaggery water. Thence they passed northwards along the western side of Kundilampádam kalam in Túvúr, two miles west of Manhikundu, and when they reached Vengakaracotti (in Túvúr) they turned towards the east and went to Manhikundu (Cheramba desam) through Párakadavu. At Manhikundu they are believed to have united forces with Vélakódan Moidutti's section of men from Túvúr about noon on the 27th February.

32. It is now necessary to trace the course of V. Moidutti's gang up to this point. At sunset on Wednesday, the 26th February, about nineteen Mappillas assembled at Vélakódan Moidutti's house in Manhikundu. Starting from this rendezvous they went to Chathu Panikkar's house in Chéramba desam, where they plucked some tender cocoanuts. Thence they seem to have marched to Kuttathi kalam and murdered Kunhi Kuttan *alias* Ráru Nair at about 7-30 P.M. (*vide* paragraph 29 *supra*). As they left this farm-house they were heard to shout out Bánku—their call to prayer. Ráru Nair was formerly the Kariastan of the Méláttúr adhigari and as such must have given offence to some member or members of the gang in some way, though the exact nature of the grudge is not known. From Kuttathi kalam Moidutti's section returned to Manhikundu and did no more mischief till after it was joined by the other section under Poonthiruthi Moidin Kutti Háji at noon on the 27th February (*vide* paragraph 31 *supra*).

33. The two sections thus united the fanatics took meals at Vélukódan Moidutti's house in the afternoon, started out northwards in the evening, and continued to march in that direction till they reached the Wandúr Sispára road, along which they proceeded some distance to the west towards Wandúr. Arrived at the Kalikavu river they left the road and went to Vengathattil Cháthu Nair's kolam called Mêlê Kálikávu kalam in Trikunnasséri desam, Chembrasséri amsam. It was about 4o'clock in the afternoon of the 27th February when the gang reached this point. They were then about forty-three in number. They broke open the doors of the house and stole therefrom ornaments, money (Rs. 34 in cash), clothes, rice, ghee, oil, a copper vessel, a brass kindi, two axes and three choppers and ate a quantity of pig's fat mixed with rice in mistake for ghee, thus unwittingly polluting themselves. This kalam had been in the possession of the Kaithavalappan family for twelve years; and as there were three members of this family joined in the recent outbreak the visit to the kalam was probably due to their guidance.

34. At about 5 o' clock the same day (27th February) the gang halted on a rock in front of Pottayil Mamad Mussaliar's † house. Four men who had apparently gone in advance to this Mussaliar's house were seen coming out of a prayer-shed close to the house and joining the fanatics. The gang then continued their course to the north until they reached Srambikallu kalam (in Trikunnasséri desam) in the occupation of a Tiyan called Vélukutti. They entered the kalam and carried away from it some rice and a copper vessel. Thence they went eastwards to Chakkikuzhi kalam in Trikunnasséri occupied by P. Vélu Nair. Here they slaughtered a cow and took three paras of rice from the kalam as well as a copper vessel, some clothes, a knife and a chopper. Then they went a mile to the north of the kalam and cooked their stolen provisions at the *kootapura* (temporary shed for coolies) of Kunhi Koya shortly after sunset.

† This man is now in custody: *vide* No. 32 in List B.

35. After finishing their meal at the *kootapura* the fanatics went northwards again for half-a-mile to Kallamoola kalam. From this kalam they obtained four axes, eight choppers, some flour and oil and a coat. Some documents which they found in a box in the farm-house they wantonly burned. They next entered Chulliparal kalam (in Pazhédam desam of Chembrasséri amsam) occupied by Palakkal Chandu. From this kalam they carried off four *mundus* or waist cloths. Thence they went on to another kalam—Paralil kalam in Pazhédam desam, in the occupation of Vettimmal Charu. They reached this kalam at about 2 A.M. and threatened to kill the owner if he did not open the door. He immediately opened the door and the fanatics entered and searched the house for arms, but finding none were forced to content themselves with some ornaments and a *mundu*.

36. They next went to Thordathil Parangódan's house at Panampoil Mundayil in Pazhédam desam about two miles to the south-west of Charu's house. They demanded weapons from the inmates but without success. They took away a mundu and 14 * annas. Thence they went northwards through Válakkulampadam and Payanpadam in Trikunnasséri desam, skirted the Amarampalam teak plantations in Nilambur amsam for about a furlong and, passing through Pookótumpadam in Amarampalam desam, went northwards and then turned eastwards to Parambayil after entering four Nair houses on the way in search of arms without doing any mischief. One house at Parambayil in Amarampalam desam belonging to Kommanchéri Nárávani Amma was entered at about 7 A.M. on the 28th February and two guns, two swords, one shield and some ornaments and clothes were taken away. Again the fanatics went eastwards and entered and desecrated a small temple called Anakote ambalam situated about three furlongs off in Trikunnasséri desam.

* In this house they inadvertently left behind a heavy iron-headed spear which was brought in to our camp at Wandúr that night by one of Moosa Kutti, the Wandur adhiguri's, men.

37. On coming out of the temple they met one Krishnan Nair and cut off his kudumi. They next entered one Ramuni Nair's house in Trikunnasséri desam at about 8 A.M., asked for guns but were again disappointed, got some rice, fowls and plantains and clothes and cooked their meals there.

38. A little before midday they halted in a paddy flat named Payangode-Pariyangád padam in Amarampalam desam, where they were seen and interviewed by one Mammad Móyan, a Mappilla. They then resumed their march eastwards, crossed the Kootapuzha river in Trikunnasséri desam, and then turning towards the south passed over Vellilakadan hill in Trikunnasséri, where they seized and threatened to cut off the kudumi of one Chayicha Panikkar but eventually let him go unhurt. They then crossed Chokkadan river and passed again through Chulliparal Milam and Manbappetti and Maliyakkal kalams (in Trikunnasséri) and crossed the Pariyangád river at Muthandathandu in Pariyangád desam. They were seen bathing in this river at about 8 P.M. After their bath they continued their march, passed through Pannikode padam in Pariyangád desam and crossed the Wandúr-Kalikavu road at Pannikode at about 9 P.M. Then they passed through Arpoil in Pariyangád towards the south and thence along the western boundary of Cheruvath (a subdesam of Vellayúr)—the place where the houses of many of the Vellayúr fanatics are situated. Thence they went westwards and shouted their call to prayers—*Banku*—on a rock about a furlong to the west of the Chembrasséri adhigari's house at about 1 A.M. on the 29th February, to the consternation of the inmates of the house. Then they proceeded westwards and passed through Chembrasséri desam and along the southern side of Chálamanian mala (hill) in Teyyampádikuth desam of Pándikád amsam through Kotasséri desam of the same amsam and crossed the Wandúr-Pándikád road at a point about three miles north of Pándikád bungalow at dawn on the 29th February. They then set fire to the Káráyi temple in Káráyi desam of Pándikád amsam about half-a-mile west of the road and two-and-a-half miles north-west of Pándikád bungalow. This temple belongs to Pallikuth Gopala Menon. The next thing they did was to enter one Kóman Nair's house in Vetti Káttiri desam of Payyanad amsam, about two miles west of the temple, and there they cooked their meals. Then they are said to have looted the house and carried away property worth, at the

Nair's valuation which is undoubtedly exaggerated, about Rs. 457. After leaving this place they went westwards along the foot-path leading to Cherukulam (a sub-desam) in Payyanad desam of Payyanad amsam, halted for a while on a small hill about two furlongs to the south of Puttémannil Unni Ahmed's* house. This hill is two miles west of Kóman Nair's house. It is here that the fanatics from Payyanad and Elankúr amsams are supposed to have joined the gang. The hill affords a commanding view of the surrounding country on its north, east and south sides. It was probably on this hill that Captain Layton and the Walavanad Tahsildar, who were then hotly pursuing them, saw and counted the fanatics (*vide* paragraph 13 *supra*). From this hill they moved on towards the south and, passing through Nellikuth desam, crossed the Manjéri-Pándikád road at a point about three furlongs west of the 5th milestone from Manjéri. Here Kunhi Ayamed, a taluk peon of Ernád, who was going from Pándikád to Manjéri to despatch a telegram, was seized by the fanatics at about 8 A.M. The money—Rs. 12—which he was carrying was instantly seized, but the fanatics did not notice the telegram which was secured in his cloth. After much entreaty on the part of the peon the money was returned to him and he was sent to the right about in the direction from which he had come.

* This man was killed at Manjeri temple: *vide* No. 85 in Enclosure A.

39. After crossing the Manjéri-Pándikád road the fanatics passed southwards through Nellikuth (Payyanad amsam) to Mudikode (Manjéri amsam). Through Mudikode bazaar they went westward and entered one Arimbra Nair's house in Pandalúr desam (Manjéri amsam). In this house they searched for arms but found none. They next entered the Pandalúr temple at midday and desecrated it. This temple belongs to the Zamorin of Calicut. Then they left the temple and looted the shop of a Variar close by and carried away some clothes and sundry articles which were there for sale. They then passed the gate of Udambath house, where they plucked tender cocoanuts, and demanded weapons, but obtained none. Thence they went to Veluthadoth para (rock) in Anakayam river, where they had a bath. From this place they proceeded southwards, crossed the Manjéri-Angadipuram road, and visited Narayana Mangalatu *alias* Naras' mana in Vallikapatta desam of Mangadapallipuram amsam, (Walavanad taluk.) Between 4 and 5 P.M. on the 29th February they entered the mana, and, after hacking the woodwork of the portico, they carried away some rice and a copper vessel. They next visited another neighbouring Nambudiri's illom called Perimpalli mana, attempted to shoot a young elephant belonging to the Nambudiri, and cut off the projecting end of the waste pipe of a urinal. On their way from this illom, they chased a goldsmith, named Kander, and shot him and hacked him to death in a most brutal manner. No motive can be assigned for this outrage. The unfortunate goldsmith seems to have run away when he saw the fanatics, and they seem to have pursued and killed him from the mere love of the chase.

40. During the whole of the afternoon of the 29th February the fanatics gained recruits at a most alarming rate. In the middle of the day when they traversed Nellikuth desam they numbered fifty-five (*vide* paragraph 13 above), and by night-fall their numbers were more than doubled, the majority of the re-inforcements joining from Pandalúr and Anakayam desams of Manjéri amsam.

41. After murdering the goldsmith, Kander, the fanatics recrossed the Manjéri-Angadipuram road, and went to the "Ottupara" (rock) in Mangada amsam of Walavanad taluk. This rock is a continuation of the Pandalúr hill. On their way to the rock the fanatics shot a bull and carried it away along with them. They prepared their meals on the rock, and remained there till after midnight. Then they went towards the north-west to a rock called Porunathampara, about a mile east of the Manjéri temple, and finally just before dawn on the 1st of March, they made a descent on the temple and entered and desecrated it. There the career of the first gang came to a close as already described in Part A of this report.

42. When the fanatics were in Mangadapallipuram amsam on the evening of the 29th February they approached to within about five miles of Malappuram barracks. There is every reason to suppose that their intention was, as rumour then said, to attack the barracks in order to release their ringleader, Kochukayyan Mussaliar, who had been arrested on the 25th February, and had been sent to the barracks for safe custody (*vide* paragraph 10 *supra*). Had they done so, the result would have been most disastrous to us, for at that time there were only about thirty-five men remaining in barracks, of whom sixteen or seventeen were inmates of the hospital. Fortunately, however, the fanatics had not sufficient boldness to carry out this plan, but changed their tactics and determined to go and die at the Manjéri Karanamalpad's temple instead. The Mussaliar must have been greatly disgusted with the chicken-heartedness of his followers; for when in custody at the Manjéri sub-jail, he is said to have announced to his guard with all assurance that it was useless for them to try to detain him, as his men were coming to release him by force.

No. 1 in List B.

43. Let us turn now to the second and smaller gang, and see how they were engaged in the meanwhile. There can be no doubt that this was an off-shoot of the larger gang and that the division into two took place at Parambayil on the 28th February, when the major portion of the fanatics, under the leadership of Poonthiruthi Moidin Kutti Háji, marched southwards, and the remainder, seven in number, strayed behind under the leadership of Keeri Ahmed Unni (No. 43 in Enclosure A) for some unexplained reason.

44. This second gang first made its existence known on the night of the 1st March by setting fire to a kalari (gymnasium) belonging to one Govinda Panikker, and situated in Pándikád desam of Pándikád amsam. They also entered the Panikker's house and are said to have carried off Rs. 250 in cash and some gold ornaments valued at Rs. 66. The same night they burnt an out-house attached to a temple belonging to a Tiyyan called Parangodan, situated in Poolamanna desam of Chembrasséri amsam, about two miles north of Govinda Panikker's house. They also entered Parangodan's house, and carried away some ornaments. In the same neighbourhood, on the same night (the 1st March), they burnt the house of one Sankara variar and a bathing shed attached to Poolamanna temple which belongs to Kudumakat Nambudiri.

45. At about 8 P.M. on the 2nd March, they went to a kalam belonging to Erathodiyil Kutten Nair in Túvúr amsam of Walavanad taluk, and demanded that guns should be given them. The watchman, Volia Veetil Ittirarichan Nair, said that there was no gun in the house. Immediately the fanatics seized him, stabbed him several times on the neck and shoulders, and left him for dead (*vide* paragraph 23 *supra*). They then laid hold of his brother, Kannan Kutti Nair, and cut off his kudumi. The leader of the gang, Keeri Ahmed Unni, is said to have subsequently expressed to one Vakayath Sankaran Nair that Ittirarichan Nair was stabbed by mistake for the owner of the house, E. Kutten Nair, whom they bore a grudge against, but the nature of the grudge has not been ascertained. Vakayath Sankaran Nair states that the sole cause of enmity is the niggardliness of the Nair, who is in the habit of refusing to give rice, plantains, &c., to poor Mappilla beggars; but there was in all probability some stronger personal cause for enmity between K. Ahmed Unni and the Nair, although we have been unable to discover its exact nature. Ittirarichan Nair is still under treatment in the Manjéri hospital, but he has now almost recovered from his wounds.

46. The same night the fanatics burnt a toddy shop belonging to a Tiyan named Ayappan and also a hut belonging to a Chetty called Karuppan in Túvúr. These two buildings are not far from the house of the leader of the gang, Keeri Ahmed Unni.

47. At about midnight the fanatics set fire to the house of one Modavakkat Sankaran Nair in Túvúr, and carried away a cloth, an umbrella and a coat belonging to the Nair. The same night they entered the house of a Nair woman named Nettumparambath Ittunni Amma, and carried away half-a-rupee in cash and some clothes. They next went to the adjoining house, where Vakayath Sankaran Nair lives, and extorted from the latter Rs. 40. They sent this Sankaran Nair to the house of the aforesaid Ittunni Amma (his mother-in-law) to demand some more money from her. According to Sankaran Nair, he received Rs. 50 from Parvathi Amma, Ittunni

Amma's daughter, and handed it over to the leader of the gang, Keeri Ahmed Unni. This statement of Sankaran Nair cannot be accepted without question, for Ambat Aidros (No. 27 in List B), Puzhuthini Kunhayan (No. 7 in List B) and Kaithavalappan Kunholan (No. 24 in List B), have all three stated that they got only Rs. 36 in all from the Nair and his mother-in-law, and the prisoners have had no opportunity of concocting a falsehood regarding this matter, nor is there any apparent reason why they should do so.

48. The fanatics appear to have left Túvúr soon after midnight and to have proceeded northwards into Trikunnasséri desam of Chembrasséri amsam, where, at about daybreak on the 3rd March, they entered Srambikallu kalam *, the property of Tiyan Velukutti, and took away some raw rice and curry-stuff. They next entered Perinkollanpoyi kalam (which lies a little to the north of Srambikallu kalam) in the afternoon and took away two copper vessels and one bunch of plantains, the property of the owner of the kalam, Elipatta Chandu. The gang then went to a koottupura † north of Chandu's kalam, had their meals there, and then went southwards in the evening. E. Chandu also states that at about 7 A.M., on the 29th February, six Mappillas entered his house and took away some rice, two silver anklets and some clothes. These visitors were in all probability the second gang which had been left behind at Parambayil on the previous day, and of whose movements nothing was heard until the 1st of March.

* Visited by the first gang (*vide* paragraph 34 *supra*).

† Temporary shed for coolies.

49. At 6 o'clock the same evening (3rd March) the fanatics entered the house of Thayathara Krishnan in Vellayúr and took all the jaggery which they could find there. It will be remembered that the first gang had already paid a visit to this house (*vide* paragraph 30 *supra*). These visits do not seem to have been the outcome of spite, but the fanatics were kept so well cornered in the jungle by the numerous parties of troops which were on their tracks that they were very hard pressed for food and were accordingly driven to seize what little provisions they could find in the few houses scattered about in their neighbourhood.

50. Later on the same night the gang revisited another house which had been already plundered by the first gang—that of Chandan Kuralil Chathu in Cheramba desam of Chembrasséri amsam. Here they managed to get some raw rice which they took away with them.

51. About noon on the 4th March they went to another Tiyan house in Cheramba desam and demanded a cow, but were only able to procure a chicken from the boy who was in charge of the house. Shortly after this, two members of the gang entered Arimanalil kalam in Cheramba desam, the property of the Maranat Nambudripad and occupied by Krishna Variar, but they did no harm beyond carrying off four cocoa-nuts and Rs. 2 in cash. The gang was next seen in the afternoon of the same day cooking meals at Manhikundu, close by the house of Vélakódan Moidutti, one of the prominent members of the first gang. At 7 o'clock in the evening of the same day they went to Kundilampadam kalam ‡ in Túvúr amsam and asked for guns. Not being successful at this house they went straight to that of Vettath Kanaren Nair, a mile further west. In this house they broke open some boxes and carried off Rs. 25 in cash and some ornaments, as well as a quantity of raw rice. Of these ornaments twenty-five silver earrings besides some money have been recovered from Ambatt Aidros, one of the members of the gang (*vide* No. 27 in List B). At ten o'clock that night they entered the house of a goldsmith, named Chaichu, in Pórúr amsam, and carried off some rice, some gold and silver ornaments and Rs. 25 in cash.

‡ The property of Chennu Pariker of Payyanad amsam.

52. No further outrage appears to have been committed by the gang until the 8th March. At about 8 o'clock in the evening of that day they set fire to Kakra kalam in Túvúr amsam, the property of the adhigari, against whom K. Ahmed Unni, the leader of the gang, is supposed to have had a grudge (*vide* paragraph 72 *infra*).

53. The gang seems to have retired right into the heart of the juugle after this, for nothing more was seen or heard of it until Wednesday, the 11th March. On the morning of this day one of the members of the gang named Keeri Abdulla (a younger brother of the leader of the gang) committed suicide by shooting himself close to his father's house in Túvúr amsam. The dead body and the gun with which the act was done were discovered there shortly afterwards.

54. On the 12th of March the gang appears to have gone again to Thayathathara Krishnan's house in Vellayúr desam and to have stolen therefrom some rice. Then they went to Kallamoola kalam in Trikunnasséri desam, one of the farm-houses pillaged by the first gang (*vide* paragraph 35 *supra*). In this farm-house they obtained some jaggery. The same night they also visited Srambikallu kalam * for the second time, and went away disappointed after an unsuccessful search for jaggery. After midnight they entered and destroyed the idol in Anakóde temple in Parambayil in Trikunnasséri desam. This temple had been desecrated already by the first gang (*vide* paragraph 36 *supra*).

* *Vide* paragraph 48 *supra*.

55. Early on the morning of the 13th March before dawn, the fanatics entered a two-storeyed farm-house † adjoining the Anakóde temple. Here they determined to make their final stand, and set about preparing the house for a defence. They took off the thatch and set fire to it in the court-yard lest the house should be burnt over their heads (*vide* the statement ‡ of the wounded fanatic Kunhayu). The same day Mr. Fawcett, the District Superintendent of Police, with the special force, arrived at and surrounded the house, and, after calling on the rebels to surrender without avail, fired on them, killing two and wounding the third, P. Kunhayu (No. 7 in List B).

† The property of Vella Katt Bhattathiripad.

‡ No 378.

56. Only three of the seven fanatics who composed this gang were found to have made their stand in the house at Parambayil, though Mr. Fawcett supposed that six of them (all except K. Abdulla who had shot himself on the 11th March, *vide* paragraph 53) were there. But Ambat Aidros, Kaithavalappan Kunholan and Aruviralan Athoyi (all under arrest, *vide* Nos. 27, 24 and 25 in List B) had deserted the gang and been taken into custody as mentioned above (paragraph 25).

57. The dead bodies of Keeri Ahmed Unni and Ossán Unnian were taken at once from Parambayil to Manjéri, where they were burnt in the sub-jail compound, like those of the fanatics who were killed at Manjéri. P. Kunhayu, the wounded man, was removed with all possible despatch to Manjéri hospital, where he still lies in a precarious condition.

58. I regret very much that I have no map ready to accompany this report, in order to illustrate the path taken by the fanatics as described in the foregoing paragraphs. The Special Commissioner, however, is having a map prepared in order to elucidate his own report. If a copy of that map, when printed, be attached to this part of my report, it will serve to make clearer what is at present, I fear, a medley of unintelligible proper names.

C.—59. The causes and origin of the outbreak naturally form a third chapter in this report. I do not, however, intend to deal with this part of the subject at any great length since the Special Commissioner, the Hon'ble Mr. H. M. Winterbotham, has been deputed to make enquiries and to submit a separate report in this connection. I shall merely record a few facts which have been revealed by my enquiries into the identity of the fanatics and into the connection with the outbreak of the prisoners now under remand.

60. In several important features this outbreak stands unique in the annals of Mappilla fanaticism in Malabar.

In the first place, in point of numbers. In order to restore the peace it has unfortunately been necessary to shoot down ninety-two misguided Mappillas—a number far in excess of the greatest number killed in any previous outbreak, not even excepting

that in which sixty-four Mappillas fell at Angadipuram in 1849. In the next place there is the total absence of any incentive of sufficient importance to explain the magnitude of the outbreak. Again, the fanatics this year did not divorce their wives, as usual, prior to "going out." This may be accounted for by the fact that the offenders' plans were precipitated by the arrest of their ringleaders. Doubtless, too, in the case of several of the fanatics it argues an entire want of premeditation and design. Several of them in all probability merely joined the gang when it passed their way without any previous knowledge of its existence. In fact, the ringleader of the band of men who joined from Manjéri amsam—Manjipalli Ahmed Kutti by name (No. 58 in List A)—had actually married a wife about ten days before the 29th February—the day on which he threw in his lot with the fanatics. Again, this is the first time that the fanatics were known to kill one another or to commit suicide—acts forbidden by their religion and totally out of accord with the career of "Sahids" according to all accepted principles. It is almost incredible that they should have done so, but it is proved beyond the shadow of a doubt that they did (*vide* the reports of the medical officers who examined the corpses and the statements * of eye witnesses of the engagement at Manjéri).

* Nos. 384, 385, 387, 118, 72, &c.

61. The following paragraphs contain a brief narrative of the incident which seems to have been the immediate cause of the outbreak, with an account of the manner in which information reached the authorities.

62. Kochu Kayyan *alias* Thopitta Moidin Kutti Mussaliar (No. 1 in List B), aged forty years, originally a Cheruma by caste, became a convert to Muhammadanism about 26 years ago. After acquiring some knowledge of Muhammadan doctrines, and having undergone six months' training in a religious school at Ponani, he assumed the title of Mussaliar (without actually taking the degree), and began to pose as a religious teacher. For the past twelve years he has lived with his family (consisting of a wife and three children, of whom the eldest is a boy of sixteen years of age, the second a daughter of eleven years, and the third a boy of six years) near the Túvúr mosque about half-a-mile from the residence of Govindan, the adhigari of Túvúr amsam in Walavanad taluk. He has been earning a livelihood by preaching and teaching Koran. His eldest son and his wife work as coolies. He has no property of any description. In January last he had a quarrel with Veluthodath Sankaran, the younger brother of Govindan, the adhigari of Túvúr amsam. One day this Sankaran met the Mussaliar on a footpath in Túvúr amsam. The Mussaliar was wearing sandals at the time, and did not remove them while Sankaran passed him. Sankaran, incensed at this want of respect, rebuked the Mussaliar, and the latter took the rebuke very much to heart. He appears to have expressed to his wife on many occasions his regret at his inability to avenge the insult. He continued his preaching amongst his co-religionists of Túvúr and Chembrasséri amsams, and seems to have imported to his doctrines some of the bitterness which he began to feel against Kaffirs. His sermons after this seem to have been based principally on the text of *jehad*, and they awakened in the neighbourhood the slumbering spirit of fanaticism. There is evidence to show that he thus preached in the houses of several of the fanatics who took part in the recent troubles. Kappa Kunnan Mootha, of Trikunnasséri desam, Chembrasséri amsam, one of the four persons arrested on the 25th February (*vide* paragraphs 2 and 4 *supra*), appears † to have been deeply impressed by the Mussaliar's eloquence on the advantages of martyrdom and to have expressed to one Mancheri Avaran, in the course of a conversation, that he who had heard the preaching of the Mussaliar would never more toil for a living.

† *Vide* statement No. 298.

63. On a night in the beginning of the Muhammadan month of Ramazan, about a month after the conversation referred to at the close of the preceding paragraph, the aforesaid Avaran happened to meet Kappa Kunnan Mootha and a cousin of his named Pottemmal Unni Mammad (also arrested on the 25th February) in a foot-path, when Mootha asked Avaran, who is a sawyer by profession, if he would sell him an *old* saw, as he wanted to saw some timber for gun-stocks. Though Avaran knew that Mootha was a good shikari and as such likely to require gun-stocks, he could not understand why Mootha wanted to *purchase* an *old* saw for this purpose alone. He accordingly questioned him further, when Mootha said that he wanted the saw in order to make knives out of it. This conversation recalled to Avaran's mind the conversation which he had with Mootha about a month before on the subject of the Mussaliar's preaching. He therefore gave no definite promise but said that he would see about it. The next morning Avaran communicated the details of this conversation and his suspicion of coming mischief to a friend and neighbour of his named Pattikatan Alavi, a hanger-on of the local police, with a request that the matter should be enquired into and information given to the authorities. As neither Mootha nor Unni Mammad lived in his (Alavi's) neighbourhood and as Unni Mammad was a neighbour of Valiapeedikkal Unnian Kutti Háji, a rich Mappilla of Pórúr amsam, Thodiapulam desam, Alavi communicated this information to Unni Kammu, the son of Unnian Kutti Háji, on the 20th February. The next day (Friday) Unni Kammu, falling in with Unni Mammad on their return from the mosque, asked him whether Kochu Kayan Mussaliar was in the habit of visiting Mootha at his house. Unni Mammad answered in the negative. In the meantime Unni Kammu commissioned a neighbour of Mootha's named P. Ahmed Kutti to ascertain whether the Mussaliar did visit Mootha's house. On the morning of the Monday following (24th February) Ahmed Kutti informed Unni Kammu that the Mussaliar had paid frequent visits to Mootha's house. The same evening Unni Mammad went to Unni Kammu and enquired of him why he wanted to know about the Mussaliar's visits to Mootha. Unni Kammu taxed him with having concealed the truth from him and told him that he was in possession of the real facts, and that it would be as well for himself to speak out the truth, whereupon Unni Mammad made a confessional statement to the following effect:—"It is a fact that the Mussaliar used to visit Mootha's house. Mootha told me that the Mussaliar had told him that several persons were prepared to commit an outbreak and that there is much salvation in it. He also asked me to take part in it with him. I told him that we should not go in for it, as the people at large and our families would be put to difficulties." In reply to further questioning Unni Mammad said that of their neighbours, Kundur Ayammad Kutti Mulla and Maliyakkal Moyan Kutti (both under arrest *) as well as Pottayil Mammad Mussaliar (under arrest) and the sons of Pattikatan Srajadin had also agreed to take part; that the intention was to break out on the 12th or 17th day of the Ramazan; that their object was to murder the Túvúr *adhigari*, *Govindan Nair*, and the Maranat Nambudripad—the former for having beaten or kicked the Mussaliar and the latter for having evicted Srajadin's sons. Another reason assigned by Unni Mammad for the intended outbreak was the demolition of a certain mosque in Payyanad amsam †. Unni Kammu at once communicated this information to his father, Unnian Kutti Háji, who informed the Wandúr adhigari, Moosa Kutti, about it the same night.

* (Nos. 29, 30 in List B.)

† *Vide* foot-note to the paragraph.

[*Foot-note.*—On the southern side of the Manjeri-Pándikád road, at the second milestone from Manjeri, there is by the road side a spring of water, which has also been made use of by the general public as a bathing place. In March 1895, Abdulla Gurikal of Payyanad amsam, son of the pensioned Police Inspector, Khan Bahadur Ahmed Gurikal, began to erect a *Niskara-palli*, or Mappilla praying-shed, by the side of this spring. The Assistant Superintendent of Police noticed this work, and seeing that it meant practically a usurpation of the spring in favour of the Mappillas, on the 14th March 1895 he reported the matter to the Ernád Tahsildar. The Tahsildar issued orders on the same date to the adhigari of the amsam to stop the work, and to report full particulars about the shed. The report of the adhigari (who is a Mappilla and a relative of Abdulla Gurikal) showed that the shed was not intended as a *Niskara-palli*, but that, as there was a good supply of water near the place, Abdulla Gurikal thought that the erection of the shed would confer a boon on wayfarers of all classes who had to pass that way, especially in the hot season. The adhigari further reported that if the authorities found the work in any way objectionable, Abdulla Gurikal was prepared to demolish it and that he had already stopped the work. The Tahsildar soon afterwards had a conversation with Abdulla Gurikal about the matter with the result that the latter agreed to pull down the shed. The shed was accordingly pulled down on the 21st March 1895.]

64. Moosa Kutti had also received information at an earlier hour on the same day from one Unnian of Pannikkod in Chembrasséri amsam, that one Pálóli Mammu, of Vellayúr desam (killed at Manjéri ‡ temple) had been seen getting three choppers made by a certain blacksmith. (This blacksmith, named Koma, was tried by me for an offence under the Offensive Weapons Act XX of 1854, and was acquitted on the 16th March on the ground that

‡ (*Vide* No. 1 in List A.)

the choppers which he made were of the ordinary kind used in every native house, and that he did not manufacture them with any guilty intention or knowledge). Moosa Kutti (Wandúr adhigari) reported these facts to the Stationary Magistrate Ernád, early on the morning of the 25th February, and, accompanied by the Acting Inspector of Police of Manjéri, who then happened to be at Wandúr, he proceeded to the residence of the suspected persons, and, before evening, had succeeded in arresting the three of them named in the margin. The same night the Stationary Magistrate joined the Wandúr adhigari at Thodiapalam in Pórúr amsam and made a report about the arrest of the aforesaid three persons and of the Mussaliar * who was arrested at his house in Túvúr amsam by Constable Krishnan Nair. The report further stated that Pálóli Mammu, to arrest whom a constable had been sent out, had with nine others fled into the jungle.

1. Kappa Kunnan Mootha.
2. Pottemmal Unni Mammad.
3. Alingal Aidru

} Nos. 2, 3 and 4 in List B.

* No. 1 in List B.

65. It is clear that the Mussaliar had been preaching sedition in the houses of his co-religionists in Túvúr and Chembrasséri amsams. In fact, he himself admits having preached recently in the houses of several of the fanatics who were shot at Manjéri on the 1st March. Of course, he denies that he preached *jehad*, and maintained that his sermons dealt with prayer, ablution and bath, and with those subjects alone (*vide* statement No. 308.) There can, however, be little doubt that he really preached *jehad*, at any rate after his ire had been roused by the insult which he received at the hands of Sankaran, if not prior to that also.

66. It is true that a few of the rioters were animated with a desire to avenge some private grievance, real or imagined (the Special Commissioner's report will, I believe, deal with these grievances); but the great majority of those who "went out" on the 25th February appear to have been actuated in the main by the spirit of fanaticism, breathed into them by the preaching of the Mussaliar and readily accepted by those who had but little in this life to lose, and who were persuaded to believe that if they died as "Sahids" they would instantly pass to the seventh heaven, where all sorts of joy unspeakable would be their portion. The Mussaliar seems, therefore, to be primarily responsible for fanning the spark of fanaticism which eventually burst into flame on the 25th February, as soon as the Mussaliar himself and three of his associates had been arrested.

D.—67. I have now to deal with the persons under arrest in connection with the outbreak, to detail the evidence on record against them, and to make my recommendations concerning them. This part of my enquiry is not yet complete, but there is sufficient evidence available now to enable Government to pass temporary orders in the case of several of the prisoners; and as all the sub-jails in the division and the cells in the barracks at Malappuram are terribly over-crowded, it is very necessary that those of the prisoners who can be removed should be taken away at once, in order to relieve the congestion. I therefore request that those prisoners whom Government decides to remove from the district may be temporarily transferred to some other district pending the final orders of Government.

68. Enclosure B is a list of the prisoners at present in custody charged with complicity in the outbreak. I shall hereafter, as a rule, refer to the prisoners by their numbers in this list.

69. *No. 1* is the Mussaliar or priest referred to in paragraph 62 above as having been insulted by a Nair, and having taken the insult to heart to such an extent as to have worked up a number of his Mappilla neighbours to a determination to join an outbreak. A full account of this incident is given in Part C of this report. The Mussaliar admits having been consulted by several Mappillas in the neighbourhood of Maruthath, in Túvúr, as to the advantages of a martyr's death, but he denies having recommended the same to the enquirers. He also admits that he preached recently in the houses of several of those who joined the fanatics and were shot at

the Manjéri temple on the 1st March (*vide* his statement No 308). His wife admits that she heard that her husband had preached *jehad* to some of the fanatics who were killed at Manjéri. She also states that her husband was deeply wounded by the insult offered him by the Túvúr adhigari's brother (*vide* paragraph 62 *supra*) and often regretted his inability to avenge it. Mancheri Avaran * says that Kappa Kunnan Mootha (prisoner No. 2) told him that the Mussaliar had preached *jehad* in his (Mootha's) house, and that whoever had the opportunity of hearing his preaching would never toil for a living any more. The prisoner † Mootha supports this by stating that the Mussaliar tried to persuade him to join in an outbreak which was being organized to avenge the demolition of Payyanad *Niskara-palli* or prayer-shed (*vide* foot-note to paragraph 63 *supra*.) Add to all this the suspicious circumstances in which the Mussaliar was found at the time of his arrest. When the constable went to call him on the 25th February he was sitting in his house reading and declined to go with the constable ‡ because he was engaged to perform a moulhoud § at his neighbour Mussaliar Unni Koya's house. This Mussaliar Unni Koya joined the fanatics shortly afterwards and was killed at Manjéri temple on the 1st March (see Enclosure A, No. 37). Another Mappilla who was present at Mussaliar Unni Koya's house at the time of the arrest of No. 1 also went out and was killed at Manjéri (Paramal Poker, No. 36 in Enclosure A). There is thus the clearest proof that No. 1, if not an active conspirator, was at least fully cognisant of the conspiracy which was being hatched. There is not sufficient evidence forthcoming for his criminal prosecution with any chance of obtaining a conviction; but it is none the less indubitable that he was intimately connected with the conspiracy. I recommend that he be removed from this district.

* Statement No. 298.

† Statement No. 139.

‡ Statement No. 390.

§ A service in honour of a saint.

70. *No. 2* is the Mootha referred to in the preceding paragraph. About a month before the outbreak he told Mancheri Avaran that he had been deeply impressed by the preaching of No. 1. Again, just before the discovery of the conspiracy, the prisoner, accompanied by No. 3, asked Mancheri Avaran, who is a sawyer by trade, for an old saw to make knives of. This request it was which led to the first information being given to the authorities (*vide* paragraph 63 *supra*). The prisoner's wife admits ‖ that Kochu Kayan Mussaliar (No. 1) had been visiting her husband's house shortly before the outbreak. Prisoner No. 3 states that No. 2, his cousin, had asked him to join in the outbreak, but that he declined. Thayathayil Ayappan deposes ¶ that prisoner No. 2, his neighbour, who is reputed to be a great shikari and who was fined Rs. 35 by the Special Assistant Magistrate in 1891 for unlawful possession of two guns, recently engaged in some firing practice in front of his own house. The Special Magistrate, Koonhayan, states ** that he visited the house and saw the tree which had been used as a target by No. 2 with three bullet marks on it. No. 2 himself admits that No. 1 had invited him to become a *Sahid* and to help to avenge the demolition of the Payyanad *Niskara-palli*. The conclusion is irresistible that No. 2 knew all about the conspiracy which was on foot and there can be but little doubt that he would have "gone out" with the others had it not been for his timely arrest. It is said that one of the guns found in the Manjéri temple after the engagement there was Mootha's (he had taken out no license for it), but this fact is difficult of proof and no evidence in support of it is forthcoming. The man's statement ‡‡ is most unsatisfactory. He denies having ever fired a shot in his life, in spite of his conviction for unlicensed possession of the two guns referred to above, which he himself had to admit (*vide* statement No. 137). It is a moral certainty that No. 2 was also a conspirator and had made preparations

‖ Statement No. 209.

¶ Statement No. 296.

** Statement No. 112.

‡‡ Statement No. 135.

to join in the outbreak. The evidence is not sufficiently substantial to procure his conviction by a Criminal Court, but the man should be dealt with, I think, under Act XX of 1859. I recommend that he be removed from the district.

71. *No. 3* is the cousin of No. 2. He admits * having been asked by Mootha (No. 2) about the 10th February to join in the outbreak which No. 1 was organising. He was present with No. 2 when the latter asked Mancheri Avaran for a saw from which knives were to be made. He confessed † to V. Unni Kammu that at the instigation of No. 1 several persons including prisoners Nos. 29, 30 and 32 were preparing an outbreak in which they proposed to murder the Túvúr adhigari and the Maranat Nambudiripad—the former because of the insult offered by his brother to No. 1 (*vide* paragraph 62 *supra*), and the latter because he had evicted some of the Pattikatan people. The outbreak was also intended to avenge the demolition of the Payyanad *Aiskara-palli* ‡. This confession of No. 3 to Unni Kammu was one of the steps which led to the first information being given to the authorities (*vide* paragraph 63 *supra*). Thithi Umma, wife of No. 2, states§ that No. 3 had agreed to attend a *nercha* || which was to have been held at the house of No. 2 on the 12th night of the Ramazan, *i.e.*, the 25th February—the very day on which the arrests were made. A *nercha* may be a harmless enough festival in itself, but considering the certainty of the complicity of No. 2 in the conspiracy it is but reasonable to suppose that the principal topic to be discussed at this particular *nercha* was the proposed outbreak. No. 3 has admitted that he knew of the conspiracy some days at least before his arrest, and the fact that he took no steps to prevent it by warning the authorities argues that he was hand-and-glove with the conspirators. In his statement before me on the 20th April the prisoner volunteered a most unsatisfactory explanation for not having given information to the authorities (*vide* statement No. 131). I do not consider that it would be safe to leave this man in the district, and I recommend that he also may be removed.

* Statements Nos. 131 and 140.

† Statement No. 276.

‡ *Vide* foot-note to paragraph 63 *supra*.

§ Statement No. 209.

|| A festival in honour of a saint or martyr.

72. It is remarkable that, although the Túvúr adhigari and the Maranat Nambudiri were thus mentioned as the objects of attack, neither of them were in any way injured by this gang. A kalam or farmhouse belonging to the former was, it is true, burnt by the second gang of fanatics ¶, but the motive for that outrage is entirely different to that which actuated those whom the Mussaliar (No. 1) encouraged to go out. The leader of the second gang was Keeri Ahmed Unni, and there is reason to believe that he had a personal grudge against the Túvúr adhigari, which accounts for the destruction of the Túvúr adhigari's kalam. It appears that Keeri Ahmed Unni had purchased the door and window frames of a certain house from the sons of one Akkarakalavan Ali. Subsequently the sons of Ali mortgaged the house to the Túvúr adhigari. Meanwhile Ahmed Unni had removed the door and window frames without the adhigari's knowledge. The adhigari then got the sons of Ali to complain to the police against Ahmed Unni, and Ahmed Unni was finally induced to pay Rs. 40 to the adhigari and the police to hush up the case. This is the story which Ahmed Unni himself told to Vakkayath Sankaran Nair **. How far it is true I have not yet been able to discover but a separate enquiry will be made into the matter. The fact that the Túvúr adhigari and Maranat Nambudiripad escaped injury at the hands of the first gang of fanatics I can only attribute to (1) the strong police guard which was kept at the Túvúr adhigari's house during all the time that the fanatics were in that neighbourhood and (2) the fact that the sons of Srajadin, who are said to have borne malice against the Nambudiripad, did not actually join the gang and so their particular grievance was left unavenged.

¶ *Vide* paragraph 52 *supra*.

** *Vide* statement No. 105.

73. *No. 4* is a man who is said to have gone out with the fanatics of 1894 but to have left the gang and returned to his house before the final stand was made at Pallikurup. His own sister, Achamma *, who lives with him, and his neighbour, P. Unnian Kutti †, both swear that this rumour is generally believed in the neighbourhood. A few days before the outbreak, No. 4 received visits from Kochu Kayan Mussaliar, the moving spirit in the affair, and from Pálóli Mammu, who was subsequently shot with the fanatics at Manjéri temple. He must therefore be presumed to have known what was going on. His intention to join the proposed outbreak is proved by the fact that he made the customary preparations for "going out". In the beginning of Ramazan, just after P. Mammu had visited him, he sent his wife away to her home in Mudikode, Manjéri amsam, without any ostensible reason. The probability is that he had divorced her, though it is not to be expected that the woman will admit it now. She, in fact, denies ‡ it, and contradicts every statement of her sister-in-law, Achamma, in a way which shows that she is prepared to deny everything in order to protect her husband. Her statement carries its own condemnation. In one breath she says that she left her husband because of a slight misunderstanding, and in the next she says there was no such misunderstanding and that she does not know why she was sent home. The prisoner omitted to make preparations for fencing his compound and thatching his house at the usual time this year, and lastly he mortgaged his domestic utensils—almost the only property he has—in the beginning of Ramazan. There can be no doubt that this man was also aware of the proposed outbreak and fully determined to join in it, though he was arrested before his intention could be carried into effect. He is a mere cooly and the fact that he is reported to have gone with the fanatics in 1894 shows that he is a bad character and one most likely to join in organizing an outbreak. It would not be safe to allow him to remain in this district, and I therefore recommend that he may be removed from it.

* Statement No. 269.

† Statement No. 268.

‡ Statement No. 122.

74. These first four persons are the men who were arrested on the 25th February after the receipt of the first information of the conspiracy.§ Their plans were not quite mature when the authorities pounced upon them, and this makes it more difficult to obtain much evidence against them. It is always difficult to prove an intention which has not been followed up by action, and in this case the prisoners had not quite completed their plans. To this must be attributed the absence of any great evidence of preparation. No. 4 alone had arranged his affairs in the customary manner of a "Sahid." Whether No. 1 actually intended to go out himself with his disciples must remain a mystery. It is quite possible that he did not intend to live up to his precepts, but it cannot be doubted that he took an active part in the organization of the rebellion. I am perfectly satisfied that all four men were conspirators, and I consider that it would be in the highest degree unsafe to allow any one of them to remain in the district.

§ *Vide* paragraph 64 *supra*.

75. *No. 5* is Aruviralan Mootha, one of the two survivors of the engagement at Manjéri on the 1st March. He is the brother of the prisoner No. 25. He admits || that he joined the fanatics on the 25th February—the day on which they went out—and continued with them until the stand was made at Manjéri. He says that he had no grievance whatever, but joined the gang solely at the invitation of others. He is only 18 years of age. He seems to have a charmed life, for not only did he escape death from the terrific volleys which were poured into the fanatics at the Manjéri temple, but he likewise had a marvellous escape from having his throat cut by one of his fellow-rebels there. After he was wounded one of the fanatics, either to put him out of pain or to prevent his being taken prisoner, deliberately attempted to cut his throat and had actually inflicted a slight flesh wound upon the front of his neck when he was carried off by a bullet himself before his object was accomplished. The prisoner still bears the scar on his throat. This is additional proof, if such were necessary, that the fanatics deliberately

|| *Vide* Statements Nos. 13 and 377.

put an end to one another in the temple on the 1st March (*vide* paragraph 60 *supra*). This prisoner is now a "failed" sahid, and it would be exceedingly unsafe to allow him to continue in the district. He has now quite recovered from his wound and is able to walk about. I recommend that he be deported permanently.

76. *No. 6* is the Cheruman Raman, who alone besides No. 5 survived the engagement at Manjéri. He was wounded in the left leg, the bullet passing through the calf and then through the thigh, as the prisoner was held in a sitting position, with his legs directed towards the troops, by a fanatic who was anxious that the prisoner should not be taken alive. The prisoner is now convalescent, though still somewhat lame. He has been discharged from the hospital and is in custody in the barracks at Malappuram. He maintains * that he did not go with the fanatics of his own free-will and accord, but that as they passed him in Cheppur desam, Manjéri amsam, on the afternoon of the 29th February, they laid violent hands on him and forcibly carried him with them till they reached Manjéri. This story is quite probable, and if it be true the prisoner has been very badly used. The question is what to do with him. He has become a marked man. He was made a Mappilla by the fanatics, who gave him the name of Ahmed, and if he is now released, he will assuredly revert to his former name, religion and caste, and may perhaps be regarded by the Mappillas as a renegade and as such a standing insult to their religion. This would expose him to great risk. However, it is impossible for Government to protect all such apostates, and I think that this man may be set at liberty, which is all he asks for. The Special Commissioner and the District Superintendent of Police agree that, though this is to some extent an experiment, it may well be tried in this case.

* Statements Nos. 11 and 79.

77. *No. 7* is the sole survivor of the attack made by the District Superintendent of Police on the house at Parambayil, where a stand was made by Keeri Ahmed Unni's gang on the 13th March (*vide* paragraph 24 *supra*). The prisoner was struck by a bullet in the left side of his chest. The bullet penetrated his left lung and came out behind just at the inner edge of the left scapula, which was slightly fractured. It is almost a miracle that the man has lived so long. He is still in the hospital at Manjéri in a very precarious condition. It is exceedingly doubtful whether he will live much longer. According to his statement † he left his house through fear of being arrested, searched for the first gang of fanatics without success, met five others who were engaged in the same quest, and, joining with them, formed what has been so often referred to in this report as the second gang. They wandered about the jungles and committed several outrages until at last they were brought to bay by the District Superintendent of Police with the special force at the house in Parambayil, where the prisoner received his wound.‡ The man disowns all participation in any of the offences committed by the gang and there is no reliable evidence to bring any of them home to him. He, too, if he survives, must, I think, be dealt with under Act XX of 1859 and permanently deported.

† No. 378.

‡ *Vide* Part C of this report.

78. The case against *No. 10* is a clear one. He was seen by Kunhunni Arimbra Nayar and Mathâri Moidin at Arimbra Nayar's house in company with the gang on the 29th February (*vide* paragraph 39 *supra*). The prisoner was armed with a gun. He was again seen with the gang at Veluthedath para by Moidin Kutti Mulla § and at Udambath house by K. Ali Ammu ‖. E. Govinda Variar ¶ and P. Athen Moyan ** saw him with the gang at Pandalúr temple. Ráru Nayar saw him with the fanatics at the gate of Udumbath house. Two of this prisoner's brothers—Ahmed and Kunhormu by name (see Nos. 56 and 57 in List A)—were shot at Manjéri temple on the following day,

Statement No. 319.
Statement No. 317.
§ Statement No. 318.
‖ Statement No. 320.
¶ Statement No. 321.
** Statement No. 323.

while his brother Moidu, a lad of twelve years of age, is now in custody for having gone with the fanatics (No. 23 in List B). This boy Moidu's statement * removes all doubt as to the guilt of No. 10. Moidu says that he himself joined the gang with his three brothers on the 29th February, that Veeran (No. 10) was armed with a gun, while he himself had a chopper, that his brothers Ahmed and Muhammad entered the Manjéri temple with the fanatics and were shot, whilst Veeran (No. 10) and he left the gang when they were within view of the temple, and that they threw away their arms on the side of the hill there and returned home. This statement is borne out by the fact that, while advancing on the temple on the morning of the 1st March, we found a flint lock gun fully loaded lying on the hillside within a few hundred yards of the temple (*vide* the statement † of what I observed during the engagement, made at the request of the Special Commissioner). There can be absolutely no doubt, therefore, that the prisoner Veeran (No. 10) went with the gang, that he was armed with a gun, that he was present at the desecration of the Pandalúr temple and in all probability at the murder of the goldsmith in Mangadapallipuram amsam likewise, and that at the eleventh hour he deserted the gang, either because his heart failed him or for some other reason. The prisoner states ‡ that he was not arrested at all, but that he voluntarily came to Pándikád to enquire about his brother Moidu who had been arrested. Even if true, this could scarcely help the prisoner in the face of the evidence against him, for it might be explained as a piece of effrontery intended to avert suspicion. But the statement does not appear to be true (see statement No 138 of Constable No. 144 of Manjéri station who arrested the prisoner). I therefore recommend that this man, too, be deported.

* Statement No. 87.

† No. 383.

‡ Statement No. 126.

79. *No. 12* is a Hindu convert to Muhammadanism. His son was killed at Manjéri temple on the 1st March (*vide* No. 52 in Enclosure A). Against the prisoner there is very little evidence—not more than enough to raise a suspicion against him. He was doing duty as a guard at the Manjéri temple and left it on the evening of Saturday, the 29th February, without reason. A neighbour of the prisoner, Paravan Kutti, states § that he (the prisoner) went home at about 9 P.M. on the 29th February; that while at his meals he informed his wife that their son had joined the fanatics, and that therefore it was immaterial whether he (prisoner) lived or died; and that shortly afterwards the prisoner left his house again. If Paravan Kutti's statement is accepted, it raises a strong suspicion that the prisoner intended to join the fanatics. The latter seems to be a suspicious character. He was once before arrested in 1893 on a suspicion that he was organizing an outbreak, but was eventually set at liberty. He has now got an additional incentive to create further trouble in the loss of his son, which he is said to feel very bitterly. He seems to envy the son his reputation as a "Sahid." I am of opinion that it would be advisable to institute proceedings against the man under section 107, Criminal Procedure Code, with a view to bind him over to be of good behaviour for one year.

§ No. 330.

80. *No. 20* is a beggar who was arrested under somewhat suspicious circumstances on the 4th of March. He had a bundle of paddy in his hand and was overheard questioning a Tiyan, who was at work in the fields near the Túvúr adhigari's house, as to the whereabouts of the troops. He was accordingly arrested as a spy. The prisoner admits ‖ having asked about the whereabouts of the troops, and explains the circumstance by stating that he was afraid he would be arrested if he were seen walking about. The explanation is far from satisfactory; but there is not sufficient ground for believing that the prisoner was in league with the fanatics. I recommend that he be released with a warning.

‖ Statement No. 114.

81. The statement * of *No. 21* is sufficient to condemn him of having been aware of the movements of the fanatics without having exerted himself to warn the authorities. He admits that the fanatics visited his house on three separate occasions and that he received presents of rice and curry from them (*vide* statement No. 100). The boy (he is only sixteen years old) did not, however, go with the gang nor actively sympathise with them. He is an utter pauper and is suffering from an enlarged spleen and chronic starvation. He is so ill that he had to be removed from the Manjéri sub-jail to the civil hospital where he still is, and it is doubtful whether he will live long; certainly he will never be very robust. He could not well help the fanatics visiting his house, which is situated in the heart of the jungle at Manhikundu; and he may well be excused for not having gone to inform the authorities about their visits, considering what a wretched invalid he is. I recommend that a little mercy be extended to him and that he may be released as soon as he is fit to be discharged from hospital. I am confident that this act of mercy will not be followed by any evil consequences to the public peace. My recommendation has the approval both of the Special Commissioner and of the District Superintendent of Police.

* No. 100.

82. *No. 23* is Mattummal Moidu, a boy of twelve years of age, already referred to (*vide* paragraph 78 *supra*). He was seen in company with the gang by Mathari Moidin, Moidin Kutti Mulla and K. Ali Ammu. The boy himself admits † that he joined the gang at Mudikód about midday on Saturday, the 29th February, and that he left it with his brother Veeran (No. 10) at dawn on the 1st March, just before the entrance to the Manjéri temple. He further admits having been armed with a chopper and having been present at the desecration of Pandalúr temple, and having witnessed the pursuit of the goldsmith in Mangadapallipuram amsam, a few yards from the place where the man was shot and hacked to death (*vide* paragraph 39 *supra*). No doubt can therefore be entertained as to the boy's having been a member of the gang. But considering his extreme youth it would be absurd to regard him as a fanatic. He simply followed the example of his elder brothers, without thoroughly understanding the nature and consequences of his acts or what were the motives of the gang. None the less I consider that it would be dangerous to allow the boy to remain in his native place. He would to a certainty, if sent back there, be driven at some future time to put in practice the lesson which has unfortunately been taught him and to emulate the fate of his brothers Ahmed and Kunhorum. Still I do not think that the boy's case calls for deportation. That would be too severe a step to take considering that the boy cannot in all justice be regarded as a voluntary agent. I think it would suffice if he could be kept under surveillance at Calicut and sent to school there for five or six years. By the end of that time he would be pretty well forgotten in his own amsam and would have lost all sympathy with its people, and he might safely be made a taluk peon in Calicut, say, or in one of the taluks of North Malabar. If Government cannot see its way to sanction this recommendation, the only other course is to send the boy to a Reformatory, for it would be most unsafe to set him at liberty altogether. The objection to sending him to the Reformatory is that he would have no one there to instruct him in his own language. The boy is a bright, intelligent little fellow, and, if given the opportunities which I have recommended, I feel sure that his future career would fully justify the clemency shown him. An allowance of Rs. 7 a month would probably be sufficient to cover his expenses, including school fees, and would in addition suffice to maintain his widowed mother also if she went and lived with him in Calicut. This unfortunate woman has lost all four of her sons in the recent outbreak. Ahmed and Kunhorum fell at Manjéri temple, Veeran (No. 10) is in custody and will have to be removed from the district, and the fourth is the boy Moidu whose case is under discussion. If my recommendation regarding him is approved, his mother would probably go and live with him in Calicut, and thus his last connection with the ill-starred home of his childhood would be severed. I have informed the Special Commissioner of this recommendation and he fully approves of it.

† Statement No. 87.

83. *No. 24* is a brother of Kaithavalappan Chekk and uncle of Kaithavalappan Avaran Kutti and Chevidikunnan Moidin, who were all three * shot at Manjéri temple on the 1st March. This prisoner has made a long statement before me (No. 103) in which he admits having been in company with the second gang of fanatics for three days, but he tries to condone his guilt by maintaining that he was driven to join the gang through fear, and that he was not present at, and did not assist in the perpetration of, any of the outrages committed while he was a member of the gang. He denies having ever seen the first gang, but the lie is given to this part of his statement by the evidence of several witnesses whose veracity there is no reason to doubt. He was seen with the first gang, then forty-three in number, on Thursday, the 27th February, at six naligas before sunset by Chathu Nayar, whose house was on that occasion looted by the offenders (*vide* paragraph 33 *supra* and statement No. 208). He was seen by Parakalathingal Krishnan among the first gang when it visited the house of Thayathathara Krishnan at Vellayúr, in Chembrasséri amsam, on the night of the 26th February (*vide* paragraph 30 *supra* and statement No. 83). This witness Krishnan was so terrified at giving evidence against one of the fanatics that he would not say that he actually identified the prisoner, but only that he was "almost certain" that it was the prisoner whom he saw. From Krishnan's manner, however, it was clear that his hesitation was only the outcome of his terror of the Mappilla. It is quite certain that the prisoner was not only a member of the second gang of fanatics on the 6th, 7th and 8th March, as admitted by him, but that he also went with the first gang before the end of February and remained behind with Keeri Ahmed Unni's gang at Parambayil when the main body of the fanatics started on its rapid march to Manjéri. The prisoner's statement is, however, sufficient to convict him. I recommend that he be deported permanently from the district.

* *Vide* Nos. 3, 4 and 5 in List A.

84. The case of *No. 25* is very similar to that of No. 24 except that there is not so much evidence to prove that he was ever a member of the first gang. He admits † having been with the second gang on the 7th and 8th of March and from his statement it seems almost certain that he joined the first gang with his younger brother Mootha who joined it on the evening of the 25th February and was subsequently wounded at Manjéri temple on the 1st of March (*vide* paragraph 75 *supra*). It is impossible to believe that the prisoner, as alleged by him, searched for the first gang from the 25th February without being able to find it although it was hanging about the same neighbourhood from the 25th to the 27th February. At all events the prisoner was a member of the second gang and would in all probability have perished with it at Parambayil had it not been for his arrest on the 14th March at Kálikávu, though he, like No. 24, tries to make out that he was not arrested at all but voluntarily delivered himself over to the authorities (*vide* statements Nos. 78 and 381). This prisoner, too, must be removed from the district. I recommend that he be deported permanently.

† Statements Nos. 78 and 381.

85. *No. 26* is another prisoner of whose guilt there cannot be the shadow of a doubt. Chemmala Krishnan Nair (statement No. 322) states that he saw the prisoner with the gang close to Pandalúr temple. The boy Mattummal Moidu (No. 23) says that the prisoner joined the gang at noon on the 29th February at Pandalúr temple compound (where Krishnan Nair saw him join) and that he remained with the gang till about sunset, when he left it. Moidu remembers a particular incident which occurred during the time that the prisoner was with the gang. While they were near Manjipalli Ahmed Kutti's (No. 58 in Enclosure A) house, the latter sent the prisoner there with two others of the gang and almost immediately afterwards the trio returned to the gang each bearing a weapon, the prisoner's being a sword. Udumbath Ráru Nair ‡, for some reason which I am unable to fathom, has spoken for the prisoner by deposing that he was on guard at Udumbath house without leaving it from noon on the 29th February up

‡ Statement No. 106.

till noon on the 1st March. Unfortunately, however, the prisoner himself contradicts this, for he says he left the house for his meals twice during those twenty-four hours ‡. This discrepancy lays Udumbath Ráru Nair's statement open to suspicion, which is further increased by the fact that Ráru Nair, although afraid to come and identify the prisoners against whom he gave evidence (on two occasions I asked him to come and though he personally promised me to do so the first time, he never put in an appearance), did not hesitate in the least to come and pick out the prisoner (No. 26) from the other prisoners in the Manjéri sub-jail, and the prisoner's face visibly brightened when he saw Ráru Nair. I do not think that this Nair's atatement is at all reliable in respect to this prisoner, and I am perfectly satisfied that the boy Moidu (No. 23) has spoken the truth concerning him. I therefore recommend that he, too, may be removed from the district.

‡ *Vide* Statement No. 113.

86. *No. 27* is the man who was arrested at his wife's house in Vettathur amsam, Walavanad taluk, on the 9th March (*vide* paragraph 25 *supra*). He made a confessional statement * before the Special Commissioner at Wandúr on the 16th March in which he admitted that he joined the smaller gang, of which Keeri Ahmed Unni was the leader, on Friday, the 28th February, and that he deserted the gang early on the morning of the 7th March while the others were asleep, taking with him Rs. 36 which another of the gang, Kunhayu (No. 24 in Enclosure A), had tied up in his cloth. He further admitted that while in the custody of the police at Mannarghat he was seized with an inspiration to kill his warders and attempted to seize one of their rifles in order to do so. This shows what a desperate character the man is. He cannot safely be allowed to remain in the district. I recommend that he be permanently removed from it.

* No. 379.

87. *No. 28* was arrested at Pattambi railway station on the 27th February under somewhat suspicious circumstances. So far no evidence against him is forthcoming. I have examined the adhigari of his amsam (Melattur) and he states † that the prisoner is a man of some little means. I recommend that he may be released on bail pending further enquiries into his case, which will be fully reported on in my next report.

† Statement No. 116.

88. Against *No. 29* the evidence is very slight indeed. Unni Kammu states (statement No. 276) that this prisoner was mentioned to him by Unni Mammad (prisoner No. 3) as one who had agreed to join in the outbreak. Kunhi Ráyan, a neighbour of the prisoner, states that on Monday, the 24th February, the prisoner received a visit from two Mappillas whom he heard called "Kaithavalappan" and "Pálóli" (the house names of two of the fanatics, *vide* Nos. 2, 3, 4 and 1 in Enclosure A) and that the prisoner left his house with them. This is scarcely sufficient to prove that the prisoner intended to join the fanatics, and as a matter of fact he did not actually join. I think that this prisoner may be released with a warning.

89. Against *No. 30* the available evidence is still more meagre. He did not actually join the fanatics, but Unni Kammu says (statement No. 276) that he is one of the persons mentioned to him by Unni Mammad (prisoner No. 3) as having avowed an intention to join the fanatics. This man, too, may, I think, be released with a warning.

90. In the case of prisoners Nos. 8, 9, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 22, 28, 31, 32, 33, 34 and 35, my enquiries are not quite complete. I am hurrying on the enquiry and hope to be able to submit a further report on these cases very shortly. I have recommended that No. 28 may be released on bail as there appears to be but little reason to suppose that he was implicated in the outbreak (*vide* paragraph 87 above).

91. It may seem strange that in no single case have I recommended a prosecution before a Criminal Court; but I think there are good reasons for dealing with all these men directly under the Mappilla Outrages Act XX of 1859. In the first place not one of the prisoners can be charged with the actual commission of any one of the offences of which the fanatics were guilty. There is not a scrap of evidence available

to show that any of the prisoners now reported against actually had a hand in any particular outrage. It is true that some of them were members of one or other of the gangs, but can the gangs be regarded as unlawful assemblies when they have not been proved to have been actuated by any *common* object unless the intention to die for their faith or in desperation of life can be regarded as such? Prisoners 1 to 4 did not actually join the fanatics owing to their timely arrest. They might, perhaps, be charged with conspiracy to wage war against the Queen, but the evidence on record against them is scarcely sufficient to stand the test of a Criminal Court. There can, however, be no doubt of their guilt, and the effect would be bad if the prisoners had to be finally dealt with under Act XX of 1859 after having been discharged by the Court of Sessions. Another point for consideration is that all the Hindu witnesses would to a certainty contradict their former statements through their fear of the Mappillas if called upon to give their evidence in the presence of the accused before a Criminal Court. Some of the Mappilla witnesses even might ruin a prosecution from this same cause. The Hindus whom I have examined have all declined to give their evidence in the presence of the prisoners, and it was with great difficulty that I could induce some of them even to identify the prisoners. For these reasons I feel certain that criminal prosecutions would in all likelihood fail even in those cases in which the evidence appears to be sufficient for a criminal trial, and hence I have recommended that the prisoners should be dealt with under the Mappilla Outrages Act XX of 1859 which has been specially enacted to meet such cases.

92. I cannot close this report without recording my high appreciation of the valuable services rendered by the European troops—the men of the South Staffordshire Regiment on detachment duty at Malappuram and Calicut. They performed the most arduous marches by night and day, at times across exceedingly difficult country, often with but little food and little sleep, and I believe that not a single man had to fall out or to be sent back to barracks. Their behaviour was admirable. The constables of the special force, too, did their share of the work remarkably well. They, of course, did not experience the same difficulties in the Commissariat Department, but they were constantly on the march with scant opportunity for sleep and they deserve great praise for the excellent way in which they did their duty under their indefatigable Superintendent and Assistant Superintendent, Messrs. Fawcett and Wilkinson. It is in the highest degree satisfactory that so large an outbreak has been quelled without the loss of a single man and without even the slightest casualty on our side.

93. I regret the delay in the submission of this report, which even now is incomplete. The delay was due in part to the magnitude of the enquiry into a rising in which so many persons were concerned, and also largely to the fact that the suppression of the outbreak was succeeded by a series of dacoities and house-breakings to detect and check which the services of every available police officer had to be called into requisition. Tranquillity has at last been restored; the Hindus are recovering confidence and the disaffection and unrest are, I hope, over for the present. I am pushing on the enquiry against the remaining prisoners with all possible despatch and hope to bring it to a speedy conclusion.

94. I enclose herewith the records of my enquiry.

LIST A.

List of the Fanatics who took part in the Outbreak of February and March 1896.

No.	Name.	Age.	Occupation.	Amsam.	Desam.	Relation which one fanatic bore to another.	Evidence of identification, &c.
1	Páló̱li Mammu ..	YRS. 35	Wood-cutter ..	Chembrasséri (Ernad taluk).	Vellayúr	*Nil*	His wife Kadiammunni states that he left his house on Tuesday the 25th February and that she has since learned that he was shot at the Manjéri temple. Married; had two children.
2	Kaithavalappan Kunhóllu.	*20*	*Do.* ..	*Do.* ..	*Do.*	*Elder brother of No. 3* ..	*A member of the second gang of fanatics. He was arrested at dawn of the 13th March—vide the list of persons wounded and arrested.*
3	*Kaithavalappan Chekk.*	*16*	*Do.* ..	*Do.* ..	*Do.*	*Younger brother of No. 2* ..	*Aruviralan Mootha, one of the wounded fanatics who is still alive,* states that Chekk was a member of the gang shot at the Manjéri temple. The fanatic's sister Ami Umma states that she heard that he was shot at the Manjéri temple.
4	Kythasalappan Avarán Kutti.	18	Do. ..	Chembrasséri ..	Do.	Son of the elder brother (Kunhunnian) of Nos. 2 and 3.	The wounded prisoner Mootha states that Avarán Kutti was a member of the gang killed at the Manjéri temple.
5	Chevidikunnan Moidin.	18	Do. ..	Do. ..	Do.	Nephew of Nos. 2 and 3 ..	His mother's sister Ami Umma states that he joined the gang on the 25th February 1896 and that she has since learned that he was killed among the gang at the Manjéri temple.
6	Parambath Kunhi Koya.	35	Labourer	Do. ..	Do.	Husband of sister of Nos. 2 and 3.	Son of Pokker. Parambath Mootha states that Kunhi Koya joined the gang on the 25th February and that he has since learned that he was shot at the Manjéri temple. The fanatic's wife Ami Umma states that she heard that her husband was shot at the Manjéri temple.
7	Parambath Kunhi Koya.	20	Do.	Do. ..	Do.	Son of the younger brother of the father of No. 6.	Son of Unnioker. Aruviralan Mootha, the wounded fanatic, states that Kunhi Koya was shot at the Manjéri temple.
8	Parambath Koymiar.	50	Wood-cutter ..	Do. ..	Do.	Elder brother of No. 7 ..	Mootha, the wounded fanatic, states that Koymiar was shot at the Manjéri temple.
9	Parambath Ayammad.	35	Labourer	Túvúr (Walavanad taluk).	Túvúr	Younger brother of No. 8 ..	Mootha, the wounded fanatic, states that Ayammad was shot at the Manjéri temple. Iyadia, wife of the killed, states that he joined the gang on the 26th February and that every one told her that he was killed at the Manjéri temple.
10	Parambath Alivi ..	20	Cultivation	Chembrasséri ..	Vellayúr	Grand father's elder brother's grandson of Nos. 7, 8 and 9.	His father Mootha states that Alivi joined the gang on the 25th February and that he has since learned that he was shot at the Manjéri temple.
11	Kiliyola Kunhi Moidin.	30	Labourer	Do. ..	Do.	Cousin of Nos. 7 to 10 ..	His mother Ithachu states that her son joined the gang on the 25th February and that she has since learned that he was shot at the Manjéri temple.

List of the Fanatics who took part in the Outbreak of February and March 1896—*cont.*

No.	Name.	Age.	Occupation.	Amsam.	Desam.	Relation which one fanatic bore to another.	Evidence of identification, &c.
12	Kiliyola Kunhi Mammu.	YRS. 20	Labourer	Chembrasséri ..	Vellayúr	Younger brother of No. 11.	His mother Ithachu states that her son joined the gang on the 25th February, that she has since learned that he was shot at the Manjéri temple, and that Kunhi Mammu had sent his wife away to her house two weeks before the Ramazan.
13	Aruviralan Athóyi ..	20	Cultivation and Labourer.	Do. ..	Do.	Married to a relation of Kaithavalappan.	The fanatic was a member of the second gang. He was arrested at dawn on the 13th March 1896—*vide* the list of persons wounded and arrested.
14	Aruviralan Mootha ..	18	Do.	Do. ..	Do.	Younger brother of No. 13.	Still alive. Wounded at the Manjéri temple—*vide* the list of persons wounded and arrested.
15	Thottathil *alias* Cholayil *alias* Karuvarakothil Kunhi Moidin.	30	Ploughman and Wood-cutter.	Do. ..	Do.	*Nil*	The wounded prisoner Mootha states that he was the leader of the gang. The fanatic's wife Kunhami states that he joined the gang on the 25th February, and that she has since learned that he was shot at the Manjéri temple. His body was identified at the temple by Raman Nayar, amsam peon of Pándikád, and Krishnan Nayar, constable No. 325 of Wandúr Police station. Married; has a child; did not know how to read Koran.
16	Malayath Aidros ..	19	Labourer	Do. ..	Do.	....	His brother Kunhi Koya states that he joined the gang on the 25th February and that he has since learned that he was shot at the Manjéri temple. Friend and neighbours of Nos. 2 to 5. Married; no issue; divorced his wife two years ago.
17	Puthen Peetika Chekk.	30	Ploughman	Do. ..	Do.	Elder brother of No. 18 ..	His wife Beevi states that he left his house on the 25th February and that she has since learned that he was shot at the Manjéri temple. Married; had two children.
18	Puthen Unni Athen..	25	Do.	Do. ..	Do.	Younger brother of No. 17.	Beevi, wife of No. 17, states that Unni Athen left his house on the 25th February and that she has since learned that he was shot at the Manjéri temple. She also states that he sent away his wife to her house before the Ramazan; had no issue.
19	Vélakkadan Moiduthi.	40	Cultivation	Do. ..	Chéramba	Father of No. 20	The wounded prisoner Mootha states that he was shot at the Manjéri temple. Had two wives and five children.
20	Vélakkadan Kunhi Koya.	15	Do.	Do. ..	Vellayúr	Son of No. 19	The wounded prisoner Mootha states that he was shot at the Manjéri temple. His step-mother Mammacha states that he joined the gang of fanatics. Not married.
21	Kallankunnan Aidru.	32	Do.	Do. ..	Do.	Uncle of No. 20	The fanatic's wife Kunhi Pathu says that she has since heard that he was shot at the Manjéri temple. The wounded prisoner Mootha says that he was a member of the gang and that he was killed at the Manjéri temple. Had two children. Knew how to read Koran.

List of the Fanatics who took part in the Outbreak of February and March 1896—*cont.*

No.	Name.	Age.	Occupation.	Amsam.	Desam.	Relation which one fanatic bore to another.	Evidence of identification, &c.
		YRS.					
22	Alingal Kunhunnian.	17	Cultivation	Chembrasséri ..	Cheramba	Nephew of No. 19	Mother Palliyalithodi Mithumma states that her son disappeared on the 26th February and that she has since learned that he was shot at the Manjéri temple. Not married.
23	Pampukadian *alias* Mundayil Moidin.	30	Labourer	Do. ..	Do.	*Nil*	His wives Aleema and Meriyam state that he disappeared on the 26th February and that they have since learned that he was shot at the Manjéri temple; was a convert; had a child.
24	Puzhuthini Kunbáyu.	20	Molla	Do. ..	Do.	....	Son of Puzhuthini Saidali. The fanatic was wounded at Parampazil on the 13th March and is still alive—*vide* the list of persons wounded and arrested.
25	Paravetti Kunhyoi ..	20	Cultivation	Túvúr	Túvúr	Son of the younger brother of the father of No. 26.	His father Paravetti Monadin states that his son disappeared on the 27th February and that he believes that he was shot at the Manjéri temple. Married; sent away his wife to her house in the month preceding the Ramazan; no issue.
26	ParavettiAyammunni.	15	Do.	Do.	Do.	Son of the elder brother of the father of No. 25.	His father Saidali states that he disappeared on the 27th February and that he was not to be found since. His corpse was identified at the Manjéri temple by P. Sankaran, brother of Túvúr adhigari. Not married.
27	Puthen Peetika Moidin.	30	Do.	Chembrasséri ..	Chembrasséri ..	Husband of the sister of No. 25.	A pauper. His wife Paravetti Pathu states that he joined the gang on the 25th February and that she has since learned that he was shot at the Manjéri temple. Had two children.
28	Amanath Saidali ..	25	Do.	Túvúr	Túvúr	Husband of the niece of the father of No. 25.	His wife's brother Paravetti Unni states that he joined the gang on the 26th February and that he has not been seen or heard of since.
29	Amanath Moyi ..	20	Petty Bazaarman ..	Do.	Do.	Younger brother of No. 28.	His father-in-law Okkarammal Unnian says that he joined the gang on the 25th February and that he has since heard that he was shot at the Manjéri temple. Was living in a house belonging to Trikkadiri Nayar.
30	Karayil Unnian Molla.	32	Cultivation	Do.	Do.	....	Puvalsheri Sankaran, brother of Túvúr adhigari, states that he disappeared on the 26th February and that he has not been seen or heard of since. The fanatic's wife Kunhami states that he disappeared on the 26th February and that she has since learnt that he was shot at the Manjéri temple.
31	Vattiparambath Veeran Kutti Gurikkal.	25	Do.	Do.	Do.	Elder brother of No. 32 ..	Vattiparambath Mammad Gurikkal, the fanatic's father's brother, states that he joined the gang on the 25th February and that he believes that he was shot at the Manjéri temple. His corpse was identified at the temple by P. Sankaran, brother of Túvúr adhigari. Tenant of Túvúr adhigari.

List of the Fanatics who took part in the Outbreak of February and March 1896—*cont.*

No.	Name.	Age.	Occupation.	Amsam.	Desam.	Relation which one fanatic bore to another.	Evidence of identification, &c.
		YRS.					
32	Vattiparambath Abdulla Gurikkal.	20	Cultivation	Túvúr	Túvúr	Younger brother of No. 31.	V. Mammad Gurikkal, the fanatic's father's brother, says that he joined the gang on the 26th February, and that he believes that he was shot at the Manjéri temple. P. Sankaran, brother of Túvúr adhigari, also states that he believes that the fanatic was shot at the temple. Tenant of Túvúr adhigari.
33	Thankayathil Moidin Kutti.	30	Cooly	Do.	Do.	....	The fanatic stated at the temple before his death that his name was such. He died subsequently of gun-shot wounds. His younger brother Soliman states that he disappeared on the 25th February. His corpse was identified at the temple by P. Sankaran, brother of Túvúr adhigari. Married; no issue. Often hard-pressed for food.
34	Natungottil Párkum Patinharakaren Valiyora Athen.	22	Labourer	Do.	Do.	....	P. Sankaran, brother of Túvúr adhigari, states that Athen disappeared on the 26th February, that he has not been seen or heard of since, and that people say that he joined the gang of fanatics. Cooly and neighbour of Nos. 31 and 32.
35	Pulikkala Kunhi Ahmed.	25	Cooly	Do.	Do.	....	His younger brother Kunhi Koya states that he joined the fanatics on the Saturday previous to 1st March and that he has not been seen or heard of since.
36	Paramál Pokker ..	40	Do.	Do.	Do.	.....	His wife Kaniyantodi Kadiya states that he joined the gang on the 25th February and that she was told that he was shot at the Manjéri temple. His corpse was identified at the temple by P. Sankaran, brother of Túvúr adhigari. Next door neighbour of Kochu Kayyan Moidin Kutti Mussaliar (under arrest).
37	Madathil Mussaliar Unni Koya.	45	Porter	Do.	Do.	....	His wife Puparamban Pattu states that he joined the gang on the 25th February and that she was told that he was shot at the Manjéri temple. Next door neighbour of Kochu Kayyan Moidin Kutti Mussaliar (under arrest).
38	Kottengodan Moidin.	25	Cultivation	Do.	Do.	....	His father K. Moidin states that his son joined the gang on the 25th February and that he was shot at the Manjéri temple. Tenant of Trikkadiri Nayar.
39	Cherathodi Kunhalu.	25	Cooly	Do.	Do.	....	His elder brother Kunhi Ahmed states that he joined the gang on the 27th February and that he has not been seen or heard of since.
40	Poonthurithi Moidin Kutti Haji.	35	Cultivation	Chembrasséri ..	Poongode	Uncle of No. 41	One of the leaders of the gang. His corpse was identified at the Manjéri temple by K. Mussa Kutti, adhigari of Wandúr amsam, and by N. Krishnan Nayar, constable No. 325 of Wandúr Police station. Knew how to read Koran.

List of the Fanatics who took part in the Outbreak of February and March 1896—*cont.*

No.	Name.	Age.	Occupation.	Amsam.	Desam.	Relation which one fanatic bore to another.	Evidence of identification, &c.
		YRS.					
41	Poonthurithi Unni Moyi.	20	Cooly	Chembrasséri ..	Poongode	Nephew of No. 40	Nephew-in-law of prisoner No. 29, Kundur Ahmed Kutti. Achchamma, wife of No. 40, states that Unni Moyi joined the gang with No. 40, and that she has since learnt that he was also shot at the Manjéri temple.
42	Mannisheri Aidros ..	25	Do.	Do. ..	Do.	....	His mother Viyyatti Amma states that he joined the gang on the 25th February and that she has since learnt that he was shot at the Manjéri temple. Neighbour and cooly of No. 40.
43	Keeri Ahmed Unni ..	30	Coolyand Cultivation.	Túvúr	Túvúr	Elder brother of No. 44. ..	The leader of the second gang. Shot at Parampoil on the 13th March. Married; had two children.
44	Keeri Abdulla ..	20	Cooly	Do.	Do.	Younger brother of No. 43.	A member of the second gang; committed suicide in a jungle close to his house. Married; no issue. His wife left his house for her's on the third day he disappeared.
45	Chullikolation Athen.	17	Cultivation	Do.	Do.	....	His father Unni Ali states that his son disappeared and that he had received information that he had gone with the fanatics. He also says that a Tivya female called Tala told him that the fanatics took him away by force. Tala confirms this statement. The father further states that he has since learnt that he was shot at the Manjeri temple. The corpse was identified at the temple by Pativatt Achyutan Nayar of Payyanad amsam. Married; no issue.
46	Ambat Tharia Kutti..	14	Do.	Chembrasséri ..	Chéramba	....	His father Moidin Kutti states that he disappeared on the 26th February and that he has not been seen or heard of since. P. Sankaran, brother of Túvúr adhigari, states that Tharia Kutti was said to have joined the gang at Túvúr amsam.
47	Thondiyil Athen ..	20	Do.	Do. ..	Do.	....	His father Kunhi Koya states that his son Ahmed told him that Athen was missing from the 26th February. Ahmed, brother of the fanatic, states that several persons told him that he was shot at the Manjeri temple.
48	Koottapulan Mammad Kutti.	21	Cooly	Do. ..	Poongode	....	His sister Mammiriya amma states that he joined the gang on the 26th February and that she has since learnt that he was shot at the Manjéri temple.
49	Ossán Unnien ..	20	Barber	Pándikád (Ernad taluk).	Valluvangád ..	....	Brother of Ossán Kunhólan shot at Pallikurup temple in 1894. A member of the second gang. Was killed at Parampoyil. Married a year ago. Has getting livelihood by shaving.
50	Palakkathundi Kunhamutti.	16	Ploughman	Chembrasséri ..	Panavigad	....	His father Mammad states that he was missing from the 29th February and that people told him that they saw his corpse at the Manjéri temple. Payyanad adhigari identified his corpse at the temple.

List of the Fanatics who took part in the Outbreak of February and March 1896—*cont.*

No.	Name.	Age.	Occupation.	Amsam.	Desam.	Relation which one fanatic bore to another.	Evidence of identification, &c.
		YRS.					
51	Tachangodan Mammad.	14	Cultivation	Manjéri (Ernad taluk).	Pandalúr	....	His father Uni Koya states that he disappeared on the 29th February. His corpse was identified at the Manjéri temple by Vadakkumpadath Nainan Kutti. Not married.
52	Veluthedath Ahmed.	16	Cooly	Manjéri	Anakayam	....	Son of Moidin, prisoner No. 12 (under arrest). The father says that his son was shot at the Manjéri temple. His step-mother Tachdangolan Titti states that he left her house on the 5th or 6th May of the Ramazan and that she has since heard that he was shot at the temple. Had no fixed abode. Not married.
53	Páppadathil Kunhokker.	30	Do.	Do.	Do.	....	His brother Mamma states that he was shot at the Manjéri temple.
54	Páppadathil Koya ..	19	Cultivation	Do.	Pandaúr	Cousin of No. 55	His corpse was identified at the Manjéri temple by Manjéri adhigari. Udumbatt Raman Nayar states that he was a guard in his house when the anatics passed by and that he joined them. Divorced his wife in November last. Cultivates under Udumbatt people. No issue.
55	Páppadathil Pokker..	15	Cooly	Do.	Do.	Cousin of No. 54	His elder brother Athen states that he disappeared on the 29th February, that he has not been seen or heard of since, and that he has heard people say that his brother joined the gang of fanatics. Not married.
56	Mattumál Ahmed ..	16	Do.	Do.	Pandalúr (Mudikode).	Younger brother of No. 57.	His brother Viran, prisoner No. 10 (under arrest), states that Ahmed lost his life at the Manjéri temple. His brother Moidu, prisoner No. 23, confirms this statement. His corpse was identified at the temple by Vadakkumpadath Nainan Kutti Not married.
57	Mattumál Kunhorum.	20	Do.	Do.	Pandalúr	Elder brother of No. 56 ..	His brother Viran, prisoner No. 10, states that Kunhoram lost his life at the Manjéri temple. His brother Moidu, prisoner No. 23, confirms this statement. His corpse was identified at the temple by Vadakkumpadath Nainan Kuttu. Married; no issue.
58	Manchapally Ahmed Kutti.	32	A professional thief.	Do.	Anakayam	....	Leader of the Pandalúr gang. His corpse was identified at the Manjéri temple by Manjéri adhigari, amsam peon Chatta Kutti Nayar, Ernad taluk dufterbund Krishnan Nayar, and Veluthedath Chekk and also by Pattiyil Chekk. Was a "K.D." Had three wives and seven children.
59	Vatakkumpadath Mootha.	17	Cultivation	Do.	Pandalúr	....	Son of Pokker. His corpse was identified at the Manjéri temple by his brother Nainan Kutti, Manjéri adhigari, and Ernad taluk dufterbund Krishnan Nayar. Not married.
60	Melevittil Kunhiyan.	18	Cooly	Do.	Do.	Elder brother of No. 61 ..	Son of Unnien Kutti. His corpse was identified at the Manjéri temple by Manjéri adhigari, Ernad taluk dufterbund Krishnan Nayar, and Vadakkumpadath Nainan Kutti. Not married.

List of the Fanatics who took part in the Outbreak of February and March 1896—*cont.*

No.	Name.	Age.	Occupation.	Amsam.	Desam.	Relation which one fanatic bore to another.	Evidence of identification, &c.
61	Melevittil Kunhi Moidin.	YRS. 14	Cooly	Manjéri	Pandalúr	Younger brother of No. 60.	His corpse was identified at the Manjéri temple by Manjéri adhigari and Ernad taluk dufterbund Krishnan Nayar. Not married.
62	Vadasseri Kunhólan.	22	Cultivation	Do.	Do.	....	Son of Mammad. His corpse was identified at the Manjéri temple by Manjéri adhigari and by Vadakkampadath Nainan Kutti. Married; no issue.
63	Ossán Ahmed ..	20	Barber	Do.	Do.	....	Son of Kumbi Koya. His corpse was identified at the Manjéri temple by Manjéri adhigari. Udembatt Raman Nayar of Pandalúr desam states that the fanatic was a guard in his house on the date in which the fanatics passed by it. Not married. Got his livelihood by shaving.
64	Chakkalakannan *alias* Matai Kunhavaru.	15	*Nil*	Do.	Anakayam	....	Son of Marakkar. His corpse was identified at the Manjéri temple by Manjéri adhigari. Mangada pallipuram also states that he was shot at the temple. Not married.
65	Talappil Mayan ..	30	Cooly	Do.	Vákkéthodi ..	....	Son of Issup. His corpse was identified at the Manjéri temple by Manjéri adhigari, Irimbuzhi adhigari and menon, and Ernad taluk dufterbund Krishnan Nayar.
66	Olikkal Mathari ..	23	Cultivation	Do.	Pandalúr	....	Son of Mammad. His corpse was identified at the Manjéri temple by Manjéri amsam peon Chattu Kutti Nayar and Vadakkumpadath Nainan Kutti. Cultivates under Cholakkala Kunhamutti Haji. Married; no issue.
67	Chathanchira Aidru..	30	Cooly and Stone-cutter.	Do.	Do.	Elder brother of Nos. 68 and 69.	Son of Kunholan His corpse was identified at the Manjéri temple by Manjéri amsam peon Chattu Kutti Nayar. He disappeared on the 29th February. Divorced his wife two years ago.
68	Chathanchiru Kunhi Koya.	33	Cooly and Cultivation.	Do.	Do.	Younger brother of No. 67.	Son of Kunholan. His corpse was identified at the Manjéri temple by amsam peon Chattu Kutti Nayar and by Vadakkumpadath Nainan Kutti, and also by P. Ahmed Mussaliar, schoolmaster, Payyanad. Disappeared on the 29th February.
69	Chathanchiru Kunhi Koya.	25	Cooly	Do.	Do.	Younger brother of Nos. 67 and 68.	Son of Kunholan. His corpse was identified at the Manjéri temple by amsam peon, Chattu Kutti Nayar and also by Vaddakkumpadath, Nainan Kutti. Disappeared on the 29th February.
70	Chakkunamthodi *alias* Pattukundil Ahmed.	25	Do.	Do.	Anakayam (Cheppur).	Elder brother of Nos. 71 and 72.	Son of Mootha Kutti. His corpse was identified at the Manjéri temple by Veluthedath Chekk and Vadakkumpadath Nainan Kutti. Asaritodugil Chekk Kutti states that he saw the fanatic at the temple on the 1st March before he was shot down. Married; had two children.

List of the Fanatics who took part in the Outbreak of February and March 1896—*cont.*

No.	Name.	Age.	Occupation.	Amsam.	Desam.	Relation which one fanatic bore to another.	Evidence of identification, &c.
71	Chakkanamthodi *alias* Pattukundil Mammad.	YRS. 20	Cooly	Manjéri	Anakayam (Cheppur)	Younger brother of No. 70.	His corpse was identified at the Manjéri temple by Veluthedath Chekk. Asaritodugil Chekk states that he saw the fanatic at the temple before he was shot down. Married; had a child.
72	Chakkunamthodi *alias* Pattukundil Chekk.	18	Do.	Do.	Do. ..	Younger brother of No. 71.	Asaritodugil Chek states that he saw him at the Manjéri temple on the 1st March before he was shot down, and that he has subsequently heard that he was shot down at the temple. Married; no issue.
73	Kalakappara Kunhi Pari.	28	Do.	Do.	Pandalúr	A brother of the brother-in-law of No. 82.	Son of Kunhólan. His corpse was identified at the Manjéri temple by Pattiyil Chekk and Veluthedath Nainan Kutti. Married; no issue.
74	Karuvanthodika Kunhi Ahmed.	25	Do.	Do.	Pandalúr (Mudikodi).	Cousin of No. 80 ..	His father Unni Koya states that he disappeared on the 29th February. His corpse was identified at the Manjéri temple by Vadakkumpadath Nainan Kutti. Married; had a child.
75	Chakkithodi Mazan Kutti.	14	Porter	Do.	Do. ..	A distant relation of Nos. 60 and 61.	His father Moidin Kutti states that he disappeared on the 29th February, that he has not been seen or heard of since, and that he is said to have been shot at the Manjéri temple. Not married.
76	Karangadan Ahmed.	18	Cooly	Do.	Pandalúr ..	Elder brother of No. 77 ..	His father Komn says that Ahmed joined the gang on the 29th February, that he has not been seen or heard of since, and that he believes that he was shot at the Manjéri temple. Udampatt Raman Nayar, in whose house the fanatic was a guard when the fanatics passed by it, states that he believes that he was shot at the temple.
77	Karangadan Mammad.	16	Do.	Do.	Do.	Younger brother of No. 76.	His father Komu says that he joined the gang on the 29th February and that he believes that he was shot at the Manjéri temple.
78	Karangadan Komu ..	16	Do.	Do.	Anakayam (Cheppur)	A distant relation of Nos. 76 and 77.	Manjéri amsam peon Chattu Kutti Nayar states that the fanatic was a dependent on Manjippalli Ahmed Kutti No. 58, and that he believes that he was shot at the Manjéri temple.
79	Palaparath Abdulla ..	17	Cultivation	Do.	Do. ..	....	His elder brother Thenu says that Abdulla disappeared on the 29th February and that therefore he concludes that he joined the gang of fanatics.
80	Nettithodi Kunhalivi	18	Cooly	Do.	Pandalúr (Mudikodi).	....	His elder brother Alivi states that he disappeared on the 29th February, and that he believes that he was shot at the Manjéri temple. Married; no issue; divorced his wife six months ago.

List of the Fanatics who took part in the Outbreak of February and March 1896—*cont.*

No.	Name.	Age.	Occupation.	Amsam.	Desam.	Relation which one fanatic bore to another.	Evidence of identification, &c.
		YRS.					
81	Chirakkal *alias* Muchiriyan Kunhizan.	40	Cultivation and Cooly.	Manjéri	Anakayam (Cheppur)	....	His wives Thayu and Ami state that he disappeared on the 29th February and that they have since learnt that he was shot at the Manjéri temple. Had two wives and four children.
82	Puthen Kalathil Kunhi Mammad.	12	Cooly	Do.	Pandalúr Mudikodi.	A brother-in-law of younger brother of No. 78.	His brother Mootha states that he joined the gang on the 29th February and that he has since learned that he was shot at the Manjéri temple. Not married.
83	Palakkaparambil Mootha.	40	*Nil*	Irimfuzhi	Pappinipura	Elder brother of No. 84 ..	His corpse was identified at the Manjéri temple by Irimbuzh amsam adhigari and menon and by Ernad taluk dufterbund Krishnan Nayar.
84	Palakkaparambil Ahmed.	22	Cultivation	Do. (Ernad taluk).	Do.	Younger brother of No. 83.	His corpse was identified at the Manjéri temple by Irimbuzhi amsam adhigari and menon.
85	Puttemannil *alias* Chempilampatta Unni Ahmed.	35	Cultivation and Cooly work.	Payyanad (Ernad taluk).	Payyanad	Elder brother of No. 86 ..	Son of Moyan Kutti. His corpse was identified at the Manjéri temple by Payyanad adhigari and P. Ahmed Mussaliar, schoolmaster, Payyanad. Married and had six children.
86	Puttemannil Unni Mammad.	21	Do. ..	Elankúr (Ernad taluk).	Elankúr (Cherukulam).	Younger brother of No. 85.	Son of Moyan Kutti. His corpse was identified at the Manjéri temple by Payyanad adhigari and P. Ahmed Mussaliar, schoolmaster, Payyanad.
87	Neeran Unni Ahmed.	25	Do. ..	Payyanad	Payyanad	..	Son of Mammad. His corpse was identified at the Manjéri temple by Payyanad adhigari and P. Ahmed Mussaliar, schoolmaster, Payyanad. Married; had a child.
88	Chundanpotta Athen Moyi.	26	Cooly	Do.	Do.	Uncle of No. 91	Son of Athen Moyi. His corpse was identified at the Manjéri temple by Payyanad adhigari. Married; had a child.
89	Tenath Enadi ..	28	Cultivation and Cooly work.	Do.	Do.	Elder brother of No. 90 ..	Son of Moidin. His corpse was identified at the Manjéri temple by Payyanad adhigari. Had two wives and two children.
90	Do. Rayan ..	24	Do. ..	Do.	Do.	Younger brother of No. 89.	Son of Moidin. His corpse was identified at the Manjéri temple by Payyanad adhigari. Married; no issue.
91	Pulakkátan Unni Ahmed.	20	Do. ..	Do.	Do.	Nephew of No. 88	Son of P. Avaran. His corpse was identified at the Manjéri temple by Payyanad adhigari. Married; no issue. His wife left his house four or five days before the Ramazan.
92	Kottakutti Kunhi Ahmed.	25	Do. ..	Do.	Nellikutti	A distant relation of Nos. 93 and 94.	Son of K. Unni Ahmed. His corpse was identified at the Manjéri temple by Payyanad adhigari and P. Ahmed Mussaliar, schoolmaster, Payyanad. Married; had a child.
93	Kottakutti Kunhi Mootha.	25	Do. ..	Do.	Do.	Elder brother of No. 94 ..	Son of P. Ahmed. His corpse was identified at the Manjéri temple by Payyanad adhigari and P. Ahmed Mussaliar, schoolmaster, Payyanad. Married; had an issue.

List of the Fanatics who took part in the Outbreak of February and March 1896—*cont.*

No.	Name.	Age.	Occupation.	Amsam.	Desam.	Relation which one fanatic bore to another.	Evidence of identification, &c.
		YRS.					
94	Kottakutti Kunhi Abdulla.	21	Cultivation and Cooly work.	Payyanad	Payyanad	Younger brother of No. 93.	Son of P. Ahmed. His corpse was identified at the Manjéri temple by Payyanad adhigari and Pudiyédate Ahmed Mussaliar, schoolmaster, Payyanad. Not married.
95	Kottakutti Kunhi Unni Koya.	14	Do. ..	Do.	Do.	A distant relation of Nos. 93 and 94.	Son of Mattayi Moidin Kutti. His corpse was identified at the Manjéri temple by Payyanad adhigari. Not married.
96	Ramamparambath *alias* Puttemannil *alias* Chempilampatta Ismalu.	28	Do. ..	Elankúr	Elamkúr (Cherukulam).	Cousin of Nos. 85 and 86 ..	His corpse was identified at the Manjéri temple by Payyanad adhigari and P. Ahmed Mussaliar, schoolmaster, Payyanad. Married; no issue.
97	Manayangadan Koya Kutti.	24	Cooly	Mangadapallipuram (Walavanad taluk).	Vallikapatta ..	....	Son of Ismalu. The adhigari of the amsam states that Koya Kutti was shot at the Manjéri temple. His corpse was identified at the temple by Pattiyil Chekk and Puvatoodi Govindan Nayar. Married; no issue.
98	Cheruman Raman ..	80	Do.	Manjéri	Pandalur (Mudikodi).	....	Wounded at the Manjéri temple; still alive—*vide* list of persons wounded and arrested.
99	Ambat Aidros ..	52	Cultivation	Vettathúr	Karkitakamkunnu.	....	A member of the second gang. He makes a confessional statement implicating himself—*vide* list of persons arrested and wounded.

LIST B.

LIST of Persons wounded and arrested in the Outbreak of February and March 1896.

Name.	Father's Name.	Age.	Occupation.	Amsam.	Desam.	Remarks.
1. Kochu Kayyan Moidin Kutti Mussaliar.	Unknown (convert)	yrs. 40	Preacher	Távúr (Walavanad)	Távúr.	
2 Kappa Kunnan Mootha	Khader	30	Cultivation	Chembrasséri (Ernad taluk) ..	Trikunnasséri.	
3. Pottemmal Unni Mammad (uncle's son of No. 2).	Kunhóli	25	Do.	Pórúr (Ernád)	Thodiapulam.	
4. Alingal Aidru	Kunhammad	30	Iron-worker	Chembrasséri	Periyangód.	
5. Aruvirakan Mootha (brother of No. 25).	Mootha	18	Cultivation and labourer	Do.	Vellayúr	Wounded.
6. Cheruman Ráman	Not known	30	Cooly	Manjéri (Ernad)	Pandalúr	Do.
7. Puzhuthini Kunhayu ..	Syed Ali	20	Molla	Chembrasséri	Vellayúr	Do.
8. Kuttipuliyan Moidin Kutti ..	K. Komu	27	Cultivation	Manjéri	Pandalúr.	
9. Kuttipuliyan Ahmed	Do.	29	Do.	Do.	Do.	
10. Mattummal Veeran (brother of No. 23).	M. Mammad Kutti ..	30	Cooly	Do.	Do.	
11. Karangádan Ayamed	K. Kunhóli	28	Trade	Do.	Do.	
12. Veluthedath Moidin (convert) ..	Kammakkan Kunhattan ..	40	Wood-cutter	Anakayam.		
13. Nairirampurambath Ossán Moidin (barber).	Kunhamed	17	Barber	Kuruva (Walavanád) ..	Vattalúr.	
14. Chittirámpalli Mootha	C. Soopi	38	Trade and cultivation ..	Manjéri	Anakayam.	
15. Konnath Pari	K. Kunhólan Kutti ..	35	Cooly	Do.	Pandalúr.	
16. Talakkolath Ahmed	Máttummal Unni Koya ..	33	Cultivation and timber cooly	Do.	Do.	
17. Páppádathil Mammu	P. Marakkár	35	Cultivation	Do.	Do.	
18. Kazhu Kunnumél Chek Kutti ..	K. Kóyámu	30	Do.	Irimbuzhi (Ernád) ..	Pappinipura.	
19. Parakkadan Ahmed Háji ..	P. Mootha	25	Do.	Arakkuparamba (Walavanad) ..	Alavailúr.	
20. Arakkuparamban Avulla (convert)	Unknown	44	Cooly	Chembrasséri	Chembrasséri.	
21. Chakkála Kunnan Kunhiyan ..	Kunhi Kóya	16	Cooly	Távúr	Távúr.	
22. Ossán Unnien	Moidin Kutti	32	Barber	Manjéri	Pandalúr.	
23. Máttummal Moidin	Mammad Kutti	12	Cooly	Chembrasséri	Vellayúr.	
24. Kaithavalappan Kunhólan ..	Avarán Kutti	20	Cultivation	Do.	Do.	
25. Aruvirakan Athoyi	Mootha	20	Cultivation and cooly	Do.	Do.	
26. Naipádath Kunhunmán	Kómu	27	Cultivation	Do.	Do.	
27. Ambát Aidros	Veeran Kutti	62	Trade and cultivation ..	Manjéri	Pandalúr.	
28. Tayyil Alivi	T. Marakkár	48	Cultivation	Vettathúr (Walavanad) ..	Karkitakámkunnu.	
29. Kundur Ayammad Kutti Mulla	Ali Kutti	35	Cultivation	Mélatúr (Walavanád) ..	Edappatta.	
30. Máliyakkal Moyan Kutti ..	Kunhammad	26	Cooly	Pórúr	Thodiyapulam.	
31. Kottápadan Mammi	Kóya			Do.	Do.	
32. Pottayil Mammad Mussaliar ..	Kamma Mussaliar ..	25	Cultivation	Chembrasséri	Poongótt.	
33. Poedikaparamban Marakkarutti	Unni Ali	42	Trade	Pórúr	Edappalam.	
34. Thechiyólan Unni Ayamed ..	T. Koya	17	Cultivation	Chembrasséri	Trikunnasséri.	
35. Kunnummal Ahmed	Eni	20	Do	Do.	Do.	
				Payyanád (Ernád)	Vettikáthiri	Only arrested on the 21st April 1896.

STATEMENT showing the amsams and desams from which the fanatics joined the Outbreak of 1896.

Amsam.	Desam.	Area.	Occupied houses.	Population.	Mussulmans.	Percentage of Mussulmans.	Number of persons who joined in outbreak.
1. Manjéri ..	Anakayam	..	335	1,664	1,079	64 84	10
	Aruvizháya	..	178	1,058	241	22·77	..
	Kóttuvetta	..	180	876	413	47·14	..
	Manjéri	..	430	2,483	1,015	40·87	..
	Pandalúr	..	577	2,786	1,649	59·18	22
	Vákkéthodi	..	85	447	292	65·32	1
	Vengálár	..	102	526	359	68·25	..
	Total ..	..	1,887	9,840	5,048	51·30	33
2. Panjanád ..	Nellikuth	..	192	936	713	76·17	4
	Panjanád	..	407	2,124	1,246	58·66	6
	Vettikattiri	..	121	647	384	59·35	..
	Veetanasséri	..	115	612	248	40·52	..
	Total ..	..	835	4,319	2,591	55·99	10
3. Elankúr ..	Elankúr	..	747	3,872	1,082	27·94	2
4. Irimbuzhi ..	Irimbuzhi	..	306	1,671	851	50·92	..
	Karuvampuram	..	118	734	111	15·12	..
	Kitangazhi	..	100	545	366	67·15	..
	Mélákkam	..	179	1,012	261	25·79	..
	Narukara	..	106	610	109	17·86	..
	Pappinipura	..	132	734	427	58·17	2
	Perumpalam	..	124	703	543	77·24	..
	Total ..	..	1,065	6,009	2,668	44·40	2
5. Chembrasséri ..	Chembrasséri	..	335	1,790	1,142	63·79	1
	Chéramba	..	367	1,911	816	42·07	6
	Motapilásséri	..	100	539	169	31·35	..
	Pariyangád	..	210	1,300	733	56·38	1
	Pazhayódam	..	231	1,157	801	69·23	..
	Perukkód	..	55	303	71	23·43	..
	Pookuth	..	105	614	237	38·59	..
	Pálamanna	..	78	451	141	31·26	..
	Poongott	..	130	705	236	33·47	4
	Trikunnasséri	..	630	2,675	1,152	43·6	..
	Vellayúr	..	200	1,059	674	63·64	19
	Total ..	..	2,441	12,504	6,172	49·36	31
6. Távúr	Távúr	..	900	4,287	1,855	43·27	18
7. Pandikád ..	Káráya	..	62	398	208	52·26	..
	Kotasséri	..	235	1,237	399	32·25	..
	Pándikád	..	408	2,216	1,442	65·07	..
	Teyyampádikuth	..	57	351	8	2·27	..
	Valaród	..	100	582	194	33·33	..
	Valluvangád	..	393	2,215	1,228	55·44	1
	Total ..	..	1,255	6,999	3,479	49·70	1
8. Vettathúr ..	Edathanáthukara	..	501	2,479	1,066	43·00	..
	Karkitagámkunnu	..	331	1,788	853	47·70	1
	Pálakkazhi	..	210	1,270	481	37·87	..
	Vettathúr	..	482	2,699	1,728	64·02	..
	Total ..	..	1,524	8,236	4,128	50·12	1
9. Mangadapallipuram.	Kadukkúr	..	210	1,145	877	76·59	..
	Kónéthummuri	..	17	124	31	25·00	..
	Kozhinnal	..	31	195	112	57·43	..
	Pallipuram	..	187	1,024	488	47·46	..
	Patinyáttummuri	..	198	1,080	495	45·83	..
	Perintattiri	..	27	157	134	85,35	..
	Vallikapetta	..	167	964	843	35·58	..
	Total ..	..	837	4,689	2,551	54·40	1

MAP OF PART OF THE MALABAR DISTRICT
TO ILLUSTRATE REPORT ON THE
MOPLAH OUT BREAK
1896

76 | 76 30 | OOTACAMUND

11

CALICUT TALUK
ERNAD TALUK
WALLUVANAD TALUK
PALGHAT TALUK
CALICUT
ELLATTUR R.
Trikaliyur
Arrakod
Edavanna
Ferok
Kadalundi
KUNDOTTI
Elangur
MANJERI
Payanad
Prayer-shed
Nellikuthi
Anakayam
Irimbuzhi
Udambath House
Pandalur
MALAPURAM
Old Malapuram
New Malapuram
PARAPPANANGADI
KADALUNDI R.
Tanur
Kottakal
Kolatur
Pirur
Edakkulam
Pudiangadi
PONNANI
PONNANI RIVER
Kuttipuram
Pallipuram
MADRAS RAILWAY
S. W. LINE
Shoranur
Ottappalam
Waniankulam
Walayar
Akathetti
Pattambi
PALGHAT
NILAMBUR
To Gudalur
AMBUR (Heavy Forest)
Gang Cooked Meal Morn 28 Feb
Perambayil
where 2nd gang was shot
Amarambalam
WANDUR
Panikod
Gang ate here night 27 Feb
Old Sipara Chauki (abandoned)
Kalikavu
Residence of Fanatic leader Moideen Kutti Haji
Pungodi
Manikundu
Two ganges met here
VELLAYUR
(Low Hills and Forest)
Nair murdered Feb. 26
Gang cooked meal Morn 29 Feb
Karal
Mosque
HUVUR
Karuvara
Kundu Mosque
House burnt Feb. 26
PANDIKAD
Midikod
MELATUR
Pandalur Hill
Place where the gold smith was murdered
Vettatur
ANGADIPURAM
Ananghat
Aliparamba
CHERPALCHERI
Mannarghat
Pallikurpa
Karimba
Crest of Ghauts (Unmetalled)
KUNDAH MOUNTAINS
NILGIRIS
ATTAPADI VALLEY
SILENT VALLEY (Unmetalled)
Crest of Ghauts
(Heavy Forest)
Coffee planted on Tibbin Hill
Old Sipara Chauki (abandoned)
Crest of Ghauts

The Roads x and x¹ are not passable for carts.
Bridges broken.

MADRAS PRESIDENCY
MADRAS
Calicut
Cape Comorin
CEYLON

Scale 1 Inch = 4 Miles
0 1 2 3 4 8 Miles

REFERENCE
Metalled Road
Course taken by Gang of Fanatics

Reg: No.321-6
Copies 50+118+40

Photo.-Print Survey Office, Madras 1896.

From H. M. WINTERBOTHAM, Esq., Member, Board of Revenue, to the Chief Secretary to Government, dated Madras, 5th May 1896.

With reference to G.O., No. 502, dated 11th March 1896, Judicial, and in continuation of my report, dated 10th April 1896, I have the honour to submit herewith (Appendix I) a list of the ninety-nine persons immediately concerned in the Moplah outbreak of February and March last, with an abstract of the information which has been gathered regarding each. Some of the persons in the list, who certainly disappeared from their homes at the time of the outbreak and have not since been heard of, may possibly turn out to have absconded and to be still alive; but such cases, if any, will be very few. At the recent survey the boundaries of the Désams have undergone alteration, and for this reason, and where the fanatic happens to have lived near a doubtful boundary, there may be some differences of Désam between my list and those which the Police Superintendent and Special Assistant Magistrate have prepared. Further enquiry will rectify differences and the matter is of little importance.

Mr. Fawcett, Superintendent of Police, has, with much pains and perseverance, visited the houses or huts of all the Tûvûr and Chembrasséri men; and the greater part of my information regarding this portion of the gang has been obtained from him. He is following up his house-to-house enquiry through the other amsams, and will doubtless be able to supplement such particulars as I have given, with additional details; but I think it improbable that further enquiry will reveal any pretext for the outbreak other than such as have been already ascertained and investigated.

2. The frontispiece of the report is a map of the locality prepared by the Superintendent of Revenue Survey, which shows the wanderings of the gang, and in which nearly all the places mentioned in the report and appendices will be found.

3. *First intimation of the outbreak.*—The first intimation that an outbreak was imminent was received by Mussa Kutti, the Moplah Adhigâri of Wandur amsam, in the early morning of February 25th, 1896.

The Adhigâri received his information from a Moplah, who had received it from his son, who had been told by some one else that an outbreak was planned, and that one Kochukaiyan (withered armed) Mussaliar, and three others named, were at the bottom of it. All four men are under arrest and the evidence against them will be investigated and reported on to Government by the District Magistrate. It is useless to push enquiry as to the person by whom the plot was revealed, and the sources of his information. Though the Adhigâri had received his information at third or fourth hand, he and the Moplah Sub-Magistrate, to whom he at once sent a report, both acted on the belief that it was true.

4. *Action taken by Police and Moplah Sub-Magistrate.*—The Sub-Magistrate received the report at Manjéri, about 10 A.M. on February, 25th. He proceeded *viâ* Pandikad to Wandur (16 miles), and thence eastwards three miles to Todiyapulam, where he arrived after night-fall.

He there found that the Adhigâri and the Nair Police Inspector had effected the arrest of three of the four suspected Moplahs, and that two constables and two Moplah guides had been sent to fetch the withered-armed Mussaliar and one Pâlôli Mammu from Tûvûr, eight miles away to the south.

Early next morning (February 26th), as the Sub-Magistrate, Police Inspector, and Adhigâri were starting southwards for Vellayur, where the Chembrasséri Adhigâri lives, they met the constables returning with the withered-armed Mussaliar, and he and the other three prisoners were forthwith sent to Manjéri.

The Sub-Magistrate and Police Inspector went on to Vellayur, where they learnt that a number of Moplahs had already started for some rendezvous in the jungle with the avowed intention (as they phrase it) of becoming saints.

5. *Arrest of the suspected prime-mover of the outbreak.*—There is, I think, no doubt that the arrest of the withered-armed Mussaliar precipitated the designs of those in the plot, and plunged them into action before their plans were matured.

The circumstances attending his arrest are, therefore, of sufficient importance and interest to be given in full. The deposition of the constable is printed as Appendix III.

No fault whatever can be found with the constable's procedure.

The withered-armed Mussaliar lived in a hut adjoining the grave-yard of the Tûvûr mosque. His neighbour on one side was a Moplah named Mussaliar Unhi Koya, and on the other another Moplah named Pâramêl Poker. Both these men were among the fanatics afterwards killed at Manjéri.

It was near sunset when the constable arrived, and he found the withered-armed Mussaliar reading a book in his verandah.

The constable said that he had come as a messenger to fetch him to the Wandûr Adhigâri and Police Inspector, who wanted to speak to him.

Mussaliar Unhi Koya then interposed stating that a Moulhud (*vide* paragraph 11, *infra*) was to be performed in his house that evening, and that the withered-armed Mussaliar was to officiate.

About 10 or 15 Moplahs had assembled for this Moulhud. The Moulhud was held, and afterwards the party adjourned to the mosque to pray. An old Tangal, called the Kottakuth Tangal, who formerly belonged to Pándikâd and now lives close to the Tûvûr mosque, was present at the service.

After the service the party had their supper at Mussaliar Unhi Koya's, and then after some persuasion the withered-armed Mussaliar voluntarily accompanied the constable to the house of the Chembrasséri Adhigâri at Vellayur.

On the way he two or three times ejaculated "The mischief of the good-for-nothing lads!"

Almost simultaneously with their arrival at the Chembrasséri Adhigâri's house came the news that eight or nine Moplahs had left their houses and started for an outbreak.

6. *His history.*—The withered-armed Mussaliar was a Cheruman (Hindu prædial slave) by birth, and is 44 years old. At about the age of 14, he had an abscess on the knee; made a vow that he would embrace Islâm if he became whole; became whole, and kept his vow.

He lived as a cow-boy in various amsams round Malappuram, and was still young when he met with an accident while chasing a bullock, which smashed one of his arms. From this accident he acquired the name of 'withered-arm' by which he is commonly known. His Moplah name is Kalathingal Moidin Kutti. Sundry of his employers gave him an opportunity, which he embraced, not only of learning 'ôtthu,' *i.e.*, to read the Koran parrotwise, but of studying 'kittâb,' *i.e.*, divers commentaries.

He went to Tanur and continued his studies there for two years supported by charity; returned to Malappuram, lived here and there for some years, and then went to Ponnáni intending to obtain the degree of Mussaliar; but after a stay of six months, a long attack of fever and itch made him abandon his reading and return inland, where he has since got his living as a wandering priest and preacher. For the last twelve years he has had his abode close to the Tûvûr mosque, and has preached in that neighbourhood. Usage accorded him the title of Mussaliar, although he had not been invested therewith by the Ponnáni Mahadun Tangal in the usual way. General report attributes to him a leading part in promoting the outbreak. His individual grievance was that a younger brother of the Tûvûr Hindu Adhigâri had kicked him, or threatened to kick him, for not getting out of his path, as a Cheruman would be bound to do.

The District Magistrate is collecting the evidence against him, and for the purposes of my report it will not be necessary for me to allude to the man further.

7. *Explanation of the terms Tangal, Mussaliar, Mullah and Moulhud.*—A digression appears here desirable to explain certain terms which are continually occurring in all correspondence regarding Moplah outbreaks, and regarding which there has been, I think, much misapprehension.

8. A *Tangal* (*a* short, as in America, *ng* as in singing) is a direct descendant from the Prophet. Many affect the title in Malabar, who cannot trace their descent. All are regarded with veneration. A few are large landholders.

The Tangals seldom officiate at mosque services. Many practise the cure or prevention of disease by writing selections from the Koran on a plate with ink, or on a coating of ashes. The ink or ashes are then mixed with water and swallowed. They also dispense scrolls for lockets, and small flags, inscribed with sacred verses, which are relied on to avert pestilence and misfortune. The flags are sometimes placed on the sea-shore to check encroachment by the sea.

9. A *Mussaliar* is an 'elder,' who has studied 'kittâb' (the commentaries) at Ponnáni and received the title from the Chief Tangal of that place. A Mussaliar is supposed to be able to understand the Koran and the commentaries in the original Arabic.

10. A *Mullah* performs the service at the mosque. He must be able to read the Koran and Moulhuds fluently; but does not understand what he reads, *i.e.*, he does not know Arabic. The appointment of a Mullah vests in the congregation, and the Kâzi nominates.

Besides the Mullah attached to every mosque, any Moplah who can read the Koran and Moulhuds well, and who devotes himself to this occupation, is called a Nâttu (country) Mullah. Every Moplah family, which can afford it, has a Nâttu Mullah, who attends the house daily, and reads one of the thirty sections into which the Koran is divided, so that the whole book may be read through every month. On Thursday and Sunday evenings the Mullah is called in to read the chapter from the Koran entitled 'Yâ-Sîn.' He is also employed to officiate at Moulhuds, of which every well-to-do family has one or two every month, and he reads the Koran over corpses between death and burial, and over new graves for as many days as he is paid to do so. He receives periodical fees of grain and money for his services.

Of the fanatics in appendix I, No. 37 was a mosque Mullah, and Nos. 29, 35 and 54 were Nâttu Mullahs.

11. A *Moulhud*, in the correspondence on Moplah outrages, seems often to have been understood to be a ceremony, the performance of which was invariably symptomatic of an approaching outbreak. At page 801 of Gundert's *Malayalam Dictionary* the word is defined as 'chanting before the bier of a deceased person.'

It is certainly not in this sense that the word is used by the Moplahs of Ernâd and Walluvanad.

A Moulhud is a tract, or short treatise, in book form, celebrating the birth, life, works and sayings of the Prophet, or some Saint. There are many Moulhuds in praise of the Prophet: several concerning Shekh Mohi-ud-dîn, eleventh descendant of the Prophet, expounder of the Koran, and great performer of miracles: several concerning Bîrâm Sahib, Saint of Nagore near Negapatam: several concerning the Mampuram Tangal, father of Said Fasl.

To perform a Moulhud is to call in a Mullah to read one of these treatises. Portions are in verse, and a congregation is required to make the responses and join in the singing. Thus friends are invited, and the service is preceded or followed by a supper. A Moulhud should be performed by those who can afford it on the eleventh of each Mussulman month in praise of Shekh Mohi-ud-dîn, and on the twelfth in praise of the Prophet. A Moulhud should be performed on the third day after a death. Moplahs often vow that they will celebrate a Moulhud if such and such an event happens. Some perform a Moulhud at stated anniversaries, and in general a Moulhud is performed as a prelude to important undertakings on which it is desired to invoke a blessing. The Moulhuds are all written in Arabic character, and I am assured by every Moplah I have asked, that not a sentence is understood either by the officiating Mullah, or by the assembled listeners. To get a few translated into English would be a work of some difficulty; but for curiosity's sake I regret that I have not had time to undertake the task. What I desire to call attention to is the fact that the performance of a

Moulhud is an every-day, and usually quite innocent, religious observance. No doubt it may often be made the pretext for conspirators to meet together.

Thus the Moulhud at which the withered-armed Mussaliar officiated on the evening of February 2.th, in the house of fanatic No. 42, may have been (as the former asserts) quite unconnected with the outbreak, or it may have been celebrated as a prelude to that undertaking.

In favour of the former supposition is the Musaliar's conduct in voluntarily accompanying the constable, which he would hardly have done if the Moulhud had been specially performed to invoke a blessing on men devoting themselves to death.

12. *Arrests were effected in praiseworthy manner.*—Returning now to the history of the outbreak, I think it clear that in arresting the four accused men, the Police acted with commendable promptitude and discretion, in a manner which could not possibly have provoked or precipitated an outbreak, unless one had been already fully determined upon.

13. *Exaggerated rumours from Wandúr market.*—It may be noted that there is a large weekly market at Wandúr every Tuesday, at which Moplahs from all the country side congregate.

Many of the fanatics killed at Manjéri attended the fair on Tuesday, February 25th, and the news that the plot was blown upon, and that the Adhigâri and Police Inspector had gone eastwards to make enquiries, spread like wild-fire, until the despatch of two constables to fetch two Moplahs to be questioned, became magnified into a rumour (to use the words of one of the wounded fanatics) that "all Moplahs were to be arrested."

14. *Moplah tenantry hasten to houses of their landlords.*—Then followed the curious symptoms which always attend an outbreak. To the house of every large Hindu landlord hasten numbers of his Moplah tenantry to put themselves in evidence, and show their loyalty by offering themselves as guards. When one or more members of a family cast in their lot with the fanatics, the remaining male members hurry off to their landlord's house, and stay there 'on guard' until the disturbance is over.

They are thus enabled to give an account of themselves, and at the same time to obtain their meals and whatever else they can get from the mortal terror of the Hindu, who however much he distrusts his 'guards' has no alternative but to accept their services and to keep them in good humour, if he can, with high feeding and presents.

15. *Doings of the fanatics.*—The frontispiece map will show the movements of the gang. The fanatics predestinate commenced operations on the evening of February 26th by plundering and burning the farm-house of one Kunyunni Panikkar in Tûvûr amsam. That same night Paniankuth Raru Nair was murdered by another section of the gang in Chembrasséri amsam.

A relative of his (Vattaparambatha Karappan Nair) was met by the gang, who cut off his top-knot, made him tie his cloth Moplah fashion, gave him the name of Ali, and let him go as a convert. A Tiyan (E. Parangodan) was served in the same way immediately afterwards.

16. During February 27th the gang visited and looted seven Hindu houses, obtaining one or two guns and spears, a number of choppers, some cloths, axes, ornaments, cooking vessels, jaggery and food.

In the evening at Chakki Kuzhi, at a farm-house belonging to Pâlakkal Vélu Nair, they slew a cow and had a square meal of rice and beef.

17. During February 28th they continued their search for arms, looting six Hindu houses, whence they obtained two guns, two swords, a number of choppers and axes, some cloths and ornaments.

Near Parambayil they desecrated a small temple by breaking open the door and easing themselves in the interior. Near this place they met one Cheminikaré Krishnan Nair and cut off his top-knot.

They set to work to cook their evening meal at a farm-house called Ânakot, and while thus engaged news was brought to them that the white troops had reached Wandúr. Hastily swallowing some half-cooked rice the gang turned southwards, and travelled by night through Vellayur, Tûvûr and Pandikad.

18. Shortly before dawn on February 29th they passed a Hindu temple at Kârâi, sacred to Dûrga, and set fire to it. The temple had a thatched roof. It belonged to a Nair family in Wandúr amsam, with whom, so far as I could ascertain, none of the gang had any cause of enmity.

A few miles further west in Vettikâtiri they entered a Nair house and obtained materials for a meal which they there cooked. The owner who had hidden himself alleges that the gang also took about Rs. 400 in money, but this assertion, which is still under investigation, is considered doubtful.

It was here that the gang was joined by two men, Nos. 51 and 52 on the list. Passing on through Elémbra, a sub-division of Paiyanâd amsam, they picked up six recruits (Nos. 53 to 58) and at Nellikuth, about 3 miles further south, were joined by four more (Nos. 59 to 62).

19. One of these (No. 62) was a boy of 12 whose mother belongs to the Vârian Kunnan family, conspicuous in the outbreak of 1894.

The woman has eight children, has some Kânam property, and is comfortably off. The boy was drying gingelly pods in the field, and followed the gang on the impulse of the moment.

He is believed to be one of the boys amongst the killed at Manjéri, upon whom no bullet wound was found, and who had had his throat cut by some ruffianly fanatic to prevent his being captured.

20. From Nellikuth the gang crossed the river, entered Manjéri amsam, and proceeded through Mudikôd, where they were joined by eleven recruits (Nos. 64 to 74), to the Pandalur temple.

Their subsequent course is sufficiently described in paragraphs 21 to 23 of my report, dated April 10th.

During the afternoon of Saturday, February 29th, the strength of the gang was increased by the joining of Nos. 63 and 75 to 96, all of them recruits from around the north-western base of Pandalur Hill.

Finally, on Sunday morning two men from Irimbuzhi joined, after the gang had occupied the Manjéri temple.

21. *No proof of pre-arrangement between Chembrasséri-Tûvûr fanatics, and later recruits.*—No doubt, all who joined must have been long accustomed to talk about, and contemplate the glory of dying in battle, and the promised delights of Paradise; but I have been able to find no evidence pointing to any preconcerted plan, or understanding, between the fanatics of Chembrasséri and Tûvûr, where the outbreak originated, and those of Manjéri and Paiyanâd.

It remains to be seen whether the enquiries, which Mr. Fawcett is still pursuing, will bring to light the existence of a pre-arrangement between the different sections of the gang, but my belief is that the Tûvûr and Chembrasséri men were following more or less blindly the course pursued by the fanatics of 1894, and were attracted to the Pandalur hills, because they are in the midst of the scenes of former exploits, and offer both a secure hiding place, and a convenient base for plundering Hindus and for attracting recruits.

22. *Number of gang unprecedented, but not a matter for surprise.*—Appendix II exhibits the statistics of the population of the nine amsams to which the fanatics belonged.

The Moplah population of these amsams is nearly 30,000, and the number of persons who took part in the outbreak was 99, or about one in every 300. Although the number of the last gang was large beyond precedent, the wonder really is that more did not join. In most cases there is absolutely nothing in the life, history and circumstances of any one of the ninety-nine fanatics to distinguish him from his brethren and kindred by blood and marriage, any one of whom was, and is, just as fit and likely to go out to war.

23. *Causes of the outbreak.*—I now come to the special object of my enquiry, viz., the ascertainment of the causes—ultimate and immediate—which led to the outbreak. I must warn Government at the outset that the only discovery I have made is that there is very little to discover.

24. *Statements of the survivors made independently.*—The persons who should be best able to explain the outbreak are obviously the survivors of the gang (five in number) whose statements to me are printed as enclosures I to V of my report, dated April 10th, 1896. Fortunately the individuals in question had no possible opportunity after the outbreak of conferring with one another before their several statements were recorded. Aruviralan Mûtha (Statement No. I) was wounded at Manjéri on March 1st, and was kept under treatment in the hospital at the Malapuram barracks, under a Military guard. Puzhutini Kunyâyu (Statement No. II) was shot at Parambayil at sun-set on April 13th: was carried in to Wandúr next morning, and was examined by me on April 14th as soon as he arrived. Ambât Aidrôs (Statement No. III) was arrested in Vettatur, was brought to Wandúr under a Police guard, and was examined by me at once on April 16th. Kaidhavalappan Kunyâlan (Statement No. IV) was arrested by some Moplahs at Vellayur on the morning of April 14th, and made his statement before me, without having any possible means of communicating with the others aforesaid.

Aruviralan Atthóyi (Statement No. V) denied before me that he was a member of the second gang, but has since made a long statement before the Special Assistant Magistrate closely agreeing with that of Kaidhavalappan Kunyâlan, in whose company he was arrested.

So far as these survivors of the gang, who had no communication with each other, assign the same reasons for the outbreak, we have in their statements the best possible proof that the said reasons were in fact put forward by the fanatics as their justification for going out to war.

25. Aruviralan Mûtha (No. 5 in Appendix I, wounded at Manjéri) lives close to the Chembrasséri Adhigâri's house in Vellayur Désam. He was with the first gang from start to finish. He states that the fanatics who persuaded him to join told him (1) that the white folk had offered insult to The Way, by taking beyond reach a Tiyya female living in Chembrasséri amsam, who had become an apostate from Islâm: (2) that the white folk had caused to be pulled down a prayer-mosque at Paiyanâd. He declares that he himself knows nothing whatever as to whether the alleged grievances are fact or fiction.

26. Puzhutini Kunyâyu (No. 30 in Appendix I, wounded at Parambayil) lives about five miles due east from Wandúr, and got his living as a peripatetic Mullah. He states that as the month of Ramullân drew near, a talk arose amongst the Moplahs of his neighbourhood that there was no room for Mussulmâns in the country and that they should get up a 'lahala' (ലഹള). This is the technical term locally used to denote the special form of Moplah outbreak, the parties to which pledge themselves to win Paradise by dying in battle against the infidel.

He asked these discontented spirits what justification there was for an outbreak, and they assigned three grounds, to wit:—

(1) That a converted Tiyya woman had taken off her jacket (become an apostate) and thus disgraced Islâm. (*Note.*—The women of the Tiyya caste wear no dress above the waist. The Moplah women all wear jackets.)
(2) That after the outbreak of 1894 the mothers and sisters of the fanatics were insulted by being struck and beaten.
(3) That poor folk are ejected and put to trouble by the grant of mélcharths (second mortgages) over their heads.

It may be noted here that this fanatic professes to have no personal knowledge of any one of the three aforesaid grievances. I have since spent several hours in conversation with him at the Manjéri hospital, on several occasions, and am convinced that he personally knows nothing either about the female apostate, or the alleged ill-treatment of the Moplah women, or of any hard cases of eviction.

He has resolutely avoided stating the names of the persons with whom he says he had the conversations which he relates.

One of his casual remarks deserves to be recorded. He said, with a silent laugh, "A dozen of us Moplahs can't meet any where but we are at once suspected to be plotting an outbreak!"

27. Ambât Aidrôs (No. 99 on the list) states that the grievances which led to the outbreak were—

(1) That the mothers and sisters of the fanatics killed in 1894, had their jackets torn, and were tortured 'by rubbing chillies', to make them surrender the loot which the fanatics had given them; and that therefore it was necessary to find and kill the Head Constable who was at the bottom of it.

(2) That the fanatics wanted to kill the apostate Tiyya woman if they got her. Personally he knows nothing about the torture, or the apostate woman.

28. Kaidhavalappan Kuṅyâlan (No. 29 on the list, a member of the second gang) gives four reasons for the outbreak:—

(1) Because apostates from The Way are walking about (in freedom), and he mentions the apostate Tiyya woman as an instance.
(2) Because a prayer-mosque had been pulled down.
(3) Because Moplah women were tortured after the outbreak two years ago.
(4) Because Janmis (landlords) raise money by granting mélcharths (second mortgages) over the heads of poor tenants.

This lad also has no personal knowledge of the apostate woman, the prayer-mosque, or of the alleged ill-treatment of certain Moplah women, nor does he know a single instance of hardship caused by grant of second mortgage.

29. *The four causes mentioned by the survivors.*—It will be seen that the four above-mentioned survivors all concur in mentioning the case of the apostate Tiyya woman as one of the pretexts for the outbreak. Three of them mention the ill-treatment of certain Moplah women in 1894. Two of them mention the pulling down of a certain prayer-mosque in Paiyanâd. Two of them mention the old standing grievance of second mortgages.

I will now briefly state what information I have collected regarding each of the four matters which are thus cited as provoking the outbreak.

30. *The case of the apostate Tiyya woman.*—On January 25th, 1896, the Moplah Sub-Magistrate, stationed at Manjéri, reported to the Special Assistant that some strange Moplahs had been frightening an old Tiyya woman, named Chakki, who lived in Chembrasséri amsam, with a daughter and grandson, supporting themselves by cooly work. The Special Assistant Magistrate sent for the old woman, and she appeared before him at Malappuram on January 27th, 1896. From her statement it appears that about forty years ago, when she was a girl of 10 or 12, she was abducted by a Moplah of Tirurangadi and donned the dress of a Moplah woman. After a few days she was found and brought back by her father, and was taken in to Calicut where, after some enquiry before a Sahib, she was given back to her father's custody. Her father is long since dead, and she had been living in Chembrasséri unmolested for a long while. Recently she had been alarmed by some strange Moplahs, who spoke to her in the jungle and told her she had better return to Islâm. She could not clearly explain what had frightened her, but, as she *was* frightened, and was also suffering from fever and rheumatism, the Special Assistant Magistrate thought it as well to send her in to the Calicut hospital, so that she might remain there under treatment until the Mussulmân Month of Fast should be over. She was sent in to Calicut accordingly and was there at the time of the outbreak. Regarding this incident it seems only necessary to remark that there is nothing in it which can be admitted as affording the smallest ground of offence to any rational human being. In any place outside the Moplah taluks the precaution taken by the Divisional Magistrate might seem ridiculous; but in view of past history and of what the survivors of the gang have said, there is little doubt that the old woman, if she had remained in Chembrasséri, would have gone in peril and terror of her life, until either murdered, or terrorised into rejoining The Way.

The fanaticism which finds in the removal of the old woman, with her consent, a sufficient ground for an outbreak, cannot be reasoned with or conciliated.

31. *The alleged torture or ill-treatment of the female relatives of the fanatics after the outbreak of* 1894.—Government will remember that the outbreak of 1894 began by the robbery on the highway of a remittance of Rs. 2,296, which was being taken from Chembrasséri to the Manjéri Taluk Treasury. Rs. 1,275 of this amount was recovered from the female relatives of the fanatics (*vide* paragraph 14 of District Magistrate's letter, page 36 of G.O., No. 2186, Judicial, dated 8th September 1894). I have examined the record and find that fourteen women in all gave-up various sums of money. They were produced without delay before the Stationary Magistrate at Manjéri, one after another as the property was discovered, and in most cases on the day following the surrender of the property. Each woman was formally examined, and not one of them said a word about having been ill-treated. Mr. Bradley, then District Magistrate, was on the spot; and he and the Special Assistant Magistrate, Mr. Knapp, saw the women. Mr. Bradley states that the women had full opportunity of telling him and Mr. Knapp if they had been in any way ill-treated, and that none of them made any complaint. That their privacy should be invaded and their houses searched, and that they should be hauled up before a Magistrate, and compelled to disgorge the stolen property which they had received and hidden, was no doubt very grievous to the women and their male relations; but this procedure was inevitable, and affords no legitimate ground of complaint. The story that the women, or any of them, were ill-treated is based on nothing but vague, unfounded rumour. Government dealt most forbearingly with them in deciding that they should not be criminally prosecuted.

Under the above circumstances, and considering that two years have elapsed since the stolen property was recovered, I deemed it inexpedient to give wings to idle rumours by hunting-up the fourteen women, with a view to ascertain whether any one of them now says that she was badly treated. The fact that no complaint was made at the time would make worthless any assertion of ill-treatment which might now be put forward.

No complaint has been put forward: all circumstances indicate that there is no ground of complaint; and any action tending to stir up and encourage complaint seems, therefore, to be uncalled for.

If Moplah fanaticism takes offence at lawful means being used to recover stolen property from Moplah females this cannot be helped, and those who go out to war on such a frivolous pretext are beyond conciliation, and must be shot down.

32. *The removal of a prayer-mosque from the road-side between Paiyanâd and Manjéri.*—Two miles from Manjéri the road to Paiyanâd passes through a gorge; and between the raised road-way and the foot of a precipitous wooded bluff on the south, there is a spring of water, about one yard from the berme of the road. There are no dwellings near, and the side of the bluff is too steep to be cultivated. The spring affords a grateful resting place to the wayfarer. In March 1895, when the Inspector-General of Police was riding past the spring, in company with the Superintendent and Assistant Superintendent, they noticed that a shed, raised from the ground on four corner posts, was being erected at the spring so as to have the spring at its door. The shed was of the sort used throughout the Moplah taluks as a place for prayer, such as is often the forerunner of a permanent mosque. The effect would be to restrict the use of the spring to Mussulmâns, and on arrival at Manjéri the officers aforesaid requested the Tahsildar to enquire whether, in the interests of the public, the building of the prayer-shed ought not to be stopped. The Tahsildar wrote an order to the Adhigâri to report who was erecting the prayer-shed over the spring, and by what right he was doing so without asking permission.

The Adhigâri is a Moplah, son-in-law of pensioned Police Inspector, Ahamed Gurikkal, Khan Bahadur. He reported that the shed was being built by Abdullah Gurikkal, son of the pensioned Inspector, and that the former, on learning that the shed was considered objectionable, had undertaken at once to remove it. The shed was removed without more to do, except the corner posts which were left standing. These were not removed until after I had begun my enquiry, and were then cut off level with the ground, leaving the foundations undisturbed.

Four useful posts were thus spoilt, and it requires no deep knowledge of the Moplahs to lead one *primâ facie* to the inference that the posts were sacrificed to avoid the sin of disturbing the foundations of a mosque. I examined Abdullah Gurikkal and the Adhigâri, and their statements are printed as Appendix IV. To avoid making a mountain of a mole-hill, I deemed it inexpedient to push enquiry as to the ownership of the spring. Abdullah Gurikkal at first stated that it was included within the limits of certain escheat land purchased by his father from the Government and not yet fully paid for. This is what his brother-in-law the Adhigâri also states.

Abdullah protests that the shed was intended to be a rest-house for the use of travellers of all castes, that he removed it without compulsion as soon as he learnt that it was objected to, and that he cannot conceive who can have put it into the heads of the Chembrasséri and Tûvûr fanatics to treat its removal as an insult to Islâm.

Abdullah Gurikkal, in consideration of his father's services, was given employment in the Police, and was made a probationary Inspector. He could not pass his examinations, was found, after prolonged trial, to be perfectly useless, and was permitted to resign in 1891. That his breast is filled with sentiments of loyalty and gratitude to Government it would be rash to assert, and as he has reclaimed lands in Chembrasséri amsam and was often there, it is difficult to avoid the suspicion that the magnifying of the removal of the shed into an insult to Islâm must be due to versions of the transaction emanating from himself. Of this, however, there is no direct evidence. Since informing him of the inference which I drew from his leaving the stumps of the corner posts in the ground, he has removed the stumps of his own accord.

My opinion is that further enquiry regarding the building and removal of this shed will only serve to spread false and mischievous rumours, and that the best course is to accept the assurance of the builder that the shed was not intended to serve any religious purpose, and that there was nothing whatever in the circumstances of its removal at which any rational being could take offence.

33. *Rack-renting, and evictions by landlords and second mortgagees.*—It is probably under the head of this alleged cause of the outbreak that Government will look for useful information, and it is under this head that I fear my report will be found most disappointing.

The two chief leaders in the outbreak, Nos. 1 and 63, had no agrarian grievance whatever. No. 7 borrowed from a Nambudri, to whom he chose to attorn, about Rs. 300 on the security of about 16 acres of wet land which he had reclaimed from the jungle; and being unable to repay the money he was in a fair way to lose the fruits of his labour; but no fraud or oppression is apparent.

No. 9, nephew of No. 7, had reclaimed about 3 acres of land adjoining his uncle's clearing; and a Nair, to whom the uncle had transferred his wet land in consideration of the Nair paying off the debt of Rs. 300, claimed that the land of No. 9 was included in the transfer.

Possibly No. 7 had cheated his nephew, or the transferee, or possibly the latter had made a false claim, but the claim had not been enforced, and was not such as need drive a man desperate.

Nos. 38 and 39 appear to have had a genuine grievance. Their Nair landlord sued to evict their father from some kânam property. The suit was compromised on the father undertaking to pay a renewal fee of Rs. 350, and in this compromise the improvements were valued at a little over Rs. 100. The father alleges that this valuation was entered without his knowledge or consent, and the Moplah Sub-Magistrate, who saw the gardens, pronounces the valuation to be scandalously inadequate. The renewal fee was not paid, and the decree for eviction was accordingly executed. The family, however, was suffered to remain in possession on their undertaking to execute a simple lease, the terms of which had not been arranged.

It would be probably impossible to prove that the father was (as he alleges) deceived as to the terms of the compromise.

The father of No. 74 told me that he had been evicted five years ago from about one acre of wet land by a second mortgagee (a Hindu), but he did not profess that this afforded any explanation of his son going out to die.

No. 99, the oldest member of the gang, is typical of the stuff of which some of the fanatics are made (*vide* Statement III appended to my first report).

After cultivating certain fields on simple lease for 20 years, they pass into the hands of a new landlord, who gives him notice to quit, because he cannot furnish security for the rent.

He seeks and finds fresh fields, but an indifferent harvest leaves him in arrears with his rent.

The husband of one wife for 30 years, he is devoted to her and to the eight children whom they have reared.

In despair he throws in his lot with the saints predestinate: takes an opportunity to rob his comrades in their sleep, returns and gives the plunder to his children. Then, after his arrest, he snatches up a police rifle and tries to do for his captors. He is a very respectable old ruffian—a victim of hard times, 'the rent,' and a great charge of children; but hard cases like his will occur in the best regulated society.

In addition to the above cases I ought to mention a suit, which has not been brought forward before me as a grievance by any of the Tûvûr Moplahs, but which appears to have been probably the cause of the murder of Paniyankunnath Râru Nair (*vide* paragraph 20 of my report, dated April 10th, 1895).

About 20 years ago a Moplah named Pézhungaltodiyil Moidutti (now deceased) built the Tûvûr mosque on certain land, the janmam of which he had purchased from a member of the Naduvakâtt Aríkkaré Tarawad in Mélatur. About 16 years ago another representative of the tarawad (now Adhigâri of Mélatur) sued to recover possession of the land on the ground that the conveyance to the Moplah was invalid.

The site of the mosque and the graveyard were discreetly excluded from the suit. For the rest of the land the plaintiff obtained a decree, and a number of Moplahs who had formed homesteads as tenants of Moidutti have since had to come to terms with their new Hindu landlord.

The only person evicted appears to have been Moidutti, since deceased, some of whose land has since been leased to the murdered Raru Nair. It also appears that Raru Nair acted as one of the plaintiff's agents throughout the legal proceedings.

I tried at Angadipuram to obtain authentic particulars of the suit; but the District Munsif's court was closed, and I was unsuccessful.

Considering the many years which have elapsed since the suit was decided, and the fact that none of the local Moplahs spoke of it as a grievance, I deemed it inexpedient to pursue the enquiry; for the mosque site was not interfered with, and there is no allegation that any injustice was done.

34. *No general agrarian grievance.*—With the above exceptions none of the fanatics in the recent outbreak appear to have been evicted, or to have any just ground of complaint against their landlords. Personal enquiry of the Moplah tenantry in the disturbed tract entirely failed to reveal any general oppression, or extravagant rack-renting on the part of the Hindu landlords and kánamdars. Nearly all the wet land is cultivated by tenants on verum-pâttam (simple annual lease). In Chembrasséri and Tûvûr the usual rent for two-crop land appears to be about ten times the seed. The gross produce for two crops should be quite twenty times the seed, and the tenant in such case gets half the grain and nearly all the straw. In the eastern districts there are few tenants who enjoy so large a share.

In anticipation of the objection that the first crop rarely yields more than ten-fold, and that the second crop is not usually as heavy as the first, it may be remarked that the rainfall at the foot of the mountains is much above the district average, and that the supply of leaf manure and ashes is plentiful.

The fertility of the land is thus above the ordinary.

Speaking still of Chembrasséri and Tûvûr, six paras are reckoned as equivalent to an acre, and three paras of paddy sell for a rupee. The rent for an acre of two-crop land would thus be 60 paras, or Rs. 20.

Both Adhigâris, in each other's presence, agreed in stating that there is little or no wet land in their amsams assessed at more than Rs. 2 per acre! The assessment is paid by the lessor. For their kudiyiruppus, or homesteads, the tenants generally pay only a nominal rent of one pudhia panam (new fanam=Rs. 0–4–7) a year.

For modan (hill-rice grown on bare hills) and punam (hill-rice grown in forest clearings), the rent paid is generally only one in ten of the produce. The actual cultivator pays the Government assessment.

35. *Explanation why rents generally easy in Chembrasséri.*—Up to within the last few years, the forests at the foot of the mountains, west of the Silent Valley, have been a no-man's land, where the janmam title is in dispute and doubt. Numbers of Moplah adventurers, crowded out from their native places, have squatted in the jungle, and without asking by-your-leave of any one, have set to work to fell and burn the forest, and reclaim the swamps, unobstructed except by fever and ague. Within the last twenty years it has become settled doctrine that in Malabar every foot of land must have its janmi proprietor. Gradually, as opportunity offers, divers great Hindu families have been coming to terms with the squatters, and, by advances of grain and money, threats of legal proceedings, and promises of liberal treatment, have won from them a recognition of the janmam title to the land. The registration of janmam titles, recently undertaken, must lead to a scramble for all disputed land, and the rival claimants are using the utmost diligence to fortify their claims by bringing the squatters to terms. A squatter has now no chance of peaceable occupation until he has secured a powerful landlord to fight his civil battles for him, and the general result of the situation is that every squatter has attorned, or is attorning, to some landlord, who for the time grants him sufficiently easy terms.

Thus, up to the present time, excessive rents are the exception, and most of the few evictions result from suits between rival claimants for the janmam title.

36. *Available statistics as to second mortgages, and eviction suits throw no light on alleged agrarian grievance.*—From the records of the Registration offices and of the Ernâd and Walluvanâd District Munsiffs, I have endeavoured to collect (for the disturbed amsams) information regarding second mortgages and eviction suits. I have not succeeded in procuring statistics of which I can make any use.

The registration registers do not indicate whether or not a document is a mélcharth (second mortgage). To ascertain this, every document has to be read. In the Manjéri amsam, for the five years ending 1895, seventeen second mortgages have been registered, and in ten of these cases the original kânakâran (first mortgagee) was a Hindu. In the Irimbuzhi amsam only three second mortgages have been registered in five years; in Paiyanâd, six; in Pândikâd, seven. It cannot be gleaned from the documents whether in any case the transaction was oppressive.

The District Munsifs' records of suits are forwarded to the District Court once a quarter, and the registers do not give the required information regarding evictions. Unless the entire record of an eviction suit be studied, it is impossible to say whether the tenant (defendant) has any ground of complaint, and everything depends upon whether the award of compensation for improvements is just and liberal, and this the record does not disclose. A search of the judicial records for hard cases is therefore unprofitable, and I must content myself with affirming that so far as the fanatics in the recent outbreak are concerned, neither they nor their relatives (with the exceptions above noted) had any substantial grievance. I have purposely avoided (what some of my native friends would have drawn me into) an enquiry into grievances between landlord and tenant outside the disturbed area, between which grievances and the recent outbreak no connection can be traced.

37. *All four pretexts manufactured for the occasion.*—So far the only conclusion arrived at is that the four pretexts put forward as the cause of the outbreak are not real grievances, but frivolous, and specially manufactured for the occasion by men bent on discovering some plausible excuse for earning the delights of Paradise in the locally-approved fashion.

I must not be misunderstood as suggesting that the landlord-and-tenant difficulty in Malabar is not still a burning question. I confine myself to reluctantly expressing the opinion that outbreaks like this last spring from a fanaticism which landlord-and-tenant legislation cannot hope to cure. No doubt, if life could be made worth living, we should have no more fanatics; but poverty is ever with us everywhere, and so long as pauper Moplahs abound within the outbreak-zone, some pretext for an outbreak will always be forthcoming when wanted.

This is, of course, no reason why the masses of tenants should not be protected from rack-renting as soon and as far as may be found possible. One likely pretext at least will be thus removed.

38. *Similarity of last Outbreak and that of* 1849.—Writing of the gang who repulsed the sepoys at Manjéri in 1849, Mr. Strange says (*Correspondence on Moplah Outrages*, Vol. I, page 424): "For the junction of (more than half the "gang of sixty-six) no discernible motive appears, but that of sheer fanaticism. "The whole were people in low circumstances, living mostly by day labour. They "were also chiefly very young in years. For but four out of the whole gang can "any motives for murder be found, and these were of themselves wholly insuffi-"cient to lead to such a crime. The many others, who were uninvolved in crime, "and yet sought in this desperate manner to sacrifice their lives, can only have "joined in under the stimulus of fanaticism." This might have been written regarding the last outbreak.

Two of the gang destroyed at Manjéri on 1st March 1896 were boys of 12: sixteen were between 14 and 16: twelve were between 16 and 20: fifty-two were between 20 and 30: ten between 30 and 40, five between 40: and 45: two were about 50.

Mr. Conolly mentions (page 35, Vol. I) that a boy of 12, in the gang of 1849, fought like a tiger-cat and nearly killed a European by throwing a knife at his head. He also mentions that nearly 20 of the gang were, like this lad, of very tender age. Deplorable though it be that these children in a fanatic gang should have to be shot down along with the rest, there appears no possible help for it.

From the inanity, even from their own point of view, of their proceedings throughout, it is plain that the gang had no leader deserving the name; and the sole survivor of the Tûvûr-Chembrassêri fanatics can only say that all the bearded men were leaders.

It is notable however that No. 1 on my list, Moidin Kutti Hâji was nephew, on the mother's side, of Athan Gurikkal, the hero of the victory of 1849, and here we have another clue explaining why the Manjêri temple was again selected for the final stand in 1896. Moidin Kutti Hâji was also the only one of the gang who had performed the pilgrimage to Mecca. We find from the survivor that Moidin Kûtti Hâji was one of the men responsible for cutting the throats of the wounded, and there is no doubt that he was one of the principal actors. He and his two elder brothers occupied three comfortable houses, close to the Illam (mansion) of their Nambûdri landlord, in a large orchard held from the Nambûdri on Kânam by their family for three generations. Their landlord, for prudential reasons easily surmised, had refrained from demanding the renewal fees to which he was legally entitled; and Moidin Kûtti Hâji is said by his brothers to have had no grievance other than a load of debt incurred chiefly to obtain funds for the pilgrimage to Mecca.

They pointed out to me, amongst his paddy-fields, one which he had been ploughing on the day before the outbreak. His brothers and neighbours were (as usual in such cases) very uncommunicative, and I could elicit nothing of interest regarding Moidin Kûtti Hâji's early life, nor any evidence of any special preparation for his desperate end. He had not divorced his wife, nor paid off his debts.

39. *Circumstances indicate last Outbreak purely fanatical.*—It appears to me that no previous outbreak has been more purely fanatical than this last. The burning and desecration of Hindu temples, the breaking of idols, the forcible conversion of infidels, the selection of a famous Hindu temple as the appropriate place for challenging the troops to combat, the provocation alleged to have been felt at the succour of the apostate woman and the removal of a supposed prayer-shed, and finally the absence of any definite agrarian grievance, and the surprising abstinence from the murder of Hindu landlords, all indicate the resolve of the gang to regard themselves as embarking on a holy war against the infidel, with a view to win a martyr's death and crown.

40. *Strange that all Outbreaks occur within fifteen miles radius from Pandalur Hill—Power of tradition—Preaching of Church militant.*—With one or two exceptions (notably one outbreak in North Malabar in 1852) every fanatical outbreak of this sort has occurred within a radius of about 15 miles from the Pandalur Hill; and why the spirit of fanaticism should continue to blaze out at intervals in this small area is as profound a mystery now as when Mr. Strange penned paragraph 27 of his report. I have thought over it for a quarter of a century and cannot profess to solve it. No doubt from Tippu's time the region has been famed for the turbulence of its Moplah inhabitants. The insurgents of today are, after all, only the grand children of the Moplah free-booters, and robber chieftains, whose time is still remembered by aged Hindus of Ernâd and Walluwanâd as a reign of terror.

Tradition has handed down their deeds of prowess, and keeps alive the desire to emulate their fame.

The Moplah church militant, in a different spirit from our own, is ever singing—

"Hear the victors who o'ercame,
Still they mark each warrior's way,"

exhorting the disciple that he should—

"From strength to strength go on,
Wrestle, and fight and pray,
Tread all the powers of darkness down,
And win the well-fought day."

And accepting the exhortation in a brutally literal sense the would-be saint takes up his chopper and goes forth against what he esteems to be the powers of darkness to win his crown.

41. *Songs of the Saints—Mostly harmless—Cannot be suppressed.*—Songs in praise of the saints are said to do much mischief in stirring the blood of the jungle Moplah and inciting him to religious frenzy.

On the bodies of two of the fanatics, killed at Manjéri, were found two song-books. Mr. Fawcett has one of them, which I have not had time to examine; but I have made it my painful duty to try and master the contents of the other.

Both books were lithographed in the Arabic character, and were published at Tellicherry.

Mr. Fawcett's book describes the battle of Beder, the first battle in which the Prophet, with 313 followers, defeated the Koreish.

This battle was fought on 17th Ramullân, which fell this year on March 2nd, 1896.

The fanatics are said to have intended to fight on this auspicious anniversary, but their career was cut short on the previous day. It was noticed that several of the widows of the fanatics spoke of their husbands having fallen on the 17th Ramullân, thus indicating that that was the date on which they had planned to die.

The second song book, which alone I have partially examined, contains three songs. The first is entitled "Selikath, to wit a song describing the fierce battle with the very powerful, wise and terrible queen Selikath. By the Physician, Ottupârakkal Moyankutti of Kundôtti."

The second song is entitled "The Hejira," describing the flight of the Prophet's disciples to Abyssinia, the oppression to which he was subjected by the tribe of Koreish, and the flight to Medina.

The third song is entitled "The History of the Martyrs of Malappuram, composed in very poetical language by Physician, Ottupârakkal Alingalkandi Moyankutti." As it is interesting to know something of the contents of a book which the fanatics actually carried with them to battle, I have printed a short abstract of the song as appendix V.

The language of this, and of all other like songs which I have seen, is a vile hodgepodge of Arabic, Sanskrit, Tamil and Malayalam, quite unintelligible to any Malayali, whether Moplah or Hindu, unless he has made a special study of this peculiar dialect. There are probably not half-a-dozen consecutive lines in the poem, of which an educated Malayali Hindu could gather even the drift.

I imagine that the listeners must be less moved by the sense than by the sound.

The song seems harmless enough, and in any case it would be futile and impolitic to attempt to exercise a stricter censorship than at present over such publications.

To the illiterate Moplah they are sealed books. Scores of Mullahs know the songs by rote, and to attempt to suppress any song would probably add to its popularity and use a hundredfold.

42. *Inflammatory preaching—Cannot be controlled.*—For the same reason no sort of interference with, or censorship over, the religious teaching and preaching of the Mullahs, whether in the mosques, or at the fairs, or from house to house, can be thought of.

Any real attempt to control religious teaching and preaching would be viewed as persecution, and we should have sedition preached on the hill-tops, in the depths of the jungle, and in dens and holes of the earth, and the fanatic spirit would no longer be half-starved as it now is for want of the nutriment of a real religious grievance.

43. *One reason why Outbreak popular in Fast Month.*—It is instructive to note what trivial circumstances may induce a Moplah to go out as a saint militant. A quarrel between a father and his sons, a brawl between husband and wife, despondency due to epilepsy, have sufficed in the past to engender a resolve to die as a martyr.

Probably one reason why the Month of Fast is so often chosen as the time for an outbreak, is that a dispensation from fasting is claimable when on the war-path. For thirty days, so long as there is day-light enough to distinguish a white thread from a black one, the devout Moplah must not only abstain from food and water, but commits a sin if he voluntarily swallows his spittle. The Fast is usually observed in all its rigour, and the discomfort and suffering which it entails call for extraordinary endurance. We find the fanatics making the most of their dispensation, drinking tender cocoanuts, and jaggery water wherever they could be got, and eating all that came to hand. To the boys in the gang, especially, visions of unlimited cocoanuts and jaggery, cow-beef and boiled rice, must be very attractive. Then there is the delightful getting rid of the guilty sense of undischarged religious obligations. The young fanatic has sinned by not keeping the Fast; he has stayed away from mosque on Friday; he has habitually failed to recite his prayers five times a day; and he has no hope of being able to expiate his short-comings by a pilgrimage to Mecca.

Then comes the wandering priest, who points out an easy and direct road to Paradise with its black-eyed girls. "Why continue toiling and moiling with such bliss within your reach? Come along! What is the use of remaining? The white folk are oppressing us. We shall get plenty of sugar and beef before the fight and Paradise after it." Puerile as these arguments may seem, such are in fact the very inducements by which many scores of lads have been tempted to throw away their lives.

44. *Circumstances rendering Chembrasséri the resort of discontented spirits.*—If it be asked why Chembrasséri and Tûvûr, of all places, should be the present nest of fanaticism, the reason is not far to seek, and has been already partly indicated in paragraph 35 *supra*. The great expanse of virgin forest at the foot of the Koondahs has tempted numbers of Moplahs, who (in their own phrase) can find no standing room in their native amsams, to emigrate thither for the purpose of converting the swamps into paddy-fields, and of clearing and cultivating the jungle. These adventurers are many of them worthy, enterprising and prosperous squatters, but mixed with these are naturally many bitter, discontented, unsettled, unsuccessful men, the froth and scum of the Moplah population, without any certain means of livelihood, and ready to lead, or join, in any forlorn hope.

Considering the universal Moplah belief in the merit of seeking a martyr's death on any sufficient provocation, it is hardly surprising that fifty malcontents should be found ready to seek it without any provocation at all.

45. *Delay in collecting fines imposed in respect of Outbreak of* 1894—*Explained.*—One of the matters which I was directed to investigate was the cause of the delay in completing the assessment, and commencing the collection, of the fines imposed under the Moplah Outrages Act in connection with the outbreak of 1894.

During my enquiry I have not found a single Moplah who alleges that the fines in question, or rather the knowledge that fines were about to be levied, had anything to do with the outbreak. In so far as the delay has thus eliminated what might otherwise have been asserted as a potent cause of the outbreak, its occurrence may be regarded as rather a fortunate circumstance.

The G.O. on the outbreak of 1894 was communicated to the Tahsildars of Ernâd and Walluvanâd on September 25th, 1894. About the third week in October the Tahsildars submitted their proposals for the extra establishment required to make a nominal list of the Moplahs and to ascertain their property. The District Magistrate submitted the proposals to Government on 3rd November, and the proposals were sanctioned in G.O., No. 2797, Judicial, dated 19th November 1894.

The sanction reached the Tahsildars on 28th November, and the extra establishments began work in the beginning of December 1894.

Elaborate instructions were then drawn up by the Divisional Officer (M.R.Ry. Chappan Menon) for the guidance of the special establishment in valuing the property, and these were approved by the District Magistrate on December 25th, 1894. In January 1895 the District Magistrate (Mr. Moberly) went round the amsams to be fined, and a large number of petitions were presented to him praying for exemption from fine for various reasons.

These had all to be enquired into. On Mr. Moberly's recommendation, Government in G.O., No. 1683, Judicial, dated 10th August 1895, exempted certain amsams and désams.

Further orders from Government in September 1895 exempted two désams in Vettatur and two désams in Kumaramputtur.

In September 1895 the Tahsildars submitted their nominal lists and statements of property, through the Divisional Magistrate, to the District Magistrate.

The statements were approved in due course, and on December 2nd, 1895 the Tahsildars received orders to proceed with the collection. The fines on the different désams varied from five to one per cent., and the amounts payable by each individual had then to be calculated. Finally warrants had to be prepared, as the Moplahs showed no disposition to pay except on coercion. Such, in brief, is the Tahsildars' explanation of the delay. In Ernâd 13 désams were fined; the number of households fined was 1,946; the total demand on account of the fines was Rs. 12,844. In Walluvanâd 17 désams were fined; the number of households was 1,710; the total demand on account of the fines was Rs. 5,464.

The inordinate delay in preparing the individual lists of property was entirely due to the minute and laborious detail in which the statements were prepared. First comes a list of the fields; then a statement of the assessee's claim over each, and of the incumbrances; then a valuation of the improvements; every tree,—

cocoanut, areca, jack, mango, tamarind, bamboo, &c.,—was counted, and the fruit trees were classed in half-a-dozen different classes according to local usage.

The labour involved is immense, and I found cases in which the account of the property of one assessee filled 50 pages of foolscap. Then all sorts of delay was occasioned by the attempt to obtain an accurate and trustworthy statement of debts. The assessees were often unable, and their creditors often unwilling, to produce the documents and vouchers.

46. *How to be hereafter avoided.*—If fines under the Moplah Outrages Act are to be assessed and collected without inordinate delay, it is clear that the attempt to prepare lists of property in such elaborate detail should not be repeated.

The Magistrates are daily engaged in punishing petty offences by fine without any detailed enquiry as to the means of the offenders, and when the offenders belong to the lower classes we find them paying up fines of a few rupees without delay or difficulty. In like manner, I take it that fines under the Moplah Act should be roughly assessed according to the Magistrate's judgment of the means of the head of each household. A list of the households must of necessity be prepared, and in jungly parts this must needs take some time.

As soon as the list is ready, the Divisional Magistrate should, with the assistance of the village officers and a few of the chief men, summarily assess each household on the assumption that the fine will be five per cent. of the assets, with a minimum of one rupee. The percentage can be afterwards altered as may be thought proper. If pauper households without any able-bodied member be exempted, there is no household so poor that it cannot pay one rupee.

All the cooly class with assets estimated at under Rs. 20 will then pay Re. 1 per house, and households better off can be roughly and rapidly assessed without any detailed enumeration of the assets, with sufficient nearness to prevent any injustice.

I think it should be proclaimed that in future the amount of the fine on the Moplahs liable to it under the Act, will be assessed in proportion to the damage done by the offenders, and to the number and atrocity of any outrages which they may commit.

47. *Suggestion as to which Désams should be fined.*—The District Magistrate will make his recommendations on the question as to what fines should be imposed in respect of the outbreak under report; but if the above principle be accepted, a fine of one per cent. with a minimum of one rupee per household for the marginally-noted désams would probably raise a sufficient fund to compensate for the mischief done.

Amsam.	Désam.
Chembrasséri.	Chembrasséri.
	Chéramba.
	Pûngôtt.
	Vellayur.
Tûvûr ...	Tûvûr.

Amsam.	Désam.
Manjéri ...	Anakâyam
	Pandalur.
Paiyanad.	Nellikuth.
	Paiyanad.

48. *Fining Policy in no way responsible for last Out break—Should be persevered in.*—As already stated, the fining policy cannot be shown to have contributed, directly or indirectly, to the last outbreak. The plot originated in Tûvûr, and in the désams of Pungôtt and Vellayur in Chembrasséri. Tûvûr, and the said désams, though liable to fine in respect of the outbreak of 1894, had been, as an act of grace, altogether exempted. Not one of the 49 fanatics from these places had to pay any fine, and from the statement of the survivors it would appear that the subject of fining had not even been talked of. The fines elsewhere were so moderate that even if they had been collected (which they had not), it would be idle to pretend that any person could be driven thereby to desperation. In the localities in which the severest fines have been imposed in the past, it will be found that there have since been no disturbances. I state this not as an assertion of cause and effect, but as a patent fact, which should be noted. With regard to the policy, there is no doubt that it punishes indiscriminately a whole community, many members of which may be, nay are, loyal and innocent of abetting such outbreaks even by admiration and sympathy; but this fining is the only means by which the whole community can be made to regard the occurrence of an outbreak as a calamity.

It unfortunately is only too plain that the tendency of an outbreak is to benefit the Moplahs as a class. It keeps their name up; deters their landlords from enforcing their legal rights; and supplies temporary employment on easy terms to many hundreds of Moplah 'guards.'

Except by persevering in the policy of fining, I can think of no other way in which the Moplahs, as a body, can be taught to regard these outbreaks as a misfortune, entailing inevitable and inconvenient pecuniary loss; and until outbreaks become unpopular with the Moplahs as a body, they will not cease.

49. *No novel remedial measures can be suggested.*—Turning now to the future, and a consideration of remedial measures, I regret that I have nothing novel to suggest.

50. *Education—Difficulties obstructing spread of.*—The 'Jungle Moplahs' do not live in villages, but their huts are scattered throughout the forest along the foot of the hills and mountains, where there is a tremendous rainfall for five months in the year, and where fever reigns supreme in the hot season.

If schools could be made accessible few children would attend except on compulsion; but the difficulty of placing schools within reach of any considerable proportion of the jungle population is practically insuperable. Wherever a school be located, surrounding hills and jungle would cut it off from all huts except such as happened to be close by. The rains and fever would prevent the regular attendance of even willing scholars.

Then, most families live from hand to mouth, and even if the parents desired the education of their children (they are in fact dead against it), the services of the children are too valuable to be spared. The boys, if too young to labour, are wanted to look after the cattle and to guard the crops. The girls are wanted to mind the babies, and to help their mothers.

Education should, of course, be pushed, but I cannot understand how any person acquainted with the locality can put education forward as a hopeful cure for Moplah fanaticism.

51. *Opening up the country by roads—Roads too costly for maintenance—Bridle-paths should be opened.*—The constant destruction of bridges and culverts by heavy floods in the monsoon makes the upkeep of roads so costly that there are few of the existing lines of communication along which wheeled traffic is not impeded, or altogether stopped, by unbridged rivers and nullahs. Until funds admit of the existing roads being properly maintained, the construction of new roads, which would similarly fall into disrepair, would be mere waste of money.

It is to be noted further that the absence of bandy roads enables great numbers of Moplahs to earn a living as carriers and hawkers. Strings of Moplahs may be met on every foot-path grunting and sweating under their weary fardels; carrying loads of paddy and other produce to market, and returning with pots and pans, oil, salt, tobacco, dried fish and curry-stuffs, which they hawk about for sale.

In so far as new bandy roads led to this traffic being carried by cart, the improvement in communications would compel great numbers of porters to seek some other means of living.

My advice is that communications should be improved, not so much by constructing new bandy roads, as by mending and improving some of the more important of the existing foot-paths by which the country is now traversed in all directions. A journey along any of these paths necessitates the constant climbing and descending of low laterite hills, and the crossing of intervening paddy flats.

A horse has to scramble up and down precipitous, rocky paths, deeply rutted by the tread of cattle and by heavy rain, and to flounder through the mud of the paddy-fields, because the old raised pathways have been gradually encroached upon and cut away.

In many cases the pathways are shown on the old maps, and it would be perfectly legitimate to enforce the withdrawal of encroachments by the charge of prohibitory assessment. An initial allotment of Rs. 100 per mile, and a yearly

grant of Rs. 25 per mile, would probably suffice to convert these difficult routes into good bridle-paths. A commencement might be made with the following paths:—

(1) Wandur to Vellayur.
(2) Vellayur to Tûvûr.
(3) Tûvûr to Karuvârakundu.
(4) Tûvûr to Pandikad.
(5) Tûvûr to Melatur.
(6) Karuvârakundu *viâ* Kannath to Kâlikâvu.
(7) Vellayur *viâ* Porur and Elangûr to Paiyanâd.
(8) Anakayam to Pandalur.
(9) Pandalur to Nemmini.
(10) Pandalur to Pandikad.

I would also urge that funds should be at once found to restore the fallen bridges on roads 57 (Tirur-Malappuram) and 55 (Manjéri *viâ* Pandikad and Melatur to Manarghaut). I must say that in the matter of bridges the Ernâd and Walluwanâd taluks are now far worse off than they were twenty years ago.

52. *Emigration—Desirable—Difficulties in the way of.*—It is devoutly to be wished that some plan of State-aided emigration could be devised, which would tempt a few thousands of the Ernâd Jungle Moplahs to emigrate. A good many of the Coast Moplahs have found their way to Ceylon and Rangoon; but few, if any, of the inland Moplahs look further afield than to seek a temporary job at the Kolar gold-mines, or on the coffee estates in the Wynaad.

Their notions of emigration are limited to pushing eastwards the margin of cultivation in the heavy forest along the foot of the ghauts, and this opening for the surplus population must soon be exhausted.

The Moplah makes a tough, hard-working, sober, useful cooly, whose advent would probably be welcomed in the Straits Settlements, Penang and Burmah; but amongst his virtues is one which militates against emigration, viz., a warm love of his native country, home and family.

I regret that I have not been able to think out any scheme by which Moplah emigration may be practically set in motion, and I can only commend the subject for consideration.

53. *Landlord-and-Tenant question not within scope of the report—Collector should be re-invested with power to grant permanent leases for forming homesteads on waste land.*—For the purposes of this report it is, as already stated, unnecessary to go into the vexed land-tenure question; but I would express a hope that legislation may be undertaken, at an early date, in the direction of re-investing the Collector with power to grant permanent leases of small plots of waste land, either with a view to its reclamation for growing paddy, or to enable actual cultivators to acquire a homestead in which they may dwell, and grow fruit-trees, without fear of eviction. The proposal was made by Mr. Logan in paragraphs 438 to 452 of his Report on Malabar Land Tenures, 1881–82, and was strongly supported by the first committee of 1884—*vide* paragraphs 54 and 55 of their report, and Chapter VI of their Draft Act. In the no-man's-land along the foot of the ghauts the power might have been, and may still be, exercised without hardship to any janmi, and with the greatest benefit to the squatters and adventurers, who are investing their labour there in bringing the jungle under cultivation.

I also venture to hope that, as a further preliminary step, it may be found practicable to give the Malabar tenant-cultivators occupancy rights over their homesteads, *i.e.*, dwelling houses and surrounding garden, at a rent not exceeding the Government assessment.

54. *Remarks on suppression of Outbreak.*—Before closing my report I must bear testimony to the able manner in which the outbreak was suppressed. That a gang of over ninety fanatics, so desperate that they slew their own wounded rather than suffer them to be captured, should be disposed of without a single soldier being killed or wounded, and without a casualty or accident of any sort to any innocent person, would, I am sure, have been pronounced by any one acquainted with the history of past outbreaks, to be utterly impossible. Had another gang to be

met under similar circumstances, the most consummate generalship could not hope to bring the outbreak to a happier conclusion. True that of the main gang only two were captured alive; but to avoid at least twenty prisoners being taken, some of the gang had to resort to the execrable crime of killing those of their comrades who were not mortally wounded. The Moplahs as a body, if they can be brought to believe the truth that this really occurred, would not hesitate to own their belief that such conduct could merit no other doom than everlasting fire.

No greater blow could have been dealt to the fanatical spirit which prompts these outbreaks than the two-fold mortification, *first*, that the criminals did not succeed in showing their prowess upon the bodies of those whom they choose to regard as 'the enemy,' and, *second*, that more than a score of them perished, not by the hand of the infidel, but by the hands of their own friends and co-religionists. Captain Chads and Captain Layton may well be proud, not only of the fine marching power of their detachments, but of their splendid shooting at long range.

It was not the fault of the men that they were providentially deprived of the excitement of a hand-to-hand encounter. In the interests of future peace and quiet it is, I think, a matter for unqualified congratulation that so alarming an outbreak should have been so promptly quelled without blood-shed on the Government side.

55. *Compensation to Troops for damage to uniform recommended.*—The only reward which the British troops appear likely to get for three days' extreme toil is the ruin of the men's uniforms from sleeping on the ground. It would be a graceful act if Government could see its way to compensate the men for this loss.

56. *Dark Lanterns should be provided for Night-marching.*—I would urge that for night-marching the detachments should be furnished with a supply of dark lanterns, so that the men may be in the dark while the road-sides are illumined. I made the suggestion in 1873, but it was not attended to. Twelve dark lanterns, which would cost but a trifle, would add greatly to the safety and comfort of night-marching.

It cannot be predicted that the Moplah fanatic will always adhere to what have hitherto been his invariable tactics, and the song (appendix V) shows that he is acquainted with surer methods of doing mischief.

57. *The Special Police Force—Some transport requisite.*—From a report by Mr. Fawcett Government has, I believe, been placed sufficiently in possession of the career of the second gang, and has acknowledged the good service done by Mr. Fawcett, District Superintendent of Police, his Assistant Mr. Wilkinson, and the Special Police Force, in pursuing and capturing, or putting an end to, the remnant of the fanatics. The statements appended to my report of April 10th show how the survivors became detached from the main body. There are few officers who could have endured the continued marching and exposure to fever, for which Mr. Fawcett and Mr. Wilkinson happily appear none the worse.

The Special Police Force has shown remarkable marching power, and the cheerful way in which the men have borne long marches, short commons, and exposure by day and night, deserve warm praise. I think I ought to bring to notice that the Force has no sort of transport. The men are absolutely dependent on what each can carry with him, and on such food as they may be able to get at the end of a march. In the Chembrasséri jungles it was often difficult to provide them with one indifferent meal a day. The Force should be supplied with light metal-cooking vessels and eating-bowls, fitting one inside another, telescopewise. When out in camp they should be allowed biscuit and coffee in the early morning.

To carry this moderate amount of kit, and some spare ammunition, the Force should be provided either with six or eight mules, or with an equivalent number of permanent porters.

Given officers whom the men know and trust, the Force is, in my opinion, quite competent and fit to deal with small outbreaks, and is invaluable for following fanatics and driving them to bay. It is not right that the Force should be left to the risk of being crippled for want of transport to carry a few indispensable necessaries.

58. *Apology.*—I am conscious that what I have written above is pessimistic in tone, barren of useful suggestions, and disappointing in bringing nothing new to light; but I have had to take facts as I found them, and shall cordially rejoice if wiser heads than mine can devise any novel measures whereby Moplah outbreaks may be made to cease out of the land.

Postscript.—Since sending the above report to the Press I have received (on May 11th) G.O., No. 791, Judicial, dated 30th April 1896.

2. With reference to paragraph 2, I can only suggest that, under the special circumstances, the Local Boards should be assisted by a grant from Provincial Funds.

3. Paragraphs 3 and 4 render portions of my report superfluous, but I have not thought it necessary to recast what I have written.

H. M. W.

Letter from the District Magistrate of Malabar, No. C-Camp, dated 6th May 1895.

Abstract.—Reporting death of prisoner No. 21, Chakkala Kunnan Kunhiyan.

From J. HEWETSON, Esq., Acting District Magistrate of Malabar, to the Chief Secretary to Government, dated Camp, Perintalmanna, 7th May 1896, No. D—Camp.

In continuation of my report, dated the 2nd instant, No. A—Camp, I have the honour to forward a list of enclosures accompanying my report and copies and translations of statements therein referred to, as also a list showing my recommendation in the case of persons under arrest. To facilitate reference, the numbers of statements bearing on each man's case are noted against each.

Enclosures.

List of Enclosures to Malabar District Magistrate's letter, No. A—Camp, dated 2nd May 1896.

1. Copy of Special Assistant Magistrate's report, dated 6th April 1896, with three enclosures	4 (already despatched).
2. List of persons about whom recommendations have been made	1
3. Copies of statements and translations, Nos. 11, 13, 20, 31, 66, 72, 78, 79, 83, 87, 100, 103, 105, 106, 112, 113, 118, 122, 126, 131, 135, 137, 138, 139, 140, 170, 208, 209, 268, 269, 276, 296, 298, 308, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 328, 330, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 390.	51 in number.
Total ..	56

List of persons under arrest in connection with the recent Mappilla outbreak regarding whom recommendations have been made to Government in Malabar District Magistrates' letters, No. A—Camp, dated 2nd May 1896.

No. in List.	Name.	Residence.		Nature of the recommendation.	No. of the statement having a bearing on each man's case.
		Amsam.	Desam.		
1	Koolu Kayan Moidin Kutti Mussaliar ..	Túvúr	Túvúr	Recommended to be deported	Nos. 308, 170, 298, 185, 139, 390.
2	Kappa Kunnan Mootha	Chembrasséri ..	Trikunnasséri ..	Do.	„ 209, 296, 112, 135, 137, also 298.
3	Pottommal Unni Mammad ..	Porúr	Todiyapulam ..	Do.	„ 131, 140, 276, 209, also 298.
4	Alingal Aidru	Chembrasséri ..	Pariyangád ..	Do.	„ 268, 269, 122.
5	Aruviralan Mootha	Do. ..	Vellayúr	Do.	„ 13, 377.
6	Cherumaan Raman	Manjéri	Pandalúr	Do.	„ 11, 79, 87.
7	Puzhuthini Kunháyu ..	Chembrasséri ..	Vellayúr	Do.	„ 378.
10	Mattummal Veeran	Manjéri	Pandalúr	Do.	„ 319, 318, 317, 320, 321, 323, 87, 383, 126, 31, 138.
		Do. ..		do.	„ 330, 20, 328.
12	Veluthedath Moidin	Do.	Anakayam	Released for want of evidence.	No. 100, since dead.
20	Arukkapparamban Avulla ..	Arakaparamba ..	Alanallúr	Recommended to be released on discharge from hospital.	
21	Chakkala Kunnan Kunhiyan ..	Chembrasséri ..	Chembrasséri ..	Recommended to be sent to the Reformatory.	No. 87.
23	Mattummal Moidu or Moidin ..	Manjéri	Pandalúr	Recommended to be deported	Nos. 103, 330, 208, 83, 105.
24	Kaithavalappan Kunholan ..	Chembrasséri ..	Vellayúr	do.	„ 78, 381, 378.
25	Aruviralan Athoyi	Do.	Do.	do.	„ 66, 322, 106, 113.
26	Naipadath Kunhunnien ..	Manjéri	Pandalúr	do.	No. 379.
27	Ambat Aidross	Yottattúr	Karkitakam Kunnu ..	Released for want of evidence.	
29	Kundur Ayammad Kutti Mulla	Porúr	Todiyapulam	do.	
30	Maliyakkal Moyan Kutti ..	Do.	Do.		

From J. HEWETSON, Esq, I.C.S., Acting District Magistrate, Malabar, to the Chief Secretary to Government, dated Camp, Perintalmanna, 8th May 1896, No. E-Camp.

In continuation of my report, No. A-Camp, dated 2nd instant, I have the honour to report on the cases of the men in custody not dealt with in that report.

2. *No.* 8, *Kuttipaliyan Moidin Kutti.*—Three witnesses (321, 324 and 326) saw this man with the gang on the afternoon of the 29th February; he (129) alleges that he went to Manjéri to pay his kist to the adhigari, but the adhigari (398) denies having seen him that day, and that on his return he watched Arimbra Nair's house and stayed there until Tuesday, the 3rd March. Arimbra Nair (399) supports him to a certain extent, but as he (Arimbra Nair) was absent from his house on Saturday afternoon there was time for the prisoner to join the gang and return before Arimbra Nair returned to his house. The boy Moidu denies having seen prisoner with the gang, but as there were about 100 men in the gang this does not help the prisoner much. There seems to be no doubt that the prisoner was with the gang on Saturday afternoon, for no reason is assigned for the three witnesses giving false evidence. I recommend that he be deported.

3. *No.* 9, *Kuttipaliyan Ahmed.*—This prisoner is a brother of No. 8. Five witnesses (318, 321, 324, 326 and 87) saw this man with the gang on the Saturday afternoon. The prisoner (95 and 132) says he was on guard at Udambath house on the Saturday and that he only left it to give information to the authorities and to gather further information under Inspector Chekkutti's orders. The Inspector (401) does not recognise the prisoner, but says that he sent some Mappillas to get information. K. Ali Ammu (320), principal guard at the Udambath house, says he saw the prisoner when the fanatics passed and that immediately afterwards he (the prisoner) went away to give information. The prisoner seems to have played a double part and to have been really spying on the troops when he was pretending to give information. Moidu (87) saw him eating with the fanatics on the Ottupara rock. I think that he should be deported.

4. *No.* 11, *Karangadan Ayamed.*—Five witnesses (318, 321, 323, 324 and 87) saw this man with the gang and he was one of the men who ate with the gang at the Ottupara rock. Prisoner (125) pleads *alibi* and says he was on duty at the Udambath house and went with information to Inspector Chekkutti, who (401) admits seeing the prisoner and sending him for information but says he did not see the prisoner after 5 P.M. There can be no doubt that this man played the same double game as No. 9, and I recommend that he be deported.

5. *No.* 13, *Nairianiparambath Ossan Moidin Kutti.*—This boy had carried a basket from Pándikád to Pandalúr temple and was arrested by Inspector Chekkutti because he left the temple twice and looked a little excited when he came back (statement 403). His leaving the temple for a short time can be accounted for naturally, and as there is no other evidence against him I have released him from custody.

6. *No.* 14, *Chithrampalli Mootha.*—Three witnesses (318, 325 and 326) saw this man with the gang on Saturday, the 29th February. He pleads an *alibi*, but calls no witnesses to prove it. He also says that Govinda Variar is on bad terms with him and has induced two men to complain against him, but neither Govinda Variar nor the two men named are among the witnesses against the prisoner. The alleged enmity is rather fanciful, for the prisoner was only summoned as a witness against Govinda Variar in an assault case and as the case was compromised he was probably never examined. The boy Moidu (414) did not see the prisoner with the gang, but his failure to see him is not of much value. I recommend that this prisoner be deported.

7. *No.* 15, *Kannath Pari.*—Two witnesses (323 and 326) saw this man with the gang. He says he was laid up with a boil on his leg and was unable to go out at the time in question. He tells a story of enmity between himself and one Unni Mammu, but the enmity, even if true, seems to have no bearing on the case, as Unni Mammu is not one of the witnesses against him. Moidu (414) did not see this man with the gang. There is no reason to doubt the evidence of the two men who speak against him, and I recommend that he be deported.

8. *No.* 16, *Talakkolath Ahmed.*—The same two witnesses (323 and 326) give evidence against this man. He says that his father died only four days before the outbreak and therefore he is not likely to have gone out, but this argument does not seem to be worth much. He also sets up a plea of enmity which seems to have nothing to do with the case. As there is no reason to disbelieve the evidence of the two witnesses, I recommend that he be deported.

9. *No.* 17, *Pappadathil Mammu.*—Four witnesses (318, 321, 322 and 324) saw this man with the gang; 318 saw him carrying a chopper and 324 saw him speaking to other members of the gang. Arimbra Nair (396), called as a defence witness, says that the prisoner came to him that day to pay his rent but left him to join the gang at the Udambath house, which is about a quarter of a mile from Arimbra Nair's. Accused's statement is No. 124. The defence witness confirms the prosecution witnesses and I therefore recommend that this man be deported.

10. *No.* 18, *Kazhukunnummal Chekkutti.*—This is one of the men proved to have had supper on the Ottupara rock by Moidu (87). Moidin Kutti Mulla (318) also saw him with the gang carrying a gun. Prisoner (123 and 412) says he was on guard at the Manjéri palace on the 29th February and went with Narayanan Nair to Vettikode and thence returned home. Narayanan Nair (395) to a certain extent confirms this and says Chekkutti left him at 4 P.M. when they were quite close to the Udambath house. The chief guard at the Manjéri temple (328) also gives evidence and proves that Chekkutti came without orders to the temple. A song book bearing this accused's name was picked up in the Manjéri temple on the 1st of March: the prisoner can only account for this by supposing that his enemies wrote his name in the book. It appears that a half-brother of Inspector Chekkutti has bought some land on which this prisoner holds a mortgage of Rs. 100, but this is no reason for the Inspector or his brother to concoct a case, and as a matter of fact the evidence is quite independent of Inspector Chekkutti. I recommend that this man be deported.

11. *No.* 19, *Parakkadan Ahmed Haji.*—Three of this man's friends were killed at the Manjéri temple and there is evidence that the prisoner went after them to the temple, but as he arrived after the firing had begun he went quietly home again. There is also evidence that he had "broken his fast" during the day time, and in Ramazan this must mean that he had determined to die. The prisoner's *alibi* is disproved by his own mother, who admits that he left his house on the morning of the 1st March and she thought he had gone to see the battle. The prisoner alleges that the adhigari is his enemy, but it was the Menon who first set the authorities in motion. The prisoner's statement is 408 and the witnesses' 406, 407, 409, 411 and 415. I recommend that this prisoner be deported.

12. *No.* 22, *Ossan Unnien.*—Mr. Sheehan (97), European head constable, arrested this man as his movements suggested that he was a spy. No evidence has been obtained against him and it appears that he is subject to fits and rather weak-minded. I have released him.

13. *No.* 28, *Tayyil Alivi.*—The Melattur adhigari (116) says that this prisoner is a respectable man and announced that he was going to see his landlord at Palghat and then to Mecca He was arrested at Pattambi railway station with Rs. 220 in his possession and it was supposed that he might have been sent to procure arms for the fanatics. As there is no evidence against him, I have released him.

14. *No.* 31, *Kottapadan Mammi.*—This prisoner (286) tried to get a knife made by several blacksmiths, but they all refused to make it, evidently because the description given resembled a war-knife. One of the blacksmiths (281) has given evidence and drawn a sketch of the sort of knife the prisoner wanted him to make. Three beggar-women (291, 292, 293) say that they actually saw this man with the second or smaller gang, but the wounded man Kunhayu (400) denies that Mammi was ever with his gang. His denial is not worth much, for he has undoubtedly told lies on other points. Putting aside the women's evidence, I think that prisoner should be deported for his attempt to get a war-knife made.

15. *No.* 32, *Pottayil Mammad Mussaliar.*—This man was visited by Kochu Kayan Mussaliar (Prisoner No. 1) and used to visit K. Mootha (Prisoner No. 2). K. Kunhappa (282) saw four of the fanatics go into this man's house on the 27th February, but there seems to be no evidence that the prisoner was in the house at the time, and he himself says he was in his cowshed. Prisoner No. 3, Unni Mammad, mentioned this prisoner as having agreed to join in an outbreak (276). C. Mammad (297), a cousin of the prisoner, found him hiding in his house and afraid of the information that Mootha might give against him. After this the prisoner went away to Kundotti and can give no better reason for doing so than that he wished to tell the Kundotti Tangal that the fanatics had passed his house. He pretends to belong to the Kundotti faction, but his friendship with Kochu Kayan Mussaliar and Mootha disprove this. This prisoner fully intended to go out, and I recommend that he be deported.

16. *No.* 33, *Peedikaparamban Marakkarutti.*—Two witnesses (217 and 218) say that this prisoner gave the rioters information of the movements of the troops, but the evidence of another man (303) shows that one of these witnesses did not at first know the name of the man who gave information. The prisoner himself (289) says that he was not in his house at the time, but was two miles away burning a clearing that adjoins a forest reserve. Kunju Nambiar (302), a forest guard, proves that the prisoner was at the clearing from 9-30 A.M. to 1-30 P.M. and so could not have been at his house at noon. Witness No. 301 saw the prisoner going out with a chopper in the morning and says the prisoner did not return until the evening. The witness also says that the name of the man who shouted out about the troops was not known at the time. Witness No. 299 also says that the man's name was not known at the time and further says that Ramunni Nair (217) is on bad terms with the prisoner. There is thus no satisfactory evidence against this man, but as there is some evidence I leave the case for the orders of Government and have not released him myself.

17. *No.* 34, *Thechiyodan Unni Ayamed.*—K. Sankaran Nair (299) says he saw this man with the fanatics and that he remonstrated with them for stealing gold and silver, and that then the leaders of the Mappillas took the jewels from the prisoner and returned them. It can hardly be believed that a Nair would have had the courage to act in this way. Chayicha Panikkar (No. 300) says that the fanatics met him and threatened to kill him and that he was released on the intercession of the prisoner, who was with the gang. This witness mentioned the fact to no one for five or six days and then told a man with whom the prisoner (117) says he is on bad terms. It seems probable that the evidence against this man is due to enmity and I recommend that he be released.

18. *No.* 35, *Kunnummal Ahmed.*—This man is alleged by Achutan Nair (312) to have talked to the fanatics at the house of his father, Koman Nair, on the morning of February 29th. Velu Nair (391), brother of Achutan Nair, says that his brother Achutan was not at the place at the time, but it is quite possible that there is no real contradiction between the two, for Achutan says he left the house on Friday night to watch a field and went away to Manjéri to give information without returning to the house. However, from Velu's evidence it would appear that Achutan has been exaggerating, and that if the prisoner was near the place at all he went merely to look on. The prisoner (405) says that he went away to Chembrasséri two days before the Ramazan began (February 13th) and only returned home on the last day of that month (March 15th). He also alleges a quarrel with Koman Nair, father of the witness, over a boundary. I recommend that this prisoner be released.

19. The last recommendation relates to a man who has not been arrested—the Túvúr Tangal, Kottakuth Imbichi Koya Tangal. This Tangal lives on the mosque land as did Kochu Kayan Mussaliar (prisoner No. 1) and Matathil Mussaliar Unni Koya (No. 37 in Enclosure A) who was killed at Manjéri. The police constable (390) who went to arrest Kochu Kayan Mussaliar proves that the Tangal went with the Mussaliar to the Moulhud and the mosque that evening and there can be no doubt that he was fully cognisant of the designs of the fanatics. The Assistant Superintendent, Mr. Wilkinson (No. 416), gives evidence that the Tangal was twice sent out to get information and that on both occasions he did nothing. The evidence of Chettiarammal Kammu (No. 8) also gives further details of what happened on the first of these occasions, but it hardly seems to bear out the remarks of the Special Assistant Magistrate. There can, I think, be no doubt that this Tangal was cognisant of and abetted the outbreak and if he is not deported there will probably be further trouble. I therefore recommend that be be arrested and deported.

From J. HEWETSON, Esq., Acting District Magistrate, Malabar, to the Chief Secretary to Government, dated Calicut, 18th May 1896, Ref. on Cur. No. 1211—M-96.

In continuation of my report, dated the 8th instant, No. E—Camp, I have the honour to forward a list of enclosures accompanying my report and copies and translations of statements therein referred to, as also a list showing my recommendation in the case of persons under arrest. To facilitate reference the numbers of statements bearing on each man's case are noted against each.

Enclosures.

From J. T. GILLESPIE, Esq., Acting Special Assistant Magistrate, to the District Magistrate of Malabar, dated Calicut, 5th May 1896, No. 49—M-96.

In continuation of my report, No. 47, dated 26th April 1896, I have the honour to report, for the orders of Government, the result of my inquiries in the cases of prisoners Nos. 8, 9, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 22, 28, 31, 32, 33, 34 and 35 in the List B which formed an enclosure to the former report.

2. Three witnesses have deposed to having seen No. 8 with the gang of fanatics at different places. E. Govinda Variar states (statement No. 321) that he saw him with them on the way from the Arimbra Nair's house to Pandalúr. Udambath Ráru Nair says (statement No. 324) that he saw him with them at Udambath house and Kilea Mannil Ahmed that he saw him with them at Nârâs mana. The prisoner's plea is *alibi*. He states (statement No. 129) that on the forenoon of the 29th February he went to Manjéri to pay his kist-money—three annas and one pie—for a little modan cultivation; that the Manjéri adhigari was in such a state of collapse from terror that he refused to take the money and asked the prisoner to come another day; that on his way back he was called by Kunhunni Arimbra Nair and asked to guard the latter's house and that he did so from 2 naligas to sunset (about 5-30 P.M.), on the 29th February till the following Tuesday (the 3rd March): *vide* statement No. 129. This *alibi* is full of loopholes. The Manjéri adhigari denies having seen the prisoner at all on the day in question (*vide* statement No. 398), and it is moreover incredible that the prisoner should have gone to Manjéri to pay his kist during such a reign of excitement and terror as prevailed on the 29th February. Kunhunni Arimbra Nair says (statement No. 399) that he left the prisoner on guard at his house at about noon on the 29th February and that when he came back there at sunset he found him there. This statement does not clash with those of the witnesses who maintain that they saw the prisoner in the gang. He was seen with the gang early on the afternoon of the 29th February after the visit to Arimbra Nair's house and after Kunhunni Arimbra Nair had gone to join the troops at Pandalúr; and he could easily have deserted the gang again and been back at Arimbra Nair's house before sunset. The boy Máttummal Moidu (prisoner No. 23), who, I believe, has spoken nothing but the truth throughout, denies having seen the prisoner, with whom he was already acquainted, in the company of the fanatics; but this is easily explained by the fact that the gang numbered over 100 when the prisoner joined it and the prisoner was only in it for a short time, and therefore it would be quite possible—nay, highly probable—that he should have escaped the lad Moidu's notice. I do not think that there can be any reasonable doubt that the prisoner, like his brother No. 9 (*vide* the succeeding paragraph), accompanied the gang for a part of its course on the afternoon of the 29th February. If you concur with my finding, the prisoner must be removed from the district.

3. It is clearly established that No. 9 went with the fanatics as they passed through Pandalúr on the afternoon of Saturday, the 29th February. Moidin Kutti Mulla saw the prisoner in the gang at Veluthédath para (rock). Govinda Variar saw him with the gang on the march from the Arimbra Nair's house to Pandalúr temple. Ráru Nair saw him in the gang at Udambath house. K. Ahmed saw him in the gang at Nârâs mana where he (Ahmed) was doing duty as a guard. Last, not least, the boy Máttummal Moidu (prisoner No. 23), whose word is open to no shadow of suspicion, names

No. 9 as one of the three Mappillas who took meals with the gang at Ottupara rock on the night of the 29th February and who went away immediately after supper promising to rejoin a little later on. The prisoner himself, pleading *alibi*, says that he was on guard at Udambath house on the 29th February and only left it under the orders of Udambath Kutti Kunhan Nair to go and inform the authorities at Pandalúr temple that the fanatics had visited Udambath house. Ráru Nair, one of the inmates of Udambath house, swears that the prisoner was not a guard at the house that day, but that he went there in the company of the fanatics. K. Ali Ammu, the principal guard at Udambath house, states (statement No. 320) that he saw the prisoner at Udambath house when the fanatics passed and that he (the prisoner) went immediately afterwards to give information to Inspector Chekkutti at Pandalúr temple. Inspector Chekkutti does not know the prisoner. He says (statement No. 401) that several Mappillas whom he did not know brought him information while the troops were at Pandalúr and that he sent some of them (among them prisoner No. 11) out to gather further information. The prisoner may, as he contends, have been one of these; but, granting that he was, this in no way rebuts the evidence on record against him. He was not, as he avers, on guard at Udambath house, but went there in the wake of the fanatics. Thence, to save his own skin, he may have accompanied Udambath Raman Nair when the latter went to inform the Police Inspector of the visit paid by the fanatics to Udambath house and may have followed up the gang at Inspector Chekkutti's request to get more information of their movements. But instead of giving the information at once after again coming up with the gang he went some way in their midst as one of their number and behaved really more as a spy for the gang on the movements of the troops than as a spy for the authorities on the movements of the fanatics. The boy Moidu's statement—which I implicity believe—leaves no doubt whatever that the prisoner fed with the fanatics at Ottupara on the night of the 29th February, and therefore, even if he did leave the gang, as he says, three times to visit the authorities at Pandalúr, this can only be regarded as a stroke of policy intended to provide materials for his subsequent defence; and it is to be presumed that the information which he gave the fanatics of the whereabouts and intentions of the troops was more useful to them than any which he may have given us concerning them. The prisoner thus actively assisted the fanatics and possibly received something from them in return in addition to the food of which he partook with them. Though there is no evidence to support the latter supposition, it is reasonable to infer from the tactics adopted by the prisoner that he was not at heart a fanatic—not an intending "*sahid*"—but that he went with the gang for the sake of what he might gain thereby. Be this as it may, the prisoner certainly figured as one of the gang and deserves deportation. I am of opinion that he should be permanently removed from the district.

4. The case of prisoner No. 11 is in all respects on a parallel with that of prisoner No. 9 which has been dealt with in the preceding paragraph. He was seen in the company of the fanatics on the 29th February by Moidin Kutti Mulla, E. Govinda Variar, P. Athan Moyan and Udambath Ráru Nair. The boy Máttummal Moidu (prisoner No. 23) states that the prisoner had supper with the gang at Ottupara on the night of the 29th February and that immediately afterwards he went away with prisoners Nos. 9 and 18 saying that he would rejoin later on. The prisoner's plea is *alibi*. He maintains that he was doing guard duty at Udambath house when the fanatics went there and that he only left that place to put himself at Police Inspector Chekkutti's service and to render assistance to the authorities by reporting the movements of the fanatics. Udambath Ráru Nair denies that the prisoner was a guard at his house on the 29th February and maintains that he went to the house in the company of the fanatics. Police Inspector Chekkutti supports the prisoner's statement to a certain extent. He says that he sent the prisoner and two or three other Mappillas out from Pandalúr to act as spies on the gang; that they brought back information of its whereabouts twice; that again at about 5 P.M., he sent them out a third time, but that they did not return. All that has been said about prisoner No. 9 applies with equal force to this prisoner also. That the two men acted in concert on the 29th February is pretty certain and is borne out by the statement of the boy Moidu that after having had food with the "offenders" at Ottupara rock they left the gang again together, promising to rejoin later on. There can be no

doubt that the two prisoners Nos. 9 and 11 played a double game on the evening of the 29th February and that, while pretending to assist the authorities, they were actually in friendly communication with the fanatics. It may be that the prisoner never intended to take up his stand with the fanatics and die with them, but it is none the less certain that he actively sympathised with them, joined on friendly terms with them and received hospitality at their hands. It would not be at all safe to set him at liberty. I recommend that he be deported.

5. I am inclined to think that all these Mappillas who joined the fanatics on the afternoon of the 29th February and deserted them the same night did so more in the hope of obtaining from them some of the stolen property from the looted houses which they must have carried with them than with any intention of dying as *sahids*. Otherwise, where did all the money stolen by the fanatics go to? They did not make any purchases with it and yet no money was found in their possession after their fall at Manjéri temple on the 1st March. I can only explain the disappearance of all this loot by supposing that the deserters carried it off with them on the night of Saturday, the 29th February. However, no evidence that such was the case is up to now forthcoming.

6. No. 13 is a barber boy belonging to Kuruva amsam of Walavanad taluk. He was present with the district officials and the troops at Pandalúr temple on the afternoon of the 29th February and was observed to leave the temple in a rather suspicious manner once or twice, taking the direction of the fanatics' position and returning again after a short interval. When questioned, he spoke rather incoherently and seemed to be labouring under a suppressed excitement. His conduct and bearing were so suspicious that he was put under arrest at once. Inquiries have, however, failed to elicit anything to indicate that the prisoner in any way assisted the fanatics or ever joined them. Had he done either, the chances are that some evidence to prove it would be forthcoming, and as there is none it must be assumed that the prisoner, if his feelings were excited by the proximity of the *sahids*, was arrested before he was completely carried away by them. The prisoner denies having ever left Pandalúr temple on the afternoon in question. Even suppose that he did leave it for a short interval, this could be easily explained in a more natural way than by inferring that he went to visit the fanatics' camp. Inquiry has failed to elicit any evidence to prove that he approached the gang, and it would be a rather far-fetched belief to hold that he did so. I recommend that he be released.

7. No. 14 was seen and identified as one of the gang on the afternoon of the 29th February by (*a*) Moidin Kutti Mulla at Veluthédath para where the fanatics halted to bathe; (*b*) by K. Abdulla at the same place; (*c*) K. Ahmed at Nârâs mana. Like all his fellow-prisoners he pleads *alibi*. He states that he left Manjéri amsam at dawn on the 29th February to go to Kottakkal shandy; that he returned home at sunset and spent all that night and the Sunday following (1st March) in his own house. The *alibi* is weak in that the prisoner cannot give the name of the other Mappilla who is said to have accompanied him to the shandy nor of the man at Kottakkal to whom he sold skins. Moreover, it is incredible that he should have remained quiet in his house on Saturday night and Sunday—a time when excitement was running very high and every one was anxious to learn the latest tidings. The prisoner says (statement No. 127) that he has been falsely implicated by Govinda Variar, because he once gave evidence against the latter in a criminal case before the Manjéri Sub-Magistrate. The truth of this appears to be that Govinda Variar prosecuted a Mappilla called V. Athan Moyan for assault four or five years ago; that the prisoner was called as a witness for the defence by Athan Moyan; but that in all probability he was never examined as a witness since the case eventually ended in a compromise. At all events, Govinda Variar (statement No. 397), though he did identify several Mappillas in the gang of fanatics, makes no mention of this prisoner whatever. I consider that the plea of enmity has not been established and I see not the least reason to mistrust the statements of Moidin Kutti Mulla, K. Abdulla and K. Ahmed (statements Nos. 318, 325, 326). True the boy Moidu (prisoner No. 23) says (statement No. 414) that he does not remember having seen the prisoner with the fanatics; but considering that the gang numbered more than 100 when the prisoner joined and that the majority of its members were entire strangers to Moidu, it is scarcely to be expected that he

should be able to recollect all of them after an interval of two months, even assuming that he had an opportunity of actually setting eyes on all. I think that this prisoner, too, must be removed from the district. He is said to have been one of the associates of Manjipalli Ahmed Kutti who was killed at Manjéri temple (*vide* No. 58 in Enclosure A to former report) and who used to terrorise the people of Pandalúr and the surrounding tracts and to make a comfortable livelihood by levying black-mail from them. This makes it all the more probable that he should go with the fanatics, thus following in the footsteps of his leader for the last time.

8. Two witnesses have spoken to having seen prisoner No. 15 in company with the fanatics. P. Athan Moyan saw him in the gang just outside Pandalúr temple; and K. Ahmed, the guard of Nârâs mana, which was visited by the fanatics, saw the prisoner with them there. The prisoner maintains (statement No. 133) that he was lying in bed incapable of movement by reason of a boil at the time that he is said to have been with the fanatics. He was arrested by Police Inspectors Chekkutti, Cholayil Ahmed Kutti and Cholayil Unni Mammu on the 1st March. He explains his arrest by a cock-and-bull story of enmity between him and Cholayil Unni Mammu which I do not believe. Like the majority of such concoctions the story, if true, would afford him a motive for trying to bring his alleged enemy into trouble rather than the reverse. The boy Moidu (statement No. 414, prisoner No. 23) does not recollect having seen the prisoner with the fanatics; but since Moidu and he are strangers this circumstance is susceptible of explanation as in the case of prisoner No. 14 (*vide* paragraph 7 *supra*). I am quite satisfied that this prisoner, too, joined the fanatics in their march through Pandalúr on the afternoon of the 29th February. He, too, is said to have been a hanger-on of Manjipalli Ahmed Kutti, the ring-leader of those who joined the gang from Pandalúr. I am of opinion that he should be permanently removed from the district.

9. The evidence against No. 16 is precisely the same as that against No. 15 (*vide* the preceding paragraph). He was seen with the fanatics by P. Athan Moyan and K. Ahmed, whose statements I see no reason to doubt. The only defence which the prisoner sets up is that, as his father died only four days before the 29th February, it is not probable that he should join in an outbreak so soon after his affliction; but seeing that Manjipalli Ahmed Kutti, the leader of the Pandalúr section of the fanatics, was not restrained from joining the gang by the consideration that he had married a wife ten days previously, I do not think that the prisoner's plea is entitled to much weight. The prisoner, too, is said to have been one of Manjipalli Ahmed Kutti's associates in his career of high-handed oppression in and around Pandalúr, and this makes it all the more probable that the two should be found linked together in such an enterprise as the recent outbreak. The prisoner has no reasonable defence to offer. He tells a rambling and incoherent story of some enmity which exists between him and some one else—who the enemy is is not clear. The story is a transparent concoction got up expressly for the occasion. Of the prisoner's complicity in the outbreak there is very little room for doubt. I strongly recommend that he be deported.

10. No. 17 was identified as one of the gang by four different witnesses. Moidin Kutti Mulla saw him in the gang at Veluthédath para. E. Govinda Variar and C. Krishnan Nair saw him in the gang at Pandalúr temple, whilst Udambath Ráru Nair saw him in the gang at Udambath house. The prisoner pleads *alibi*. He says (statement No. 124) that on the 29th February he went early in the morning to the Arimbra Nair's house and that he remained there all day settling his accounts with his landlord, Govinda Arimbra Nair. The latter states that the prisoner did actually go to his house for a settlement of accounts on the day in question; that he was there when the fanatics passed by at noon and that he immediately went after them, saying that he, too, was going to Udambath house whither the gang had gone (*vide* statement No. 396). The *alibi* set up by the prisoner therefore falls to the ground. In addition to the plea of *alibi* the prisoner lays claim to enmity with several persons. Amongst these enemies he tries to include all whom he supposed likely to have given evidence incriminating him and he has succeeded in naming one out of the four. The stories told by the prisoner to explain the cause of enmity plainly bear the stamp of myths. However, it suffices that Govinda Arimbra Nair,

to whom the prisoner himself can attribute no hostile motives, completely upsets the plea of *alibi* by stating that the prisoner left his house with the avowed intention of joining the fanatics at Udambath house (*vide* statement No. 396). A very significant fact is that prisoner's younger brother Pokkoo and his nephews Kunhokker and Koya (Nos. 55, 53 and 54) in List A were shot at Manjéri temple on the 1st March. The evidence that the prisoner joined in the march with the fanatics on the 29th February is overwhelming. He certainly must be removed from the district. To set him at liberty would be to create a standing menace to the public peace in these taluks.

11. Against prisoner No. 18 there is the clearest proof of guilt. He is one of the three whom the boy Moidu (prisoner No. 23) saw leaving the gang after having had meals at Ottupara (rock) with a promise to rejoin before morning. This statement of Moidu's I regard as quite sufficient to convict the prisoner of having joined the fanatics for a time. In addition there is the evidence of Moidin Kutti Mulla who swears to having identified the prisoner as one of the gang when it halted for a space at Veluthédath para. This prisoner, too, pleads *alibi* which though not entirely true is based on fact. He says that he was doing guard duty at Manjéri temple on the 29th February and that in the afternoon he left the temple at the request of Kochuda or Ochadi Narayanan Nair to escort him to his wife's house in Vettikode, that after doing so Narayanan Nair returned to the temple, whilst he the prisoner went home and threw open his doors as a refuge to the terrified Hindus of the neighbourhood (*vide* statement No. 128). Narayanan Nair says that the prisoner was not a guard at Manjéri temple at all, but that he went there unasked at about 10 A.M. on the 29th February (*vide* statement No. 395). This is corroborated by the statement of Veluthedath Chekk, who was the chief guard at the Manjéri temple. Narayana Nair further says that when he heard about noon that day, that the fanatics had gone to Pandalúr, he set out for his cultivation in Vettikode in order to get some one to guard it; that the prisoner went after him uninvited and accompanied him as far as a place called Manathipara close to Udambath house; that there they learned that the fanatics had left Udambath house and gone southward, and that Chekkutti, the prisoner, then left him saying that he was going home. This appears to be the truth of the case and there is nothing in it incompatible with the prisoner's having joined the fanatics at Veluthédath para and having gone on with them to the supper at Ottupara that night. There is also a strong piece of circumstantial evidence which goes to show that the prisoner had friendly intercourse with the fanatics. When we entered the Manjéri temple on the 1st of March a Mappilla song book was found there smeared with blood. On the fly-leaf of the book was the following inscription:—"ഏറനാടത്താലൂക്ക സബ്ബെരി അംശം പത്തലൂരദെശത്ത കഴിക്കുന്നിഹൻ ചെയിക്കുടി ബൊധിപ്പിക്കുന്ന സങ്കടം ഹരജി. ഉടനെ ഒര മാർഗ്ഗടി ഉണ്ടാകണ്ണാൽ എനിക്കവളരെ സങ്കടം ഉണ്ട (The petition of complaint of Kazhu Kunnamal Chekkutti of Pandalúr desam of Manjéri amsam, Ernad taluk. It is a great grievance to me if an answer is not given at once"). There was besides this writing a lot of unintelligible characters and a Mappilla hieroglyphic of a signature scrawled over and over again as though the owner of the book had been practising hand-writing upon it. The only explanation which the prisoner can offer is that an enemy of his must have written his name in the book in order to get him into trouble. This does not explain how the book came to be found in the temple, but, accepting Moidu's statement that the prisoner joined the fanatics and was present at their final banquet at Ottupara on the night of 29th February, the circumstance is readily accounted for. The prisoner further alleges enmity as the reason for the charge against him. He states that a brother of Police Inspector Chekkutti owes him Rs. 100 and that the Police Inspector offered to get him out of trouble if he agreed to surrender the document without payment of the Rs. 100. It turns out on inquiry that the prisoner has merely a mortgage with possession for Rs. 100 on a piece of land now owned by Inspector Chekkutti's half-brother Chek (*vide* statements Nos. 401 and 412). This can in no way weaken the evidence of the prisoner's guilt with which neither Police Inspector Chekkutti nor his half-brother Chek is in any way connected. The evidence is unimpeachable. The prisoner must be removed from the district or else he is likely to prove a scourge to it at some future time. He is one who, having put his hand to the plough, turned back; and in Pandalúr he would know no peace until he completed what on this occasion he only began; and vindicated Islam by dying as a martyr for the faith.

12. No. 19 is an Irimbuzhi man who was arrested under your own orders on the 2nd March. On the morning of the 1st March at dawn two men from Irimbuzhi amsam, Pálakkaparambil Ahmed and Mootha, and a neighbour of theirs from Manjéri amsam, Taláppil Máyan (Nos. 82, 83 and 65 in Enclosure A to former report), ran up to the Manjéri temple and entered it and joined the fanatics after the cessation of the first fire from the treasury and finally perished there with the other fanatics, when the firing was resumed on the arrival of our forces under Captain Chads. This prisoner is a neighbour of the three Mappillas mentioned above and he is said to have followed them with the intention of joining the fanatics, but to have arrived at the temple just too late and to have perforce returned home again. On the morning of Sunday, the 1st March, K. Mammu was standing on a hill with some Hindus watching the temple where the fanatics were. He saw the three Mappillas mentioned above running towards the temple. Shortly afterwards the prisoner came up and asked if Mammu had seen Ahmed, Mootha and Moyan. Mammu said that they had left them shortly before. The prisoner, saying that they had joined the gang, ran towards the temple. Shortly afterwards after the fire on the temple had been re-opened Mammu saw the prisoner returning home hurriedly (*vide* statement No. 409). K. Mammad saw the prisoner in his shop conversing with the aforesaid Ahmed, Mootha and Moyan at 4 P.M. on Saturday, the 29th February, and again at dawn on the following Sunday (*vide* statement No. 410). It seems possible to draw but one conclusion from this evidence, namely, that the prisoner had arranged with Ahmed, Mootha and Moyan to go and join the fanatics at Manjéri temple, but that he arrived too late, though his fellow-conspirators were more successful in accomplishing their end. The prisoner pleads *alibi*. He maintains that he went to his house about dawn on the 1st March after having spent the preceding night elsewhere; and that he spent the whole of that day with the exception of a few minutes at noon in the house (*vide* statement No. 408). The prisoner's mother, however, completely overturns this defence; and not only so, but her statement goes far towards increasing the suspicion that the prisoner attempted to join the fanatics. She says that he left his house at dawn on the 1st March after having spent the previous night there and that she thought he was "going to see the battle." She ascertained afterwards (from the prisoner himself) that he had only been to teach children as usual (*vide* statement No. 415). (The prisoner is a Mulla by profession and earns a livelihood by teaching children Koran). Although the woman does her best to screen her son her statement is very damaging to the prisoner's case. The prisoner further pleads that the adhigari is his enemy and has implicated him falsely to satisfy his own private grudge. The story given to account for this enmity may be true or false (it would be difficult to ascertain the truth of it now); but granting that it is true it would scarcely furnish the adhigari with a sufficient motive for wishing to get the prisoner deported. But in any case the adhigari was not the prime mover in the arrest of the prisoner. The amsam Menon it was who first put the authorities on the prisoner's track; and the adhigari simply passed on the information given him by the Menon to the Tahsildar who communicated it to you, with the result that you sent the adhigari to arrest the prisoner (*vide* statements Nos. 406 and 407). E. Aidros, who first gave information of the prisoner's suspicious conduct to the Menon, was aware of the prisoner's conspiracy with Mootha, Ahmed and Moyan to join the fanatics and of his having started for Manjéri on the morning of the 1st March to fulfil his design; but Aidros has now retracted and refuses to give evidence against the prisoner (*vide* statement No. 411). We have here an instance of the great sympathy which exists between the Mappilla community and all intending *sahids* and of the consequent difficulty of procuring information from Mappillas. Aidros would never have told the Menon what he did concerning the prisoner had he not been certain that the latter had been killed at Manjéri. Now that he finds that the prisoner is still alive, he does his best to screen him from punishment. There can be but little doubt that the prisoner intended to join, and actually set out to join, the fanatics. I recommend that he be removed from the district. He is a Mulla and proportionally a man of influence. It is needless to point out that the teaching which he would disseminate amongst his pupils, were he set at liberty, would be of the most pernicious description and would have the most baneful influence on the Mappilla youth of his neighbourhood.

13. No. 22 is a barber of Túvúr amsam. He was arrested under suspicious circumstances by Mr. Sheehan, one of the European head constables of the special force (*vide* statement No. 97). The man was found prowling about in a manner which suggested that he was a spy sent out by the fanatics to watch the movements of the troops. Enquiry has, however, elicited nothing to show that the prisoner was in communication with the fanatics. He appears to be not quite sound in mind and to be subject to fits. This accounts sufficiently for the strangeness of the man's conduct at the time of his arrest. I recommend that he may be set at liberty.

14. No. 28 is a resident of Mélátttúr amsam in Walavanad taluk. On the 27th February, two days after the outbreak began, he was seen at Pattambi railway station. He was questioned by the police and as his answers were not satisfactory he was taken into custody and produced before the Cherpalcheri Sub-Magistrate. A sum of Rs. 220 and odd was found in his possession. He stated at first that he was going to Palghat and afterwards contradicted this by saying that he was bound for Mecca. It was therefore suspected that he was perhaps one of the fanatics commissioned to go to Native Cochin to purchase ammunition. The prisoner was fined Rs. 34-7-1 for the outbreak of 1894 on his property in Chembrasséri. This fine he had not paid. (His son has however paid it up since his father's arrest.) Enquiries have been made and they show that the prisoner had been talking of going to Mecca for three months before he was arrested; and that at the time of his arrest he had set out on the proposed pilgrimage but that he intended to go to Palghat first to see his landlord Appathura Pattar there. It is not probable that he was in league with the fanatics nor acquainted with their doings, though he must have known that an outbreak was on foot. In all probability his idea was to go to Mecca so as to avoid being fined again for the present outbreak and, if possible, to escape payment of the fine imposed upon him in connection with the outbreak of 1894. I have already recommended his release on bail (*vide* paragraph 87 of my former report). I now think that he may be set at liberty unconditionally.

15. The charge against prisoner No. 31 is that he made preparations to join the fanatics. His own statement (No. 286) seems to me to be sufficient to prove that he intended to join the fanatics and therefore to warrant his removal from the district under Act XX of 1859. The man was a guard at the Maranath Numbudripad's illom during the recent outbreak. For some days he failed for no ostensible reason to go to duty at the illom. During his absence from duty he endeavoured to get a knife made by several blacksmiths; but they all refused to make it on the ground that it was of a prohibited pattern. When the prisoner next put in an appearance at the Nambudri's illom, he was refused admittance on the ground that he had been with the fanatics (*vide* the statement of the guard Karumarote Mammu). Further, after the outbreak was suppressed, the prisoner went and warned the blacksmith Thala Chiriyan not to tell about his having ordered a knife, or that both of them would get into trouble (*vide* statement No. 281). The only other evidence against the prisoner is that of three Mappilla beggarwomen, Kunhirumma, Kunhathumma, and Kunhathu, who say that they saw the prisoner with Puzhuthini Kunhayu, the prisoner who was wounded by the police at Parambayil), and four other Mappillas one day about the 17th of Ramzan (2nd March). These statements I do not consider entitled to much weight, though Kunhayan's contradiction of them cannot count for much, seeing that he has told some most palpable falsehoods when questioned on other particulars (*vide* statement Nos. 378 and 400). I am of opinion that the prisoner's conduct, as described by himself, was sufficiently suspicious to warrant his removal from the district under Act XX of 1859. The knife which he made such strenuous efforts to procure must have been the prescribed *ayudhakatti* or war-knife, since all the blacksmiths whom he approached refused to make it. The blacksmith Thala Chiriyan has drawn an illustration of the sort of knife which the prisoner asked him to make, and it closely resembles the shape of the prohibited war-knife. The prisoner can have wanted this knife for one purpose only, *i.e.*, for the use of the fanatics whom he, in all probability, intended to join.

16. No. 32 did not actually "go out" with the fanatics, but he must have known about the conspiracy and there is the strongest suspicion of his complicity in its organisation. He admits having received visits from the ringleader Kochu Kayan Mussaliar (prisoner No. 1) about the beginning of Ramzan and to have been on visiting terms with Kappa Kunnan Mootha (prisoner No. 2) up till the date of his arrest. Moreover, on the evening of the 27th February, the fanatics passed the prisoner's house in Trikunnasseri desam of Chembrasséri amsam and four of their number actually visited the house (the prisoner himself being then present). They were seen by K. Kunhappa (*vide* statement No. 282) coming out of the prisoner's prayer shed and going back to the fanatics. The prisoner was mentioned by Unni Mammad (prisoner No. 3) to Unni Kammu as one of the persons who agreed to join in the outbreak (*vide* statement No. 276). The prisoner holds lands on verumpattom, or simple lease, from P. Krishnan Nair of Wandúr, for which he has deposited Rs. 300 as caution money; and before the outbreak he importuned his landlord for the return of the money. This is a suspicious circumstance, denoting a preparation for bidding farewell to this life. A cousin of the prisoner, C. Mammad Kutti, went to the prisoner's house on the 28th February and found him concealing himself there. His explanation was that Mootha (prisoner No. 2) had incriminated him and that he was afraid of being arrested (*vide* statement Nos. 287 and 297). This would indicate a guilty conscience. The same night (the 28th February) the prisoner set out for his native place—Edappalam in Pórúr amsam—and thence the following day to Kundotti. He explains this move by saying that he went to Kundotti to give information to the Kundotti tangal that the fanatics had passed his (prisoner's) house, which is absurd. It is more credible that the prisoner was taken away to Kundotti by his relatives to keep him out of harm's way. At all events, he arrived at Kundotti on the 2nd March and stayed there till the 6th March, and he cannot offer any satisfactory explanation for his journey to, or stay at, Kundotti. He maintains that he is a *Kaikaran*, or disciple of the Kundotti tangal, and therefore above suspicion of having been connected with the outbreak. But his own admission that he was visited by Kochu Kayan Mussaliar and Kappa Kunnan Mootha (prisoners Nos. 1 and 2), who are Ponnani Kaikar, shows that he is a follower of the Ponnani tangal, by inclination at any rate, if not in name as well. There cannot be any doubt that the prisoner was in league with the conspirators and that his heart failed him at the last moment, and so he did not "go out." In all probability, his calculations were upset by the sudden arrest of the ringleaders and hence his indecision. His very terror of what his neighbour Mootha (prisoner No. 2) might disclose concerning his connection with the gang is indicative of his sense of guilt. The man cannot safely be allowed to remain in the district. He would be taunted with his chicken-heartedness, till he would be compelled to vindicate his character by a determination to die as a Sahid, for the faith on which he has now brought disgrace. I recommend that he be removed from the district.

17. No. 33 is suspected of having visited the fanatics when they were taking food at Ravunni Nair's house on the morning of Friday the 28th February, and of having given them information of the movements of the troops. The prisoner must, however, have been mistaken for some one else; for he has successfully established an *alibi*, viz., that he was two miles away at the time, at a place called Veerali Munda from 9-30 A.M. till 1-30 P.M. on the day in question, so that he could not have been at Ramunni Nair's kalam until after 2 o'clock, whereas the fanatics left the kalam at noon. It seems certain that some other man, and not the prisoner, was the friendly visitor of the gang on the occasion in question, and that Ramunni Nair and Krishnan Nair must have been mistaken in their identification of him. I recommend therefore that prisoner be released at once.

18. The evidence against Tachiyodan Unni Ahmed No. 34 is not satisfactory. The first witness is K. Sankaran Nair (*vide* statement No. 299). He states that he was in his house when the first gang of fanatics under the leadership of Punthiruthi Moidin Kutti Haji visited Parambayil house close by; that he saw the fanatics leaving that house carrying with them some jewels; that he went to P. Moidin Kutti Haji, the leader of the gang, and represented to him that *Sahids* had no use for jewels; and that the latter at once took the jewels from the prisoner, who was carrying them, and returned them to the owner of the house. This statement is too ridiculous to be accepted for a moment. Considering the way in which the Nairs of the district always bolt leaving their wives and children and property to the tender mercies of

the fanatics, it is incredible that this deponent should have endangered his life by expostulating with the leader of the fanatics when the jewels of a neighbour were being carried away. It is far more likely that K. Sankaran Nair, if in the neighbourhood at all at the time, was concealing himself in his house or in the surrounding jungle. The only other evidence against the prisoner is the statement of one Chayicha Panikkar, who says that on a Friday in *Kumbham*—February-March (probably the 28th February) he met the fanatics; that they laid hold of him and threatened to kill him; and that they finally let him go uninjured at the intercession of the prisoner who was one of the gang. This Chayicha Panikkar did not come and report the occurrence at the time nor did he give any information about it until the enquiry which followed the suppression of the outbreak had progressed considerably. This lays his statement open to grave suspicion. The prisoner himself says that he was in his house on the day he is said to have been with the fanatics and that he has been falsely implicated in the outbreak through the machinations of Payampadath Sankunni Nair with whom he is at enmity (*vide* statement No. 117). This seems quite probable considering the nature of the evidence in support of the charge against him. I do not think that there is sufficient ground to furnish any presumption that the prisoner is guilty of complicity in the outbreak. I recommend that the man be released.

19. Prisoner No. 35 lives close to the kalam of Palacheri Koman Nair, which the fanatics looted on the morning of the 29th February, just after the burning of the Karayi temple (*vide* paragraph 38 of my former report). Velu Nair, son of Koman Nair, who was in hiding in the compound of the kalam while the fanatics were searching for food in it, states that he saw the prisoner come from the east and stand looking on while the fanatics helped themselves to food. Several other witnesses have spoken to having seen the prisoner close to the gang on the occasion in question and there can be no doubt that he was there, though he stoutly maintains that he was absent in Chembrasséri amsam at the time. Even while admitting, however, that the prisoner was present at and witnessed the looting of Koman Nair's *kalam*, I am not inclined to infer that he sympathised in the least with the fanatics. I rather incline to the opinion that he was a mere curious spectator of the outrage which was being perpetrated. He said to V. Ahmed, one of the guards at the kalam, that it was a blessing that the fanatics had done no injury to Velu Nair while he was in their clutches, and this would go to show that the prisoner's sympathies were on the side of law and order. When one realises the circumstances under which the prisoner was seen near the gang, it seems the most natural thing in the world that he should have been there. A farm-house close to the prisoner's own house was being looted by a band of fanatics. What more natural, then, that the prisoner should leave his house in order to see what was going on? I certainly should have done so had I been in his place. And it cannot be laid to the prisoner's charge that he did not at once go and give information to the authorities, seeing that the authorities were then following closely on the heels of the offenders and were aware of all their misdeeds almost as soon as they were perpetrated. The statement of P. Achutan Nair (statement No. 312), the only witness who says that the prisoner held converse with the fanatics, cannot be relied on for a moment, for his brother Velu Nair, who actually fell into the hands of the fanatics when they visited his father's *madham* (house), stated (*vide* statement No. 391) before Mr. Austin, the Assistant Magistrate, when examined on the 23rd March, that his brother Achutan was not present at the time of the outrage. There is therefore not a scrap of reliable evidence to show that the prisoner said a word to any of the fanatics or did more than indulge in a little idle curiosity. I consider that it was most natural, though it may have been indiscreet, in him to do so. The prisoner pleads that there is enmity between him and Koman Nair over a certain boundary dispute. It seems to me highly probable that there is some truth in this plea, considering the palpable falsehood of which Achutan Nair, Koman Nair's son, has been obviously guilty in order to incriminate the prisoner. I do not think that there is any reasonable ground for further action against the prisoner, and I accordingly recommend that he be set at liberty.

20. For the same reasons as those already adduced in paragraph 91 of my former report, I cannot recommend the prosecution before a criminal court of any one of these prisoners. In the first place there is no evidence available to show that any particular

one of them took an active part in the perpetration of any of the outrages committed by the fanatics. It is true that prisoners Nos. 8, 9, 11, 14, 15, 16, 17 and 18 joined the gang; but they subsequently deserted it, and they cannot therefore be presumed to have had the intention to die in arms against the infidels, which is the only motive approaching a "common object" by which the fanatics were animated. These prisoners cannot therefore be presumed to have had any object in common with the rest of the gang and, *ipso facto*, did not form with it an unlawful assembly as defined in section 141 of the Indian Penal Code. I cannot see then how the prisoners could be dealt with under any section of the Penal Code. In the second place, supposing that the prisoners could be charged with offences under the Penal Code, I fear that the prosecution would fail through the dread which all Hindus and very many Mappillas feel at being required to give evidence against a Mappilla who is charged with having taken part in a fanatical outbreak. I have therefore recommended that all the prisoners should be dealt with under the Mappilla Outrages Act XX of 1859.

21. Before closing this report I have one further recommendation to make and I wish to lay the greatest stress upon it seeing that I believe that the peace of the district will be seriously imperilled if it is not adopted and carried out. The ringleaders in the recent outbreak came from the immediate vicinity of the Tûvúr mosque. Some of them lived on the mosque land, *e.g.*, Kochu Kayan Mussaliar whose deportation I have recommended (*vide* my former report, paragraph 69) and Matathil Mussaliar Unni Koya who was shot at Manjéri temple on the 1st March (*vide* No. 37 in enclosure A to my former report). Now the tangal of the Túvúr mosque, by name Kottakuth Imbichi Koya Tangal, also lives on the mosque land and within call of the houses of the men just mentioned. There cannot, therefore, be the slightest doubt that he must have been fully aware of the conspiracy which Kochu Kayan Mussaliar and the others were hatching. It is incredible that the tangal of the mosque should have been kept in the dark. Besides, the statement of constable Krishnan Nair (*vide* statement No. 390) who arrested Kochu Kayan Mussaliar shows that the tangal was present at the *Moulhud*, which was performed at Mussaliar Unni Koya's house on the day when the outbreak began (25th February). Kochu Kayan Mussaliar was also present at this *Moulhud* and Mussaliar Unni Koya and several other Mappillas who attended it were afterwards found amongst the fanatics shot at Manjéri on the 1st March (*vide* paragraph 69 of my former report). This is quite sufficient ground to warrant the assumption that the tangal was aware of the conspiracy and looked on it with a favouring eye, and that he would have blessed the fanatics before going out had their plans not been so precipitated by the sudden arrest of the ringleaders on the 25th February. I shall show later on that there is room to suspect that the tangal actually did give his blessing to the fanatics when he was supposed to have been spying out their movements for our information. Add to this suspicion that the tangal was fully cognisant of the plans of the fanatics, the suspicious conduct of the man while acting under the pretence of assisting the authorities in tracking the fanatics (*vide* the statement of the Assistant Superintendent of Police, No. 416); and I think there is every reason to believe that he was an abettor of the conspiracy. Further, the statement of Chettiarammal Kammu, whom I examined at Wandúr on the 29th February 1896, shows that the tangal had some intercourse with the fanatics and that the latter appeared to have no dread whatever of him as they had of our other Mappilla spies. I am under the impression that on this occasion the tangal bestowed on the fanatics the blessing which he was prevented from giving them before they went out. This is of course pure hypothesis, but it is plausible in the extreme. However, hypothesis apart, there is sufficient circumstantial evidence to implicate the tangal and to warrant his removal from the district by order of Government. He belongs to the class of petty tangals whose pernicious influence has been already reported to Government on more than one occasion (*vide* paragraph 11 of Mr. Bradley's report to Government on the outbreak of 1894, dated 16th May 1894). I am pretty certain that if no notice is taken of this man's conduct this year, he will assuredly be at the bottom of further Mappilla trouble in Chembrasséri and Túvúr and that perhaps at no very distant date. I therefore venture to recommend very strongly that he should be removed from the district. The man is not in custody, but if my recommendation meets with your approval and is sanctioned by Government, there will not be any difficulty in apprehending him.

22. The records connected with my enquiries subsequent to the date of my former report are herewith submitted.

List of persons under arrest in connection with the recent Mappilla outbreak, regarding whom recommendations have been made to Government in Malabar District Magistrate's letter No. E/Camp, dated 8th May 1896.

Number in B list.	Name.	Residence.		Nature of recommendation.	Number of the statement having a bearing on the man's case.
		Amsam.	Desam.		
8	Kuttipuliyan Moidin Kutti.	Manjéri	Pandalúr ..	Recommended to be deported.	321, 324, 326, 129, 398, 399.
9	Kuttipuliyan Ahmed ..	Do.	Do.	Do. do. ..	321, 324, 326, 318, 87, 320, 401, 132, 95.
11	Korangódan Ayamed ..	Do.	Do.	Do. do. ..	321, 323, 318, 324, 401, 87, 125.
13	Nairisniparambath Ossán Moidin Kutti.	Kuruva	....	Released already for want of evidence.	403.
14	Chithrampalli Mootha ..	Manjéri	Ânokayam ..	Recommended to be deported.	318, 325, 326, 397, 414, 127.
15	Konnath Pari	Do.	Pandalúr ..	Do. do. ..	323, 326, 133, 414.
16	Talakkolath Ahmed ..	Do.	Do.	Do. do. ..	323, 326, 134.
17	Páppádathil Mammu ..	Do.	Do.	Do. do. ..	318, 321, 124, 322, 324, 396.
18	Kazhu Kunnummal Chékkutti.	Do.	Do.	Do. do. ..	87, 123, 395, 318, 401, 412, 328.
19	Párakkódan Ahmed Haji..	Irimbuzhi ..	Pappinipara ..	Do. do. ..	409, 408, 415, 406, 407, 411.
22	Ossán Unnien	Túvúr	Túvúr	Released already for want of evidence.	96, 97.
28	Tayyil Alivi	Mélattúr ..	Edapatta ..	Do. do. ..	116.
31	Kottopadan Mammi ..	Chembrasséri ..	Poongott ..	Recommended to be deported	286, 281, 290, 291, 292, 293, 400.
32	Pottayil Mammad Musaliar.	Pórúr	Edappulam ..	Do. do. ..	404, 282, 276, 287, 297.
33	Pudikaparamban Marakkarutti.	Chembrasséri ..	Trikunnasséri ..	Under custody pending orders.	217, 289, 218, 302, 301, 303.
34	Thechiyodan Unni Ayamed.	Do. ..	Do. ..	Recommended to be released.	299, 117, 300.
35	Kunnummal Ahmed ..	Paiyanád ..	Vettikattiri ..	Do. do. ..	312, 391, 405.
36	Kóttakuth Imbichi Kóya Tangal.	Túvúr	Túvúr	Recommended to be arrested and deported.	390, 416, 8.

(Signed) J. HEWETSON,
Ag. District Magistrate.

List of enclosures to Malabar District Magistrate's letter No. E/Camp, dated 8th May 1896.

(1) Copy of Special Assistant Magistrate's report, dated 5th May 1896 1

(2) List of persons about whom recommendations have been made 1

(3) Copies of statements and translations ... ... (65 in number).
Nos. 8, 87, 95, 96, 97, 116, 117, 121, 123, 124, 125, 127, 129, 132, 133, 134, 217, 218, 276, 281, 282, 286, 287, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 297, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 312, 318, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 328, 390, 391, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 411, 412, 414, 415, 416.

Total enclosures ... 67

(Signed) J. HEWETSON,
Acting District Magistrate.

Calicut,
18*th May* 1896.

From J. HEWETSON, Esq., I.C.S., Acting District Magistrate, Malabar, to the Chief Secretary to Government, dated Calicut, 19th May 1896, Ref. on C. No. 1188-M.

In continuation of my previous reports (Nos. A-Camp and E-Camp, dated 2nd and 8th May 1896, respectively), on the Mappilla outbreak, I have the honour to forward a further report from the Special Assistant Magistrate recommending the deportation of a man called Koyithodi Ahmed. The man belongs to the Nellikuthu desam of Paiyanád amsam and is proved by five witnesses to have been with the gang on the 29th February.

2. Two witnesses (317 * and 319 *) saw the accused armed with a chopper at Arimbra Nair's house; witness No. 318 * saw him at Veluthédathpára, and at Pandalúr temple he was seen leading the gang by witnesses Nos. 321 * and 323. * The prisoner says that he was at Manakât Kunhi Kuttam Nambiar's house on the 29th February, but this man examined as witness No. 419 denies that the prisoner was at his house. The accused admits † that he was a friend of the notorious Manjapalli Ahmed Kutti and gives this as a reason for the Hindus of Pandalúr concocting a case against him, but as only two of the five witnesses are Hindus, the argument falls to the ground.

3. The accused was only arrested on the 8th May and is suspected to have taken part in a dacoity in Elankûr amsam that was committed on the 17th April, but the evidence against him is not strong and he is not likely to be convicted. I recommend that he be deported at once if not convicted for dacoity, and on completion of sentence if he is convicted.

Enclosure.

From J. T. GILLESPIE, Esq., Acting Special Assistant Magistrate, to the District Magistrate, Calicut, dated Tirurangadi, 13th May 1896, No. 51-M.

In continuation of my reports on the recent Mappilla outbreak, Nos. 47 and 49, dated 26th April and 5th May, respectively, I have the honour to submit the following further report.

2. On the 4th and 5th April last Special Magistrate M.R.Ry. K. Sankunni Menon recorded the evidence of five witnesses which showed that a Mappilla called Koyithodi Ahmed of Nellikuthu desam of Paiyanád amsam had taken part with the fanatics on Saturday the 29th February as they passed through his desam.

3. Accordingly on the 8th April I issued a warrant for the arrest of Ahmed. The man, however, managed to evade arrest until the 8th instant, on which date my warrant was executed by Police Inspector Chekkutti.

4. I had the prisoner produced before me on the 9th instant, and have now completed my enquiries concerning him and the result leaves no room for doubt that he took a prominent part in the proceedings of the gang of fanatics on the afternoon of Saturday the 29th February.

5. He was seen armed with a chopper in the midst of the gang at the Arimbra Nair's house by Kunhunni Arimbra Nair himself (*vide* statement No. 319) and by Kakkarathóttingal Madári Moidin who was doing duty as a guard there (*vide* statement No. 317). These two witnesses saw the prisoner actually enter the house with the fanatics to search for the guns which they hoped to find there. He was seen with the gang again at Veluthedatupâra by Karuppan Veettil Moidin Kutti Mulla. He continued with the gang too until its arrival at Pandalúr, for he was seen leading the fanatics on to the temple there by E. Góvinda Váriar and Parapurath Athan Móyan (*vide* statements Nos. 321 and 323).

6. The prisoner sets up an *alibi* as his defence. He maintains that he spent the whole of Saturday, the 29th February, at Manakât Kunhi Kuttan Nambiar's house in Pandalúr to which house he had been summoned as a guard by the Nambiar two days previously. This story appears to be improbable in the extreme. The prisoner

* Submitted as enclosures with letter, No. D-Camp, dated 7th May 1896. † 418.

can give no reason why he should have been chosen as a guard on the occasion in preference to some of the Mappillas of the locality whom the Nambiar might have opportunity to know well or might have reason to trust nor can he offer any explanation of the great friendship which he averse exists between him and the Nambiar except that it is due to his frequent visits to the house in question which visits in their turn according to the prisoner were the outcome of the alleged friendship (*vide* statement No. 418). The prisoner thus argues in a circle. His statement is worth very little. He does not better his case much by attributing the present charge against him to his friendship with Manjapalli Ahmed Kutti. This Manjapalli Ahmed Kutti was a notorious blackmailer, for months the terror of the Hindu population in and around Pandalúr. He had a numerous train of followers amongst the cooly Mappillas of the neighbourhood by whose aid he carried on his high-handed oppression of the Hindus whose misfortune it was to live or have property in his vicinity. He appears to have been several times prosecuted for theft and similar offences but to have been acquitted on each occasion either by the Original or Appellate Court. Petitions complaining of his nefarious practices were recently sent to the Zamorin of Calicut (who owns some lands at Pandalúr) and to myself; and the man appears to have been so exasperated by these complaints that he determined to close his misspent life by throwing in his lot with the fanatics and courting death as a *Sahid* (*vide* statement No. 388). He took with him a numerous following many of whom like himself remained with the gang till the end and perished with it at Manjeri temple on the 1st March. Several of his followers however deserted the gang on the night before the action at Manjeri and of these the prisoner appears to be one. His voluntary admission that he was a boon companion of Manjapalli Ahmed Kutti furnishes an additional reason for suspecting him of having followed the latter when he joined the fanatics at Pandalúr on the 29th February.

7. In order, however, actually to test the prisoner's verocity I have examined Manakât Kunhi Kuttam Nambiar and his evidence completely upsets the prisoner's plea of *alibi*. He denies that the latter ever set foot in his house at any time and declares that he only knows him by having seen him with the notorious free-booter Manjapalli Ahmed Kutti (*vide* statement No. 419).

8. As for the sweeping assertion made by the accused that all the Nairs of Pandalúr are enemies of his by reason of their hatred of Manjapalli Ahmed Kutti whose friend he was it is not worth the paper on which it is written as a defence and can only be regarded as a rather feeble attempt to throw suspicion on some of the evidence on record against him. Considering that of the five witnesses who depose to having seen the prisoner in the gang only two are Hindus, while the other three are his fellow-castemen, the plea of enmity is devoid of force. On the whole then the prisoner's own statement rather tends to increase the weight of evidence of his complicity in the outbreak.

9. The evidence recorded clearly establishes the guilt of the prisoner. That he also joined the fanatics on the 29th February is beyond all reasonable doubt. The question now is how is he to be dealt with. I have already shown (*vide* paragraph 91 of my report No. 47, dated 26th April 1896) that it is scarcely practicable and at all events inadvisable to prosecute him before a Criminal Court for his complicity in the outbreak. He cannot, however, be safely enlarged in this district. The only course open to us is to have him deported like the other prisoners under the Mappilla Outrages Act XX of 1859.

10. The prisoner, however, is suspected by the Police of complicity in another crime. As you are aware a big dacoity was committed in the house of one Mannân Nottan of Elankûr amsam, Ernad taluk, on the night of the 17th April last. This dacoity occurred during the period that the prisoner was in hiding in order to evade the execution of the warrant which was out for his arrest. He is suspected of having been concerned in that dacoity and investigations are being made by the Police with a view to collect evidence against him. So far it appears that little or no evidence is forthcoming and it seems highly probable that there will not be sufficient grounds to charge the man with dacoity. Should sufficient evidence be obtained during the next two or three weeks to procure his committal to the Sessions Court, he had better be allowed to stand his trial for dacoity before that Court. If acquitted, I recommend

that he be re-arrested at once and deported under Act XX of 1859. If convicted, I recommend that he be permanently deported under the latter Act after the expiration of the sentence imposed on him by the Sessions Court. If, on the other hand, the prisoner cannot be committed to the Sessions Court on the charge of dacoity, he should be deported permanently under the Mappilla Act.

11. The statements of the prisoner and of Kunhi Kuttan Nambiar are herewith submitted. The other statements referred to in this report have been sent to you already with my former reports.

From M. HAMMICK, Esq., Inspector-General of Police, to the Chief Secretary to Government, dated Ootacamund, 9th June 1896, No. 2281-A.

I have the honour to forward, for the information and orders of Government, Mr. Fawcett's final report on the recent Mappilla outbreak in Malabar.

2. Government will no doubt not wish me to add to its length. I received it yesterday afternoon and I am sending it to the press to-day, with orders to despatch it to Government from Madras as soon as possible. I have thought it not necessary to have the voluminous appendices printed as the report is complete in itself.

3. I generally concur in Mr. Fawcett's conclusions. I believe with him that we have to deal in the Mappilla difficulty not with simple ignorance, nor with discontent arising from poverty or agrarian oppression, but with a people saturated with a fanatical spirit which manifests itself, apparently from some obscure causes connected with heredity, more specially in some families than in others. This spirit no doubt finds its strength in the ignorance, backwardness and poverty which characterize the populations of the eastern portions of the two taluks of Ernad and Walavanad. I am entirely with Mr. Fawcett in his appeal for more roads, and more and better schools.

4. I agree with Mr. Fawcett's proposals as to new police stations and hope that Government will sanction them.

5. As regards the fines, with some hesitation I support Mr. Fawcett's view. I believe all the good that is intended to be done by these fines is, as a rule, neutralized by the long delay in their levy. I am not without some apprehension that the non-infliction of fines, this time, may produce a feeling that Government is afraid to inflict them, but upon the whole I think a change of policy is desirable. That an enormous amount of injustice is done, when fines are generally levied, is, I am convinced, certain.

6. As to the special rewards offered, I agree with Mr. Fawcett that in view of the work done, and the cheerful way it was done, some tangible mark of the appreciation of Government should be granted, but his recommendation of three months' pay for the Special Force and one-and-a-half month's pay for the Reserve is excessive. The Special Force has recently been granted an allowance, which should make the force popular. I venture to recommend a gratuity of two months' pay to the Special Force and one month's pay to the Reserve. The Police did most excellent work throughout and had more severe marching to do than has ever fallen to the lot of the Special Force hitherto. Mr. Walter, the Reserve Inspector, I will specially promote to the third-grade for the excellent work he turned out. As regards the other men mentioned by Mr. Fawcett I recommend the rewards named by him, viz. :—

	Rs.
No. 325 First-class Constable Krishnan Nair	50
Second-grade Head Constable Krishnan Nair	10
No. 933 First-class Constable Hyderman	5
Fourth-grade Head Constable No. 635 Achutan Nair	10

In the case of Cheykutti, Mr. Fawcett recommends that he be given a title of honour. I support his proposal. This Inspector has done most excellent work from the first. Well led he will do anything. His failing is timidity in dealing with his superiors, where he finds his want of education places him in difficulties. Mr. Fawcett understood how to get the best work from him and succeeded.

7. As to future wants Mr. Fawcett puts very clearly what he requires. As to *boots*, Mr. Cardew is trying now to turn us out a better article in Madras. I don't

think myself very expensive boots form a pressing requirement at present and I would wait and see what the jails can give us. Boots are a necessity on parade and occasionally on the march, but as a rule men won't wear them. As to *water bottles* I will find out if the men can keep those obtained from the Military Department. If not, I will ask Government to sanction the purchase of a sufficient number. They were of the greatest use.

Signalling is already taught in the Special Force and in view of the use made of it during the outbreak I support Mr. Fawcett's proposal to teach it in the Reserve. I consider, however, that signalling is unnecessary in some of the Reserves in the North, where Mr. Fawcett introduced it some years ago and I will ask the Deputy Inspector-General, Northern Range, whether he does not recommend its being given up there and submit definite proposals on hearing from him. For several reasons signalling is of little use in the North; in fact I believe since it was introduced into the Police there it has never been used off the drill ground.

In the matter of *clothing, kaki and serge*, I am entirely of Mr. Fawcett's opinion, and with the sanction of Government will make the changes he suggests.

I also support Mr. Fawcett's proposals as regards the supply of a small morning meal gratis to the men when out on outbreak duty. It will be far more economical to arrange for this than to keep up a permanent commissariat staff on however small a scale. If Government will sanction the permanent entertainment of twelve porters to carry ammunition, &c., when required, the efficiency of the force will be much increased. I do not think the allotment of ammunition need be increased. The men fire quite well enough for our purposes, and I am not in favour of altering the present rules as regards ammunition.

8. In conclusion, I venture again to favourably commend Mr. Fawcetts own work during the outbreak. He was energetically supported by Messrs. Wilkinson, Bidie and Cardozo, who all worked hard and cheerfully. Mr. Fawcett started with a determination to show that the Special Force was a body to be depended upon, and by his example and encouragement he managed to make all the Police under him work in a way that did them the greatest credit. I am under great obligation to Mr. Fawcett for his assistance, and I should be doing him an injustice did I not place this on record.

Enclosure.

From F. FAWCETT, Esq., Superintendent of Police, Malabar district, to the Inspector-General of Police, Madras, dated 5th June 1896, C. No. 1790-Genl.

You have had my reports No. 1-A, dated 16th March, and No. 1073, dated 25th March. I have now the honour to submit my final report as promised in the latter.

2. Since the destruction of the second gang on the 13th March, I have been engaged with the investigations, visiting the houses of the fanatics and scenes of all outrages, &c., until the 30th April. The investigation has been a lengthy one and it was impossible to begin my report before this.

Together with this report I send five appendices.

A.—A list of fanatics of the first gang and particulars of the circumstances of each individual. This has been placed at Mr. Winterbotham's disposal and his printed list differs little or nothing from it.

B.—A similar list, but in different form of the second gang. There being but seven in the gang it was not necessary to tabulate it as in the case of the first gang of 92.

C.—A list of outrages committed by the first gang in their regular order. You have had the course of the gang outlined in my report No. 1073; this is an exact account of each outrage.

D.—A list of outrages committed by the second gang in their regular order.

E.—A list of the fanatics of the first gang, names only, showing my numbers as against Mr. Winterbotham's numbers. My list was made out provisionally at the outset and corrected as the investigations proceeded; it was not until this was nearly concluded that I saw Mr. Winterbotham's list in which the numbers are different.

F.—Two Mappilla war songs.

The Appendices A to D are based on personal investigation. Assisted by Mr. Wilkinson, every house was visited and the house people examined, and I need scarcely say that great pains were taken to elicit truth and fact.

3. It would be satisfactory if that which is related about agrarian troubles could be emphasized by comparison with documentary evidence, as, for instance, in the reason for the murder of Raru Nayar (see Appendix C, page 2) — a matter which demands serious attention. If I am not mistaken, Mr. Winterbotham found it impracticable to effect this comparison. But let it not be assumed that the reason given by me for the murder is, without such comparison, not worthy of credence. Proof for it of another kind is to be had. There is the evidence of Raru Nayar's younger brother Kunjan *alias* Velu Nayar who said: "P. Moyutti and his brother's son, Uni Poker, had some lands adjoining the Tuvur mosque. They were evicted by the Melatur Adikari; *Moyutti's land was given to me, and Uni Poker's land was given to a Tiyan.* The Melatur Adikari had given Moyutti the land on which stands the Tuvur mosque and some land around it, but after some time all the land with the exception of the mosque land was taken back by the Adikari on civil suit. The civil suits were conducted by Raru Nayar who was the agent of the Adikari; and all the houses which now stand on the land about the mosque were built with the permission of Raru Nayar."

4. Then there is the fact that when the two parties which started out simultaneously on the 26th February and afterwards amalgamated and formed "the first gang," one of these parties, the *Tuvur party*, made straight for Raru Nayar's Kalam and killed him. The parties actually crossed each other's path. It would have been much nearer for the Chembrachery party to kill Raru Nayar and for the Tuvur party to go to the Nampezha Kalam; but they did not do this, and they crossed each other, the Tuvur party leaving Nampezha Kalam on the right hand and moving straight on to find Raru Nayar. When they found him they made short work of him. His nephew Krishnan was in the Kalam at the time but managed to escape; he returned to the Kalam soon afterwards and saw another party of twelve men, among them Kui Ahameduni, Musaliar Koya, and Paramil Poker, who lit a torch and looked at the body of Raru Nayar. That his death was in satisfaction of an old grudge there can be no doubt.

5. Eviction anywhere is bad enough, but eviction from land which had been looked on as almost the same as mosque land—which must be absolutely sacred: every Mappilla would die a thousand deaths before that could be taken away and a mosque interfered with—is taken much more to heart. How keenly it can be felt is illustrated in the following episode from which may be seen at the same time the absence of consideration which the wealthy of one creed may have for the poor of another. Ussan, a Mappilla tenant of the Trikaderi Nayar, held a little bit of land just outside the Tuvur mosque land; it was not enough for him and he begged for a bit, a small corner of the mosque land, in which was a small tank or pond used in connection with the mosque and therefore valued. (There must be water near a mosque.) It was given, but after some years the usual thing happened, he owed Rs. 50 to the Nayar and mortgaged the land to him in consideration of the debt and left the place. The Nayar knowing of course how hateful it would be to the Mappilla, put a family of Cherumars on the bit of mosque land mortgaged to him by Ussan. When relating the facts to me the tears came into their eyes while attempting to make me see how utterly abominable it was to them that Cherumans, Serfs, who carry pollution to the Nayar (so they think) from about 100 yards, should not only live on mosque land but command their water. It was felt to be fearful disgrace. It was well for the Trikaderi Nayar, a wealthy landlord, that Mr. Wilkinson with a section of the Special Force was within the Tuvur Adikari's doors where he was on the night of the 26th February, for had he not, most certainly he, rather a harsh landlord, as well as the Tuvur Adikari would have been murdered. In this instance, of course, they had but themselves to blame, for the land was given up by one of themselves; nevertheless it was felt to be a great grievance that anyone but a Mappilla could have anything to do with mosque land: so great that they could not speak of it without becoming almost frenzied.

II.

6. Turning now to the origin of the outbreak, leading up to prevention of its repetition, let me say first of all the matter is so wide that I scarcely dare to tackle it in the ordinary way of official report. However, as it is only by expression of opinions that there can be brought about any amelioration in the condition of the Mappillas, I will venture to give you mine on a few points, hoping thereby to induce adoption of reasonable means for cure of these outbreaks, which from time to time have upset the peace of Malabar, on which the strong steady current of our administration, which carries with it at any rate all that is subversive of law and order, has had no effect at all. They form the one exception in the Presidency. They go in fact against the current. In the last two outbreaks, within the last two years, be it not forgotten, there have been shot almost as many fanatics as in all former outbreaks put together. The only one which is really on the line with these last two is that of 1849 when 66 fanatics were shot. And it is noteworthy that the notorious leader in that, the famous Athen Kurikal, a great hero in song, was the uncle on the mother's side of the leader in this. (See Appendix A for Moidin Kutti Haji. His mother was Athen Kurikal's sister.) It is quite out of the question to put the finger here or there to point out the origin, much less the cause of the outbreak. We know that every cause has not one effect but a multiplicity of effects; and we know that every social phenomenon is the result direct and indirect of very many causes.

III.

7. It will be well to begin with the population question, for consideration of the law of population and fanaticism, to which we will come presently, and the existence of which is only too palpable, will make it clear that the Mappilla difficulty, far from receding in the distance, like the suttee and thugee, is really becoming more and more serious. Let it not be assumed for a moment that because 95 individuals have been shot (of whom but three survive) in March last, the severity of the lesson, for taking up arms against the Government, is such as to put all thoughts of recurrence out of the minds of others for many a long day. It is not so at all. The lesson is the severest that has yet been administered to those who wish to die in glory and fly to eternal bliss, but it would be wrong to say it is a *complete* lesson. We have here to do with people who are capable of assuming easily that condition of mind to which death is of all things most delightful—death under certain terms, that is.

IV.

8. In the decade ending in February 1891 the Hindus and others exclusive of Muhammadans in Malabar increased something under 8 per cent., while the Muhammadans increased something over 15 per cent. In 1881 the Mappillas were 50·8 per cent. of the population of Ernad, while in 1891 they were 53. It matters not how far the increase in the Mappilla population is due to births or conversions. Now there is not at my disposal sufficient data to dispose of the population question with anything like fulness; but I think I have enough to show that my view is not very far wrong.

9. The figures for the census, although no doubt as correct as it is possible to make them even for the remote parts of Ernad, do not suffice to show how that the Mappillas are rapidly overhauling the Hindus and others of the province in mere numbers, and the effect of this. Nor must the Mappillas of Ernad and Walavanad be confounded with their co-religionists on the coast, even with those of Ponnáni—the town and the southern portion of the taluk—and still less so with those of North Malabar. Nor do the figures showing increase of the Mappillas in Ernad give us very much assistance, for a considerable portion of the taluk is littoral; they do not show the changes in that part of Ernad which is most liable to outbreak.

10. We must try otherwise to ascertain something like the rate of multiplication of the Mappillas as compared with Hindus in the dangerous quarter, and what are the checks to population, for these have serious bearing on property and the rate of wages, to say nothing of going out to be a Shahid.

11. Making excerpts from my anthropological notes throughout Malabar I find that in eighteen cases, of all castes excluding Mappillas, including a Nambudri who had two wives and five children (reckoned as one case), including one case in which the

number of children was the exceptionally large number eight, and excluding those under twenty-two and those over that age recently married, the number of children in a family is 2·6. Again, among eight other cases of Nayars, whose average age was thirty-five, the average number of children is precisely the same. Among ten cases of Nambudri Brahmins the number is three; as might be expected, it would be a little higher. I am inclined to think that this number 2·6 for Hindus, is not far wrong. It must be remembered that a large portion of the people of Malabar are really not in any sense of the word, by race or religion, Hindus though classed so and are not governed by any customs which restrict the number of children. We shall see presently that among the Mappillas, or rather that class of Mappillas inhabiting the centre and East of Ernad, that the rate of increase is much more rapid than among Nayars. Something must therefore be said by way of explaining why is there any difference. Whether as in the case of Nayars the positive or preventive checks to population which according to the irrefragable law discovered by Mr. Malthus *must* vary inversely as each other, prevail most, I am unable to say with any certainty. Nor can I say whether the check is through that common custom alluded to by the senior Anandiravan of the Padinjara Kovilagam when examined by the Marriage Commission: "It has been ordained by Parasu Rama that in Kerala, Marumakkattayam women need not be chaste, and that the non-observance of chastity should entail no evil;" and which some people think is equal to worship of the goddess Lubricity. Of course if this obtains commonly, as appears to be the case, it would seem to be a very positive check. But whatever the reason may be I do not think I am wrong in saying the average number of children in a Nayar family is not more than three. One man who had eight children admitted that the number was abnormal; but he had actually heard once of a man who had eleven. Such a number among Mappillas would be by no means abnormal. It is likely that in the case of Nayars the check is an easy and natural one as suggested. It has a natural physical basis. It is not likely that many preventive checks prevail, for after all, among Marumakkattayam people, the more people in the Tarwad the better. A Tarwad is never prosperous unless it is a large one. There is this one however. A Nayar is seldom married until he is twenty-five; an age at which a Mappilla has a growing family. Among the Makkathayam people the case is quite different. Property descends directly from father to son and may be split up easily. While the Marumakkattayam system tends always towards betterment, aggrandizement, the tending of the other is just the reverse unless something is done to counteract it, for primogenitiveness, majorat or minorat do not exist in the Presidency. We shall see now that with the Mappillas it brings about dissipation of property. In North Malabar the Mappillas as well as almost all others follow the Marumakkattayam. There is no such thing as real poverty. Scarcely any portion of the earth's surface and its people is so well favoured. Not much fear of Mappilla troubles there. We will put it out of count.

12. In South Malabar practically all outside the Nayar community follow Makkathayam. It is therefore not surprising that there we find such an arrangement, for retaining property in the family as polyandry—pace the Hon'ble Mr. Sankara Nayar, who in his speech in Council has said "as to polyandry it has died out, and as to polygamy it is acknowledged to prevail but seldom." Neither one nor the other has died out. Polyandry obtains among all the castes below the Nayars, and a marriage with two or three or four brothers is better than a marriage with one. The number of children born to inherit property is restricted by this frugal custom. Another custom of the kind is that which we find amongst the Nambudris, of whom eldest sons only marry and inherit property. Thus family property is not dispersed, and the Nambudris are all *rich*.

13. Now while in South Malabar (excluding Mappillas) population is restricted in one way or another which has no unpleasant effect, among the Mappillas it is checked by that which has most unpleasant effects—poverty, misery—positive checks.

14. Taking the members of the first gang we find that the average number of children in each family in which each one of the fanatics was born is 5·8. That is, each fanatic was born in a family in which the average number of children, including himself and brothers and sisters alive or dead, was 5·8. A large number anywhere, but very large when compared with that of the average for Malabar—say three. With

very rare exceptions every individual Mappilla is married in his teens and by the time he arrives at the age when the Nayar marries, he has several children. Of course in the absence of easy checks to population the large number of children is bound to be reduced by severe checks; it must be, there is no alternative. For instance, in ten families of the fanatics there were born 89 children, the average, nearly 9, is enormous; but of the total number only 46, or 51·7 per cent. are now alive, the others having been swept away, chiefly by poverty and its attendant misery in one form or another.

15. Indeed, the Mappillas in Ernad illustrate most painfully how that men multiply in geometrical progression, while provisions multiply in arithmetical progression. That which increases as 1, 2, 4, 8, 16, 32, 64, 128 is kept back by that which increases only as 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8. Following the dictates of their creed as felt by them they endeavour to bring into the world as many children as ever they can. If a man is well-to-do, he has more than one wife at a time, but no matter how poor he is he always has a wife—if one dies he has another at once—from the age of 18 to his death. The superabundant population is pressed out of existence by some form or another of misery. The law is as certain as gravitation. The mode of destruction is of course uncertain; it is the thing itself which is certain and not to be avoided.

It has been said that "the question whether the condition of a people at any given time be improving or deteriorating * * * depends on whether improvement be increasing faster than population, or population than improvement."

We have seen how that, under the inexorable law of population, the Mappilla is born to more than the ordinary share of trouble. We will now see whether his improvement is *pari passu* with his increase—whether it is sufficient to meet it.

Among the Hindus of Malabar everything in the way of marital arrangements and inheritance makes for maintenance of the Tarwad. It must be preserved at all costs. The Tarwad, and not the individual, is the unit which must be preserved. That it suits Malabaris is obvious if for no other reason than that it is a popular institution, not framed by any cunning law giver, but grown naturally as all customs regulating life grow; and many of the Tarawads are very old indeed. How suited to the people it is seen by the Mappillas of North Malabar retaining the Marummakkatayam law of inheritance, while otherwise remaining strict Muhammadans. Now while among the Hindus everything goes towards retaining property in the family, among the Mappillas it is exactly the other way. Strong in their religion the Mappillas of Ernad will not depart a hair's breadth from the Muhammadan law under which on a man's death his property is divided. Sons get an equal share. A widow if she has sons gets one-eighth of the whole. A widow without sons gets one-sixth of the whole. Girls get half of the boy's share. Say a man was so exceptionally rich as to be worth Rs. 5,000 at his death. He leaves two widows—one with children, one without—, four daughters and six sons. The shares of each would be roughly,

Rs. 833 for one widow,	Rs. 221 for each daughter,
„ 625 for the other,	„ 442 for each son.

16. It is out of the question for any people to prosper while property is divided at this rate. The division may seem far fetched—the number of children too large. But it is not so. There are among the families of the first gang (not 92 families but about 50) 29 in which the number of children averaged 8·9 and of these 29 there are 9 families in which the number of children was *over 10*. In four cases there were 12 children and in one case 13. This is tremendous! Given this enormous increase in population and the sub-division of property the resultant misery is terrible to contemplate. Of course, it is only too often that the father having a large number of children with not a rupee to be divided among them, the children are thrown on the world in complete destitution to aggravate the misery—which is the worst thing of all. It will be seen in appendix A how that in one family the father's hut was put up for sale in order to pay for the funeral. It was worth nothing and none would buy; and the only available way in which it was possible to raise the Rs. 3 was by evacuating the hut and getting the value for two jack trees in the compound. The materials of the hut, worthless in an ordinary way, were carried a mile to erect a small hut in the forest.

17. Of course the property left for division is never in rupees. It is in land, cattle and farm-gear and a house. The land is not jenmam property, but on kânom—seldom, or on simple lease (Virampatom)—as is usual, and may be taken away by the landlord practically at any time. But we will not consider at present the insecurity of tenure, and imagine for the present that it is quite secure, which it is not unfortunately. A man here and there has managed to acquire land and property of one kind or other, but the moment he dies the sub-division is so great that the property is doomed. It *always* happens. We know the bad effect which the sub-division of land into small bits has had on agriculture in Europe and how that Governments in Germany had to interfere again and again to prevent it. Bad effect on States too. But for the sub-division of Saxony among seven sons in the seventeenth century Saxony and not Prussia—which adopted primogeniture in time—would be the head of the German Empire. The same law applies to the Mappillas, and illustrations of its effects are to be found in the appendices. As I went about the country I met every where the same story precisely, wherever the family was not one of hereditary paupers. The father or grandfather had some property; was moderately well off and brought up his family in sufficient comfort. He died, the property was divided. Small sub-divisions of land each too small to support a family could not be made productive to keep pace with the need—and to say nothing of disputes; rent fell in arrears, and if it happened to be on kânom or mortgage, it very soon happened that the mortgage money was kept by the landlord for arrears of rent; and if not evicted they were at last thankful to hold the land on simple lease at an enormously increased rent. This too did not last long, for rent fell in arrears and eviction altogether followed. Then poverty and hand-to-mouth existence. In rare cases where there is jenmam land there is a phase preceding these in which debts accrue rapidly, and the land is soon in the hands of some one else on mortgage; and, of course, its recovery is quite impossible.

18. In other parts of the world, in France and in parts of Germany, sub-division of property obtains; but in these places care is taken to use the preventive checks, so that a family is never—with very rare exceptions—more than three. The average is about two, the population is stationary. They know too well what would happen if they produced numberless children and therefore prevent indiscreet multiplication. But the Mappillas do not do this. They do their best to multiply and spread their creed in population, and then they follow the law of sub-division. The most capable race of the world could never do these and prosper.

19. It may be said, of course, that the misery, which is a check to the Mappilla population through over-production and sub-division of property, does not obtain in other Muhammadan countries or even in India among the people of that faith. The population of Turkey increases at a slower rate than elsewhere in Europe. But it will be of no use to cite other countries or Indian Muhammadans unless the preventive and positive checks to population are examined carefully in each case. Moreover the crossing of races and the effect thereof on prolificness has to be considered. The effect of some crosses produces speedily sterility or something very like it. The Dutch-Javan mestizos are said in the third generation to yield only females and these sterile. But it is not all so among the Mappillas of Ernad who are a very mixed race, and clearly it is a mixed race in which the rate of multiplication is exceptionally rapid. But for the checks through misery they would double their number about every twenty years. Think of it!

20. Nearly every family of the fanatics of Chembrachery and Tuvur amshoms have immigrated recently from the west and south-west owing to the overflow of population; and not only the fanatics but every other family in the locality. If the individual himself did not come from Pandikat or Nenmeni or thereabout his father did; if not, his grandfather. It is this overflow of population which has populated this eastern portion of Ernad with Mappillas; the population is almost exclusively Mappilla. For the same reason that the northern races of Europe overran the south and west, has the forest and the wild beast been driven back towards the hills, the deadly fever fought against and the land made arable. All the valuable wet land within some miles of high hills has been opened out within seventeen years at the most; much of it quite recently. The tract is very feverish and nearly every one in it is very much the worse for the climatic effects. But it is not the Mappillas who possess this land although one would think they should. No. It is all in the

ownership of Hindus. It has been acquired in this way which is still the vogue. A Mappilla driven from his home in the west by force of circumstances wishes to try and open out forest land for paddy. He has no money, so goes to a someone who has and obtains a loan under certain conditions. He opens part of the land: cannot manage to do the whole for the fever is dreadful and one of his two bullocks has been lost or carried off by a tiger. The landlord presses for payment before payment could in reason be made, and presently there is a suit, the Mappilla who has opened the land loses it, and the landlord has secured some valuable property as his own jenmam right *for nothing at all*, except perhaps the interest on his money. I beg you to look at the case of No. 83 in my list, appendix A. It is a typical case. The Maranath Nambudri has had 200 *paras* of wet land (33½ acres) opened out and it has become his own, for no expenditure, purchase or labour on his part. It is in this way that jenmam rights have been acquired in the locality. It may be thought I exaggerate. But I was not satisfied with the Mappilla's account of the usual way in which ownership of property is acquired by the Hindu landlord and how it is lost by the Mappilla who really acquires it, and so tackled the Maranath Nambudripad himself, the richest and most powerful landlord all around. His story was precisely the same. Forest, which to-day has no claimant, is in a very short time parcelled out, the boundaries where this man's boundary and that man's are, being marked and known to a nicety.

21. It will be seen that the overflow of Mappillas from the west to the east of Ernad, although produced under strong pressure, has brought about no amelioration in the condition of the immigrants. And so it must be always. Even where a man has succeeded in opening out land and managed to retain it, and there are a few cases, the property is not retained long in the family. Minute sub-division makes this impossible; the kânom is soon lost, then there is simple lease at a high rent, and then eviction. So long as population increases as at present and property is sub-divided, this must be the story of the race. I may say that for the sake of 83's wretched widows and children, I asked the Maranath Nambudripad to give back the documents referred to in the appendix, and he promised to do so, provided the man who purchased the right from 83 noted in the document, that the money he would pay—repayment of the debt contracted originally by 83—was in satisfaction of the original debt. This purchaser is a creature of the Nambudripad's. Of course, if he does not settle it thus, he will be able to hold the document over the widows and seize every anna they may ever acquire to the end of their life. The law is only free *nominally*. The women could never force the Nambudripad to return the document by law. It is absurd to think of it. Meanwhile, the Nambudripad has had, as if made a present to him, 33½ acres of wet land. A few years ago he never saw or heard of the land. Now he is the absolute owner; and it has cost him *nothing*. He gets the full original loan back from the man who bought the right from 83.

22. It will be *apropos* to introduce here the story of Pattikâdu Srajudîn, who is mentioned by the Special Assistant Magistrate in his report, where he says it is likely the Maranath Nambudri's place would in all probability have been attacked, but that Srajudîn's sons were not in the gang. It illustrates something of the insecurity of tenure and tells of Srajudîn's affairs, and why his sons *might* have joined and murdered the Nambudri which have not, I think, been more than alluded to elsewhere. Srajudîn held 10 *paras* of wet land (nearly 2 acres) about 50 years ago and opened down 20 *paras*. The whole was held on kânom, the value of which was 71 fanams and the annual rent was 66½ *paras* of paddy (about Rs. 22). So Srajudîn held the land for 30 years. The Maranath Nambudri then sprung a suit on him for eviction. Compensation fixed at Rs. 550 by the court was not paid to Srajudîn, but kept by the Nambudripad on security—while letting Srajudîn have the land on simple lease at a rent of 100 *paras* of paddy a year (Rs. 32½). Rent fell in arrears and Srajudîn was evicted receiving (?) the compensation money *minus* the arrears of rent. Whether this was paid is doubtful. Srajudîn said it was never paid to him. The Nambudripad *promised* to pay when he got a receipt, but he got the receipt and never paid; and I am inclined to believe him and not the Nambudripad's people. After this the land was mortgaged to Srajudîn, and he held it for four or five years under arrangement; but rent fell in arrears and he was evicted in 1894, when the land was given to another at a very much higher rate. Srajudîn is now a very old man. He has

three sons. He lives with his wife in a small hut on a bit of the land from which he was evicted, and his sons support him by cooly work. The eviction is felt keenly.

23. The population question cannot be left without saying something on the rate of wages in the eastern portion of Ernad. As Mr. Mill says "Wages depend on the ratio between capital and population." They can depend on nothing else. The rate of wages for a man in the locality under consideration is three *edengalis* of paddy a day, worth now one anna and six pies. Work is not obtainable every day. If it were, the amount is just barely enough to keep body and soul together. What is the result when a man has half-a-dozen children? They must die off. That is all. How is it possible for such people to be otherwise than wretched!

We come to communications by-and-by, but I may say here that, owing to the absence of these, the Mappillas thereabout are almost in the same state as if on an island; for there is no outlet, and meanwhile there is the enormous yearly increment of population. This must be borne in mind before all things, while considering the Mappilla question in a reasonable manner.

24. I will not delay you by saying much on the insecurity of tenure. It is itself a large subject. Any inquiry that is made in the matter—should it be done—will be of no manner of use if done in the usual formal style, examining all the rich landlords, the documents in the registrar's office and in the civil courts. The most careful inquiries might be made thus, and the inquirer as wise at the end as he was at the beginning. The landlords always told me that such a thing as eviction was never heard of. The documents may be of great use for purposes of comparison and check, but alone they will not reveal the truth. It is only by patient inquiry among the people in their homes, as well as using the other means, that the actual facts may be revealed.

25. Increase of population does not tend towards more equal distribution of property; conversely it tends towards aggregation of capital in the hands of the few. Painful examples of this are only too plain in England at the present moment. The pithy saying "To him that hath, it shall be given" is more obvious in its truth to-day than ever it was. Money means power; and a corollary of the tendency is that the poor are more and more at the mercy of the rich.

Writing in 1800, that wonderful observer and collator of facts, Dr. Buchanan says regarding kânom tenure: "Proprietors always have a right of resuming the estate when they pleased by paying up the sum originally advanced * * *. The fact is, however, that this right of redemption was rarely exercised by the Nambudris and from the existing bonds it is known that the same family for many generations has continued to hold estates in mortgage." There have been changes in respect of tenures since this was written. The Melcharth trouble has not affected the outbreak locality very much, but that the courts have been used to bring pressure on tenants by methods scarcely consistent with equity there can be, I think, little doubt. But I cannot digress to consider this side of the question and will leave it with the same remark as that of Dr. Buchanan—the arrangement of tenures is very bad indeed for agriculture; and it is a very bad one indeed where the tenants are overcrowding fanatical Mappillas. If it has not come to your notice I beg to refer you to Sir T. Madhava Row's admirable pamphlet on land tenures in Travancore, under date 11th June 1867. I would like to say something of it here, but must pass on now to *fanaticism*. Before doing so, I may as well note here the following figures:—

First Gang.

Average number of wives that the father of each fanatic had ..	1·5	
Do. age of the fanatics in the gang	24	years.
Do. age of those (there are 43) who are *above* the average: the mean above	30·1	„
Do. age of those (there are 49) who are *below* the average: the mean below	18·7	„
Do. number of children to each fanatic's father	5·8	
Total number of widows owing to fanatics having been shot (does not include divorced: 36 were not married)	60	
Total number of orphan children left by the gang and were entirely dependent on parents	84	

26. The last does not include *all* children, those who are earning their own living in the case of boys or of girls who have been married. It shows merely that so many

small children are thrown on the world with no visible means of support; widows too, with very few exceptions. Nor does it show the number of children, brothers and sisters of fanatics who were dependent on those shot. In the case of 54, for instance, he was the main stay of the family which consisted of a mother-in-law and eight brothers and sisters, all young, the eldest, and the only one, of an age to work unable to do so owing to constitutional feebleness. The figures give some indication of how that the misery has been aggravated through the destruction of the gang.

Average age of the second gang .. .. 27 years.

V.

27. We are now prepared somewhat to understand how it is that the Mappilla community, struggling hard in the Sisyphean labour to live, for ever being thrown back like the ripples on the beach, may well become dangerous if animated by genuine fanaticism. Nearly all our criminals throughout Malabar are Mappillas. Exceptions are few. And I am afraid that some share of crime in other districts too is due to Mappillas of Malabar. The phenomenon is accounted for in the circumstances detailed in the last section—overcrowding of population and sub-division of property. It is not that they indulge in crime for pure love for it, as in the case of the Kallans and Maravans; they are not *born* depredators as these are—as a class, of course, for there are born criminals in every race and class of life.

We cannot put away Professor Lambroso altogether! The inference is that the Mappillas, as a class, do not exactly sit quiet and suffer under the bonds of circumstances which are too strong for them. I am afraid you will deem me tedious and discursive, but I must ask for the favour of your patience yet a while; we must proceed etiologically if we would deal properly with the Mappilla difficulty.

28. When a civilized community such as that in Liverpool adopts Islam as a creed there is no great change brought into the ordinary course of life. The Rev. Dr. Val de Remo told us at the Congress of Orientalists in London, 1891, how that Mahomet's Paradise was no more materialistic than that of the Christians as described in the Book of Revelations; it was purely spiritual, but clothed in language the every-day interpretation of which, and not the poetic inference, was accepted. Montaigne had the same idea. Whether the civilized entering Islam adopt the exalted interpretation and which is said to have been Mahomet's meaning or whether, as is usual, religion has really very little hold on life on the most civilized peoples in the towns, the fact remains that they do not feel bound to go out, become Shahîds and kill all those whose persuasion is not theirs. If the Town Councillors of Liverpool decided to-morrow that such a thing as a mosque should not lift its minarets in their midst, and that it should be destroyed for a temple of Rimmon, there would be no blood-shed. There would be letters in the Mercury, some talk and violent language; but no one would go out and die for it. If their attitude is prosaic, it is sensible. We have come to allowing without demur our oldest and most hallowed churches in the City being knocked down and graveyards of the unhonoured dead being turned into play grounds for making healthier an already over-teeming population. Far more interest is taken in the temples at Philae.

29. Contrasting the attitude of the civilized followers of Islam with those who are more or less uncivilized, if the shrine at Mambram or the Malapuram mosque were to be destroyed to-morrow by order of Government, there is hardly a Mappilla in Malabar who would not give his life to avenge the disgrace to his pearl-like faith. There would be blood and blood and blood. The most insignificant shrine, a way side mosque, even though no better or larger in structure than a hen house, cannot be moved without much blood being shed. Why is this? When a Hindu temple is desecrated and made abominable by a handful of Mappillas no one raises a hand to avenge the insult to the religion. Nor will those of that creed stand up to save their temple. The gods or goddesses, Siva or Bhagavathi, must look after themselves in these ebullitions of excitement. If their shrine is made a place for filth or even for the slaughter of the sacred cow, they must look on with equanimity. All that is looked for is ceremonies which will make it just as sanctified as ever it was and the disgrace is swallowed. Why is this? The people are much the same in blood. Not in Ernad but in other parts of Malabar they are quite the same in blood. If the difference is not to be found in the blood it is to be found in the creed. During the

Soudan war we had unmistakeable evidence of the extraordinary influence which Islamism has on the lower and uncivilized races. What made the immortal "Fuzzy Wuzzy" of Kipling's ballad such a "first-rate fighting man"? Really, nothing but the effect of Islam on his receptive nature. It is a creed which as if by magic turns the submissive into heroes. We have evidence of this here. The Cherumans and Kanakans, inferior races, serfs, in Malabar are submissive to the last degree; in their lives they are the most harmless of beings exemplifying many of the virtues which are supposed to be exclusively Christian, and always in peace. But let one of these adopt Islam, and many do yearly, and he is changed altogether. The psychic effect is marvellous. The youth who was shot through the spleen in the outbreak of 1894 while charging at the troops, now in Madras, I believe, was a Cheruman converted not long before. Many instances of these are to be had; but I will only say that the Mussaliar Kochi Koya, the chief instrument in the late insurrection, was a converted Cheruman (not altogether one by blood: not *pure* Cheruman blood. There is a strong strain of the Mappilla in him); and that two of those who were shot the other day were also converted Cherumans. One of these was converted only when he joined the gang at Pandalur the evening before he was shot. The man himself—he was wounded and has recovered—now tries to make out that he was *forced* to join; but this is untrue, for not only does another of the gang, Manavalan Moidin, say he joined willingly, but there is evidence of the conversion ceremony; and better still, his own wife and mother (I was the first to examine them) said they would on no account have anything to do with him if he were released, *because he became a Mappilla of his own free will.* He must have joined of his own accord. The place where he was working was a long way out of the path of the gang and he must have deliberately joined. So it is with Tiens and others who joined the Mappilla faith, but *the effect on those of the lowest races is the strongest.* Those parts where the element of danger is greatest are where the people are most allied in blood to the lowest races. The most dangerous criminals, the worst dacoits are also to be found amongst this mixture. In North Malabar about Nadapuram the whole community of a good class of Nayars was turned wholesale into Mappillas during the troubles through Tippu Sultan, but no more peaceable people are in the province. The effect on the lower races and the mixture with the lower races is altogether different. If you want to know how the Cheruman is distinguished from the higher races, I may say he is shorter, being barely 5 feet 2 inches in stature (the average for the North Malabar Tien is almost exactly 5 feet 5 inches, while the Nayar is taller), much darker in colour, his nose is broader, and his cranial capacity is much smaller: his head length is about 18·2 c.m. and the width about 13·6. Compare this with the Nambudri 19·2 and 14·6.

30. Now the hold which Islam has fixed on this mixture with the lower races is very strong indeed. The foreign or Arab blood in the Mappilla in the east of Ernad is very slight indeed, if at all existent. I doubt its existence. Following M. Broca's method of indicating the racial position of mongrels or mestizos, if there has been foreign blood it has been eliminated long ago. True there are individuals with unmistakeable Arab blood, in their veins, but, as a rule, these are not the dangerous ones. I feel confident in saying that the fanatics shot on the 1st March were chiefly of this mixture with the lower races. My opinion is based on observation only; but then I have examined anthropologically some 500 odd persons in Malabar and most of the lower races.

31. In appendix F you will find two Mappilla war songs such as are sung everywhere, and which do much to keep going that form of Islamism which is strongly fanatic. How much stronger force on life and the Government and use of life there is in songs which stir the heart of a people to the core and makes the heart strings to thrill than in laws however skilfully wrought we know well. No people in the Madras Presidency sing songs of this kind as do the Mappillas. In the Ceded Districts heroes are perpetuated in rude bass relief on stones, but not one in fifty knows the story of the hero, and the story as told is more or less forgotten; the interest is gone. Not so among the Mappillas. You cannot read the songs I am sending you without feeling the terrible strength of the spirit which animates them. Curiously enough the poet, now dead, belonged to Kondotty. The Kondotty faction of Mappillas has been always quiet. Strange that one of that faction should so inflame the other. One is about a great fight at Malapuram when the mosque was threatened and eventually burnt and the other is about the battle of Bedr. The former I picked up in Malapuram seven years ago,

took it to England with other folklore curios and brought it back. The latter I found stained with blood on the person of one of the fanatics after the shooting at Manjéri. It bears a remarkable superscription. But I will say something of the other one first, because it contains an excellent description of those ideals which excite the heart of every Mappilla.

32. It begins, of course, extolling Mahomet, and tells how the king of Damascus was convinced of the truth of his mission to men when the prophet made the moon rise at the wrong time, ascend to the zenith, divide, and each half pass through the sleeves of his coat. Then follows a version of the tale of Joseph and Potiphar's wife, itself founded on an older Egyptian story. Regardless as Shakespear for chronology, the poet tells how Islam was brought to Kerala and eventually a grand mosque was built at Malapuram. An odd absurdity is that the Perumal is compelled to do the *Haj* while Mahomet was alive. Of course, Mahomet was dead more than 200 years before Islam came to Malabar or the Perumal went to Arabia. The Mappillas offer to do anything, to give anything, to submit in every way that may be desired so far as regards themselves, their way of life, they will make any vicarious sacrifice so far as they are concerned. But as for touching the mosque! Never! They will not allow even a minute atom of the cadjan roofing to be burnt, although by doing so they can save their lives. There is a handful of men against thousands; but they will fight to the death and they are glad of the opportunity.

"The soul in our body is in the hands of God. Can we live for ever in this world? Must we not die once? Everything will die but God alone will not. Such being the commandment of God we will have no excuse when we are brought before him after death; so determine earnestly to fight and die. If we die fighting with the wicked men who attempt forcibly to burn this holy mosque, which is the house of God, we shall obtain complete salvation." The occasion to fight and die for the faith is then likened unto a vessel which has come to bear the faithful to the shores of bliss. They are invited to embark. How well for them that such a vessel has come for them! It will bear them to the broad gates of heaven. "Is it not for the arrival of a such a vessel (*sic*) that we should pray"! * * * "The pleasures of wealth or family are not equal to an atom of celestial happiness." Of course, those who embark in the vessel (seize an occasion to fight and die) will soon be in bliss for ever. "Our most Venerable Prophet has said that those who die in battle can see the *houris* who will come to witness the fight. There is nothing in this world to compare with the beauty of the *houris*. The splendour of the sun, of the moon, and of the lightning is darkness compared with the beauty of their hair which hangs over their shoulders. Their cheeks, eyes, face, eyebrows, forehead, head are incomparably lovely. Their mouths are like corals of gold; their teeth like the seeds of the Thalimathalam; their breasts are like cups of gold, the pomegranate, or like beautiful flowers. It is not possible for the mind to conceive the loveliness of their breasts and shoulders. * * * If they spit in the sea, the salt water becomes like honey, and is fragrant as attar. If they were to come down to this earth and smile, the sun, moon and stars would be eclipsed. Mortals would die if they but heard the music of their voice (Lore-lei!). When they wear red silk bordered with green lace of seventy folds, their skin, muscles and bones can be seen through. Such is the splendour of their body. If they clap their hands the clash of their jewels will be heard at a distance of 500 years' journey. They clap their hands and dance and sing as they come like swans to the battle field. If a human being were to see their beauty, their dance or their smile, he would die on the spot. Gently they touch the wounds of those who die in battle, they rub away the blood and cure the pain, they kiss and embrace the martyrs; give them to drink of the sweet water of heaven and gratify their every wish. A horse caparisoned with carpet set with precious stones will be brought and a voice will say 'Let my men mount; let them dance with the celestial houris.' Then the celestial coverings will be placed on their heads, they mount the beautiful horses which will dance and leap and take them to heaven, where they will live in unbounded joy."

"Such is the fate that awaits those who die fighting bravely. At the dissolution of the world they will be sped like lightning over the bridge across hell. In heaven they will attend the marriage of Mahomet. They will be decorated with bunches of pearls and crowns of gold; they will be seated on the tusk of Mahomet's elephant

and enjoy supreme happiness. It is impossible to describe the pleasures which await those who die fighting bravely without flinching. All their sins will be forgiven and God will listen to all their prayers."

Far otherwise is it with the coward. "All his virtuous actions are ignored. He incurs the wrath of God. He will be written down as a renegade in the book of God. His prayers are vain. He will die a sinner and be thrown into hell where fresh kinds of torture will be given him. In hell are countless myriads of scorpions, snakes, worms and frightful dragons. It is a pit of everlasting fire." The pleasures of heaven and the pains of hell have been revealed to Mahomet "who in his turn taught his disciples. It is the learned Musaliars who now hold this knowledge."

33. These extracts tell of the beliefs and feelings which possess every Mappilla so strongly that nothing can change them, much less eradicate them. But let it not be supposed that these feelings are purely sensual and erotic. The test of the standard of a religion is found in the amount of its effect on what is understood as morality; and there is no doubt that the Mappillas' version of Islam has strong effect on his life. He gains martyrdom and its glorious consequences through following the commands of God and the Prophet to the end.

34. The author of this poem was one Alungal Kandi Môyankutti Vâidiâr. His grandfather was a Hindu, a vêlan or medicine man, converted to Islam and called Uni Mammad Vâidiâr. The profession of the family was medicine; hence Vâidiâr, a term which is synonymous with vêlan. The poet died three years ago at the age of 45. His father is living and owns 10 *paras* of land (1⅓ acres)—a gift from the Kondotti Thangal. His poems are very popular and written as all Mappilla songs are, in the Arabic character, composed in a mixture of Arabic, Hindustani, Malayalam, Tamil, Telugu, and other languages. He was a good Tamil scholar too. Among his most popular poems are—

(1) Jin Pâta (of a battle between the Prophet and the Genii).
(2) Salikkath (of a battle between the Prophet and the Queen of Khorassan).
(3) Hussan Jamali Bardal Muni (a love tale).
(4) Badr Battle Song (of a battle between the Koreish Chief, Abu Jahil and the Prophet).
(5) Vahad (the second battle between the Prophet and the Koreish).
(6) Song of the Malappuram Shâhîds (given above, written seven years ago).
(7) Hejjra (song of the flight of Mahomet to Medina).

35. Now for the song of the Battle of Badr.—"This song was printed on Friday 22nd of the month Rahil Ahar, Hejjra year 1311 (this is 1313) in the Pandisala (godowns) of Padari Akath Kunhamed Kutti of Ponnâni in the printing press called Karakal Sayid Ali Madahara Mahimat of Tellicherry. This book was written by Kondotti Mele Angadi Ottupára Kuzhiyil Alungal Kandi Moyen Kutti Vâidiâr. The copyright has been transferred to me—Nalla Vêtil Kakkaden Kandi Pokku of Tellicherry. Printed by one Pokku, in the printing press named Malabath-ul-Holuma in Ponnâni town. If any one prints this without my permission he will be liable for damages."

The song has already gone through three editions of 1,000 each. The blood-stained copy found by me in the Manjéri temple is inscribed thus:—

"This book belongs to Kunholen's son Vîran. At 3 o'clock in the evening on Friday, 14th Shabah month, Hejjra 1313 (*i.e.*, 31st January 1896), we went to the mosque, performed Nîrcha (vow), ate in Kunhu's house and prayed to God. We resigned our body to God. Oh Lord of Mercy! Thou art the most merciful!

4	9	2
3	5	7
8	1	6

I wrote."

N.B.—The talisman scrawled in ink is not correct. It should add up 15 in any direction.

As a copy of the song is enclosed I will not quote much of it here. It is the Angel Gabriel who tells the Prophet that bliss awaits those who die fighting against the infidel. The Prophet tells his followers how they are to gain paradise and be met by the houris, whose eyes are like the waxing moon, whose cheeks are like the young plantains' leaves, who are soft as the petals of the young shoe flower.

His imagery here is not quite so happy, for the necks of the houris when they walk "wave to and fro like the neck of a rutting elephant. But their breast is like a lake whereon are lotus flowers and they are always 16 years old and very lustful. They come like sporting elephants to bear away those who die in battle and strive with each other saying 'I will take him—I will take him.' The Prophet swore to his army that such happiness would be theirs if they died fighting bravely."

Omar was eating dates; when he heard this he cast them away. The Prophet asked, why? He replied that he wished to waste no time eating dates. "I wish to use my time for fighting, and so saying he rushed like a lion among a flock of sheep, killed many and died fighting; he met with the death that he wished for." It tells how the father fights against his son, for the faith is stronger than the bond of blood.

And so it goes on. These poems must be read if the Mappilla is to be understoood.

The Battle of Badr was fought on the 17th day of Ramzan, the day on which the Mappilla fanatics wished, no doubt, to make their stand and die. Luck, and thanks to our knowledge of the district, and the capacity of the troops and of the special force were able to prevent this. They had really no alternative but to make their stand on the 16th Ramzan—1st March. A most important point was thus gained. Who Vîran, the son of Kunholan, is I have not yet discovered, but hope to be able to do so. No Vîran was shot. There was a Vîran Kutti. What is important about the superscription is that until it was made out, not a word was ever heard or mentioned about such a thing as a deliberate religious act, a vow, and giving up the body to God. It opens out quite a new subject for inquiry. I did not know of it until after my return to Calicut on the 30th April when I took the book with me for translation which the Head-quarter Inspector Mr. T. K. Kannan, B.A., has done most creditably. I do not however think it possible to delve out the truth. My inquiry was most carefully made and always directed towards tracing the religious element in the affair, but nothing has turned out. There was no divorcing of wives, and, beyond that Kiri Ahamaduni obtained his father's blessing, it is not known that any one was blessed. But here we find that there was a deliberate forsaking of the world on the part of some of them: a giving up the body to God. Fanatics, religious enthusiasts, had as early as the 31st January, or 26 days before the first mention of the outbreak was made public, deliberately assigned their bodies to God. This helps to blow aside any theory that the men went out *because* the Police arrested the Musaliar.

36. Harking back to our subject it is undeniable that the Mappilla is exceedingly impressionable and emotional. He holds the tenets and beliefs of his faith with the very strongest tenacity. The Salvation Army man who invites his brethren to embark to the shores of kingdom come, chiding those who hesitate, has not the smallest notion of embarking himself until he is compelled to. He is not so strongly affected by the reality of what he sings about as to possess the slightest inclination to be off at once to the meeting at the river when the path is death. The *reality* of the unseen, or that which lies in the animism, is much stronger in the lower races than it is in the higher. I shall never forget the look of a Sourah when I asked him how he knew a certain spirit had given him fever. To the Mappilla, the pleasures of heaven which await those who die fighting are not a far off and indistinct vision, or as with many people what they believe; they believe it is not this but something which impresses his whole being; it is altogether real; so real that he can meet death without flinching. It would be hard to find anywhere an instance of such an extraordinary contempt for life, such wonderful courage—fanatic it is true—as was seen on Manjeri temple on the 1st March last. The cutting of throats, the blowing out of brains made it very evident that it was death and death only which was longed for.

37. We have seen how that the Mappilla is a most unfortunate subject for a religion which is fanatic in character; and we have seen that he is impressed most deeply with a religion which is very strongly fanatic. The conclusion is that he may very easily

be made dangerous; and we have had only too many proofs that he is. He believes in justice, mercy, truth, God and the Prophet like a reasonable being; but he is also capable of believing above all things in the glory of fighting for his faith which must not be smirched. Apostates must die—their blood must be shed. Those who put down a house of God must be fought to the death.

VI.

38. It will not be necessary to weary you with an attempt to show how that people so situated, drinking misery to the dregs, inflamed by the contrast of the heart's desire which may be gotten so easily by whoever will, may be incited into outbreak. It does not require a powerful engine to raise the electric spark. Of course, it is not as a rule among those who have much to lose that this spark kindles, but rather among those who find the tragedy of life too strong for them. The former are capable of interpreting their faith reasonably. They know that an outbreak is a violation of it. Not so to those who are wretched. To them there may be very easily assumed that emotional feeling in which "the dread of something after death" in no way puzzles the will, and the desire to see "the undiscovered country" may be excited very easily. So little do they know of the tenets of Islam that they make a point of fighting in the very month in which they are enjoined specially not to fight if they can avoid it—not unless they are attacked. We know that among the Jews the great hero Judas Maccabeus first instituted fighting on the Sabbath. But he who first instituted dying as Shahids during the Ramzan is still in obscurity. Their very interpretation of their faith is fanatic in character. Thus the 17th Ramulan, the day of the Battle of Badr, is a very good day to die; the 26th is the best of all (it was on this day that Kiri Abdulla shot himself); and the 28th, the day on which we shot the second gang, is also a good day. Similarly, there are *good* days on which to start out to fight. The 12th Ramzan is a good day for this and therefore it was chosen for the 1st day of the outbreak. It has been suggested that because the Tuvur adhikari was not murdered on the 25th February, some of the fanatics having left their homes on that day, they may not have intended to murder him at all. But this is an error. The first overt act must not be until the 12th Ramzan—the 26th February. Most likely when the Musaliar was taken away no opposition was made, because it was not suspected that the incipient stage of the outbreak had been heard of by any one who would tell. It was expected fully that he would return. Had his departure *before* the trysting day been prevented by force, then the news of the outbreak would have been out beforehand. This was to be avoided at all costs. Therefore he was allowed to go quietly. It was never suspected that he was actually arrested and to be detained in durance. That he was expected back is clear. After they had started out and Raru Nayar was killed, some of the fanatics returned to Tuvur *for the Musaliar*.

VII.

39. Before attempting to disentangle the threads in order to find those which are most easily traceable between cause and effect of the outbreak, let us see whether in process of deduction the facts relative to the condition of the fanatics agree with the population and division of property *plus* fanaticism theory, are what we might expect them to be.

Three are classed as "Comfortable." They are Moidin Kutti Hâji, the leader (No. 91), and Pottemanil Uni Mamad (32), and Pottemanil Uni Mamad his brother (43). Moidin Kutti Haji was no doubt a religious enthusiast; and he was in difficulties. Three years ago he went to Mecca with his wife's brother and three others of the neighbourhood. Of the five he alone returned. He had spent his wife's dowry and he had taken some money from his wife's brother on his death in Mecca. He owed a couple of hundred rupees and had no visible hope of repaying the debts. Nevertheless he lived in a good sort of house in a good garden, held about 7½ acres of land on Kânom, had two wives and three children; but the house had a neglected air about it and was in very different condition to those of his two brothers close by and which are neat and trim. He was very strict in all religious observances and his visit to the Wandur Shandy on the 25th February seems to have determined him to die a Shahid. He had ploughed about a quarter of a field just below his garden.

It was the last bit of work he did. It would seem that he was a man whose eyes were fixed more keenly on the next existence than on the present; one to whom fanaticism comes and envelopes in the natural course of the operations of the mind. But he was not cruel or bloodthirsty. He prevented several murders which members of the gang wished to do. From all I can hear he was much the superior of all the others in intellect and capability: for all that, neither the one nor the other was of a high order. He was above the others who were all more or less ignorant. But it will be seen he comes of a fanatical family through his mother, who was the well-known Athen Kurikal's sister. His widow Achu, a superior sort of woman and well-dressed—thus in great contrast to the others,—wears a necklace of praying beads. A religious house evidently.

Note.—Athen Kurikal himself came of a very troublesome family (*vide* Logan's Manual, pp. 533, 563 and 565).

(Intld.) F. F.

Pottemanil Uni Mamed (43) and his brother (32) puzzle one. The former had a capital house which has about it an air of peacefulness and comfort. He was not very rich; he had 1½ acres on Kânom and 1½ on Virampatom; and he had two good bullocks, a cow and a calf. But his landlord was "a good man" and there was no quarrel with him. He seems to have been happy in his home with his wife and six children. Poverty was not the cause, for his widow wears all golden ornaments in her ears. She will have a posthumous child very shortly and be dependent on her father who has nine other children to support.

His brother Uni Mamad (32) lived close by. His house is not quite so good as the others, which was the father's house, but it is a good and comfortable one. This man too had a happy home, apparently, and lived in domestic happiness with his wife and five children. She too wears all golden ornaments in her ears. The brothers had lived together after the father's death and even after they were married until their families began to appear in the world.

Both were religious. Their father had erected a praying shed situated between their houses, and every morning before sunrise the brothers prayed therein. In the father's family were six children, and of these only one now remains alive—a girl married to a man in Chembrachery. Both seem to have been quite religious, domestic, and comfortable, though not rich in their worldly affairs. The gang passed close by (43)'s house early on the 29th February after they had finished praying. It would seem that they could not but join. It is not at all likely either of these, just as in the case of the boys, would not have joined but that the gang came right in their way. A large party too, about 60 strong. The only explanation is that the brothers felt as did the Shahids of Malappuram. The vessel, such as they must long for, had come to take them to the broad gates of heaven; and go they must.

Twenty-four others are classed as "poor" people who are genuinely poor, but who are not in the direst straits of poverty.

Forty-four are classed as in poverty; they had considerable difficulty one way or another to exist; and in their case, death must have been a welcome release.

Eighteen are under the head of youths living with parents and being more or less supported. Some were forced to join—62 for example. He went to look after his father's straw and just then the gang turned up; he was asked to drink conjee with them and refused as he was keeping the fast. (The Shahids have license to eat; they do not keep the fast.) At last he was persuaded; and they took him by the hand and made him accompany them. In the west of Ireland mortals are tempted in this way by the fairies, and, as in the case of Adam and the apple, if they but taste they will surely die. His father is a very respectable man who feels his son's loss keenly. Now to fine such a man, one of the very few in the locality who has been a pioneer in turning waste into arable, and yet by his steady perseverance and patience has managed to keep himself in moderate affluence, would be most unjust. He is a successful farmer, but not a rich one. As soon as he heard the gang had come to his side he went straight off to tell the adhikari, little knowing that his son had been carried away by the gang. He feels the loss of the boy, who was only 17 (and married!), and would have done all in his power to reclaim him had he only known. He tries to hide it but he cannot speak of the boy, his eldest child, without involuntary tears rising in his eyes; and yet if the amshom be fined he is one of the few who could pay a fine.

The father of Khaidervelapan Averan Kutti too (72) was moderately well off and his son, a boy of 18, wanted for nothing. He was apparently led away by 73, his nephew but younger than himself, and by the Aruviralans, his playmates. The father went to guard the adhikari's house and in his absence the boy, who had been sent to watch new-cut paddy, went off and joined the gang. Other youths joined with their elder brothers or when the gang came their way.

Two are classed as vagabonds. One was a notorious house-breaker and ne'er do weel. His father is a respectable man who did not approve of his son's life. His mother used to give him food unknown to her husband. The other is a wandering vagabond and had no hold on life.

One is classed as semi-idiotic. He joined when the gang came near his place on the evening of the 29th February—on Pandalur Hill. He used to wander here and there among his relations, never working of his own will, but would do whatever he was told to do. He could not have had much interest in life.

40. We find therefore that the gang is composed thus:—

Comfortable	3
(One however was in difficulties).	
Poor	24
In poverty	44
Youths living with parents and supported more or less ..	18
Vagabonds	2
Semi-idiotic	1
Total ..	92

Seventy-one of these were more or less really poor; eighteen were forced to join or joined first as boys would, not knowing what they were doing, looking on the thing as a sort of picnic; and of the three others who were not exactly poor, one was in difficulties about money and all three were deeply religious.

41. It seems to me therefore that the theory aforesaid should be accepted as true. It may be wrong, of course, but the conclusion is nevertheless logical. The famous dictum of Professor Huxley's "Science commits suicide when she accepts a creed" helps to make us all remember how very easily we may be mistaken. And it may be said the reasoning is in a circle because we started out with data taken from the members of the gang. It does not really upset the argument, because the fanatics' families are just ordinary ones, and it was well to base a theory on the actual facts before us. There is yet another circumstance which may be added to elucidate the fanatic character of the affair. Aruviralan Mutha's brother would not take the slightest interest in hearing me tell how that his brother was lying in hospital and wounded. He would not listen to anything about him. "He is no more." The lad whom he had cherished and brought up as a father was nothing at all to him, even when lying wounded and in danger. That he would visit him or say a kind word to him was out of the question.

Again Puzhithini Kunyâyu's father would not take the least interest in his son's recovery. Kunyayu was in danger for a month, a snider bullet having gone through his lungs but neither father, mother, brothers nor sisters wanted to hear again of him, much less see him.

42. The case of the boy Mâtumal Moidin, a child of twelve, who joined the gang and left it, is different. Of four sons he is the only one left. Two shot, another who ran away from the gang and left it and was arrested. And a mother's love is strong. She is devoted to him. The Special Assistant Magistrate has proposed that this boy be educated in Calicut and turned into a peon; his brother being gone he could have his mother to Calicut and his connection with fanatical Pandalur would be severed easily. Now I do not at all agree with this. There is not the least probability of his mother severing her connection with Pandalur where her daughters are married. The boy should be sent to the Reformatory in Madras. It is quite impossible, I think, to give an opinion in a case of the kind without personal inquiry on the spot, such as mine was.

VIII.

43. Something more must be said of the people in the inflammable localities. Throughout the Chembrachery amshom and Tuvur there is no such thing as a street even of two or three houses together, in a line. The houses are all scattered. In the extreme east, in the Cheramba deshom, under the hills, the houses are sometimes half a mile apart. The population would appear to be sparse, but that it is superabundant is evident by the price of labour—one anna six pies, in kind. There is also a floating population during part of the year, people from the westwards coming to cultivate paddy and other grains on the hills. Much valuable forest has been destroyed in this no-man's land by this process. A man wishes to cultivate a certain part of the forest—"Modan" cultivation they call it. He proceeds to hack down and burn without question as to the ownership. Before crop is ripe some one comes along and claims the land; one-tenth of the crop is claimed, and eventually an agreement is made by which only a few *paras* are given (a para is about three seers).

It is not with any desire to push home my argument that I say the people hereabout, as well as about Pandalur, are in greater poverty than any class which I have seen in this Presidency. That direst type of poverty which exists in the east end of London is not met with in the Orient. That which I have seen among the Mappillas is the nearest to it within my knowledge. They have not the rigour of climate to contend with, and, being nearer the primeval life, they can manage to obtain from nature something, however little, in forest produce and the like, to aid the sustenance of life. But many of them are just as poor as they can be and live. The condition of some of the widows and starving children of fanatics is dreadful to think of. I was very glad indeed when that part of the inquiry was over. It was a great relief.

It was very apparent that there is a very much stronger kind of fanaticism among the women on the Pandalur side than is the case farther east. It was one of these women who, after the 1894 outbreak and her son was wounded, said: "If I were a man *I* would not come back wounded!" Many of these women are inspired with the same feelings. There is a sternness, an absence of softness, about the older women, a sternness bred of poverty and fanaticism, and when one asks for the grievance that made the son go out to die, a child could see that the answer "I don't know" is not the true answer.

44. I see that the Hon'ble Mr. Winterbotham, who very kindly let me see the proof of his report, searches for causes for the outbreak in the statements of prisoners and wounded fanatics, in *their* view of the causes. With all possible respect for the opinions or views of one who knows Malabar so well, I must venture most respectfully to disagree with this process. The etiology is not to be traced thus. When we see a Dravidian hacking off the head of a goat, smearing blood on a stone under a tree, and dancing about with the bloody head on his own, and ask him why he does it, he will probably say he does it because his father's spirit has been troubling him, giving him fever and disturbed dreams; and if we pursue the subject and ask him why he chooses this mode of appeasing the troublesome spirit, he will say it is because the spirit wants blood; eventually, push him teleologically, and he says it is the custom. And so it is always; whether amongst the Khonds where children are turned out of the house at five years of age and made to sleep together (boys and girls apart) until married, which may be never, or whether it is as amongst a class of Maravers, the dead man's head is dug up, cut off the trunk and carried in triumph to a feast, the answer to "why is it done?" is always "because it is the custom." Customs are not ingeniously devised, and no amount of asking why will dig out the why, which is to be found by a quite different method, viz., by comparative folklore, the agent of order. And it seems to me with all deference, be it said, to be equally useless to try and ascertain the causes of a Mappilla outbreak from examination of the people themselves as to *their* ideas of the cause. I am persuaded that most of them had not the faintest idea why they "went out." They are conscious of the feelings which make them go out; but they cannot tell you why; they cannot transmute their consciousness into thought, much less into expression thereof in words. Need it be said that consciousness and thought are widely different and that the former outstrips the latter immeasurably. The vehicle of thought is, too, with these people of but very small capacity.

IX.

45. I will now pass on to what we know of the earliest stages of the outbreak before action was formulated. You are acquainted already with my views on the 1894 outbreak: how that the condign punishment intended for its abettors and sympathizers has been turned aside and metamorphosed into encouragement to do it again, and how that, impressed with the serious aspect of the situation, I have again played the nauseous part of Jeremiah. That a big outbreak was coming and soon I felt certain, and I did all in my power to prepare for it. There was mischief in the wind which stirred the subdued but ever present fire of fanaticism That it was purely fanatic in origin I do not for a moment believe. If the burning of the Oruvampuram mosque in 1893 was not a deliberate act by those of one party against those of another with whom they were at feud, it was a most remarkable coincidence. As I have set forth elsewhere my reasons for not believing that it was, I need not reiterate them here. Ever since the outbreak of 1894 the country under consideration has been in that state in which alarm is excited and spread without reason. It would seem too that the spirit of unrest was maintained to some extent by the Mappilla watches or guards of the well-to-do Hindus, just to keep up the fear, to keep their bread and butter. At any rate there was a feeling among the Mappillas that this last outbreak of the current year was inevitable. They felt it *must* come. It was, I think, a great mistake to send away that Tiya woman who had become an apostate *forty years ago*. The act helped on towards the outbreak. The Mappillas foolishly entertained the idea that the Government were afraid of them, and this emphasized the belief. Soon after the affair at Pallikurup they were in great fear; then the Government Order was a long time appearing and when it came they were disturbed considerably; but very soon this gave way to the feeling that they would have their way and in the end they thought they were feared. I can touch only briefly on this side of the subject without criticism beyond my province. The unequal distribution of fines was felt I am sure. The whole of the fine from Waluvanad, where the 1894 gang met with much overt sympathy, amounted to but some Rs. 5,000 while that of Ernad was something like Rs. 13,000. An adhikari of Ernad told me confidentially that about a fortnight before the outbreak he had been told plump and plain by the Mappillas that the fines were unfair and would not on any account be paid. The Sub-Magistrate Mr. Kunyâyen heard this, but viewed the refusal just as an ordinary refusal to pay revenue until compulsion is resorted to; it was too common to notice.

46. Evidence of the first *talk* of an outbreak comes from Puzhithini Kunyâyu, the wounded man of the second gang. He first heard of it about the middle of January and heard no more for about a fortnight. Then early in the Ramzan, on the 11th February as well as I can place the date, Punthurti Moidin Kutti Haji told him there was to be an outbreak. These two and three others talked of it after the Wandur shandy near the travellers' bungalow, where they put down their loads and chewed betel as they chatted. Punthurti Moidin Kutti Haji said there *must* be an outbreak. Kunyâyen asked why? He said it must come, but he could not tell the cause. After the next shandy, on the 18th, there was no talk of it. But after the one following, *i.e.*, on the 25th February, he heard of the arrest of Alingal Haidru and Kappakunnam Mûtha.

How that the news came to the Wandur adhikari and he gave it to the Police and Magistrate has been mentioned already in more than one report. Karuvat Uni Kammu heard of it on the 20th February, but said nothing until the night of the 24th, when he told his father who told the Wandur adhikari. I stayed in the Alingal house where lives the Karuvat family. There too, I heard that it has been expressed that the outbreak was inevitable, although reasons for it were not given. It was only felt.

47. It seems to me that the outbreak was encouraged much in this way. I do not at all believe in the theory that the withered-arm Musaliar was a Peter the Hermit preaching a Jehâd. It is a theory which is mere assumption. It sounds plausible, but it has no legs to stand on. The Musaliar found it more and more difficult to live. His existence depended on the welfare of the Mappillas of Tuvur and Chembrachery. Among the blind the one-eyed man is king, and among the ignorant of Chembrachery and Tuvur this man, who had gotten a smattering of the Koran at Ponnâni, but who had not earned or received the title Musaliar—had not graduated in fact—was looked

up to as rather a learned person. He tramped the country round, his son carrying a bag which his constituents filled with contributions of paddy in consideration for his reading the Koran and performing Moiluth and other ceremonies. Crops have been bad lately, the people were poorer and they found it harder to live, and therefore to fill his bag. Often and often—so his widow says—he had said that he was tired of life and would leave his family and go to Ponnáni to live in the Koran. More and more he found the life hard and he said he was weary of it. His wife objected to be left in the lurch, urged him on to continue as he was. Now I have little doubt that, knowing what was nearest the hearts of the people, he used to preach and talk in such a way as to excite them. He was compelled to arouse them, to sting them into feeling, so that they would fill his bag. Commonplace preaching by rote would not have any effect. He had to talk to them in such a way that their generosity would be exaggerated; so that they would give more than they really could afford. Thus he used to tell them that a journey to Mecca was a sure path to salvation. But it was not the only way: there was another way—the way through dying in fight. The prisoner Khaider Velapan Kunholen told me that when he sat down to preach he used to talk so. He kept the thing before their minds. But I do not for a moment think that he peregrinated and preached that they must go out and die. He had not enough of the moving spirit to do that. For he was not one of those acute souls capable of devoting their energies to purposes which hold out no promise of private advantage. He had a keen eye on the filling of his bag all the while. It must not be overlooked how terribly strong was this creed which the people held and which he preached. The ties of caste and blood are nothing to its bonds. And then how sweet the promise! How can they fear death when with heart and soul and all their being they *feel* it true! Then there is the story of his anger against the Tuvur adhikari's brother who, seeing him walking before him with wooden sandals—him a Cheruman by birth—threatened to kick him if he ever wore them again. There is no doubt the Musaliar (who had he remained a Cheruman would have thought this quite proper: in fact he would not have dared either to wear wooden sandals or come near the Nayar) felt this insult very keenly. He spoke of it constantly to his wife and how wretched he was that he could not avenge it. It happened a couple of months before the outbreak. The adhikari's brother fled from his house at the beginning of the outbreak and attached himself to us. He was with us at Pandalur and followed us to Manjeri. Evidently he feared unpleasant consequences.

48. It seems too that the trouble about the Tuvur mosque lands referred to already in this report and described in Appendix C helped on the beginning. Anything which excites them makes towards an outbreak. Reasons for the outbreak are given by survivors—the Tiyati's apostacy, pulling down a prayer shed, &c. No one knew the woman. No one knew where the prayer shed was or anything about it. Removal of a prayer shed, which is not a mosque, is *not* objectionable, all the Mappillas say. Yet here they went altogether against their own reason. Moreover, this prayer shed had not been built, only commenced; and no prayer had been said in it. Once maddened by religious enthusiasm they may do anything. To go on the path to become a Shahid is adopted in a blind reflex sort of way just as others have done. "In extasy the excited part of the brain works with such violence that it suppresses the functioning of all the rest of the brain." It is of no use saying an act of this kind might make them kill those who injured them, but why should it make them fight the troops! The religious enthusiasm once aroused reason is thrown to the winds. Religion is with the Mappilla altogether emotional; not at all a matter of reason. It is also to be remembered that very many of the people are ill-nourished and that hunger, so to speak, produces extasy. The oracle, the diviner, the medicine man, the man who communicates between the living and the dead is always staring while operating. All they want is to die in what they call a fight. I may mention that the Tuvur adhikari has managed the Melatur adhikari's affairs for the last year or so *vice* Raru Nayar (murdered by the fanatics) who had become too old for the work, and this may have been another reason why his death was so much desired. The outbreak emanated from about the Tuvur mosque; two of the second gang also; and many of the Chembrachery people live close to it.

49. It is germane to the question of the causes of the outbreak, and should not be passed over here, how that the fanatics cut each other's throats, dashed out the brains

of their fellows, and shot them. (They may have been suicides). Anything of the kind has never been heard of before. It is almost past belief. True nevertheless. And what are we to infer from this? Had the circumstance occurred among Hindus it would not have had anything like the same import as it has when it occurred among Mappillas who, it is part of their faith, must not injure each other. We can infer this: The desire to die was above the desire to fight. Death before all things. Brought to bay before they were ready and wished to make their stand, an unique circumstance in Mappilla warfare, they must have felt that perhaps some of them might be taken alive; and they may have had curious notions about the soldier's rifles. Of course they believe their Thangals possess charms which will render rifles as harmless as air bladders. They were not able to carry out their intentions and must have felt that they were caught unprepared, so to speak. It has always been the case that they make their stand where and when they choose. In 1894 if they had wished to go on for another fortnight the troops would not, so far as one can see, have had any chance of catching them; and they chose their day and their place with deliberation. But on this occasion it was very different. They were simply caught. They were left no alternative. Now this must have surprised them considerably, and they must have felt that perhaps they might not be able after all to die as they wished. But can there be stronger proof of the utter wretchedness of their lives than this awful example of their determination to die in this way! Believe me that over-population, which is the father and mother of all misery, and sub-division of property which compels poverty, together with fanaticism, which is part of that form of Islam which fixes itself on the lower races of the world, and of which we have abundant examples, have more at the bottom of Mappilla outbreaks than anything else. But for the crowding of population there would not be that scramble for land out of which the landlords make such fine profit. A man may be turned out at once, for there are hundreds ready to take his place. Not of course that agrarian troubles of all kinds are not deep down in the foundations of that which grows up into outbreaks. They are a very large part of the material; and what unprejudiced person could say that the line taken by our courts since 1882 which have altogether upset Malabar customs in respect of property are not much to blame? The earth is the landlord's, not the lord's, in Malabar. Nothing whatever is to be expected from the people themselves in the way of mutual consideration for each other when the highest among them here now lead the way in the wrong direction.

X

50. There is yet another view of the devotion to death. Mr. Logan hints at it in his Manual of Malabar. The twelve-yearly tenure of the tenant is governed, so to speak, by the cycle of Jupiter. So in former days was the tenure of office by the Zamorin. Quoting from the manual, about 200 years ago, Hamilton, a traveller, describes a tradition according to which if the Zamorin did not die within his term he had the pleasure of committing the "happy despatch," as they say in Japan, in public. And he describes how that in 1695 the custom had been metamorphosed as all customs are, by circumstances, and the Zamorin surrounded by his guards stood on a certain place (it is now, prosaically enough, occupied by German Mission tile works!), while certain men who had devoted themselves to death strove to rush up a straight road in front of him, palisaded on each side, with arms in their hands to kill him, if they could. He who could reach the Zamorin and kill him would take his place. But the devotees were always killed by the spearmen as they ran the gauntlet. It was the Nayars who were supposed to have the pleasure of being killed in this way, but the Mappillas joined in. I will not trouble you with a discussion on this extraordinary custom and will merely add that as a folklorist I go farther than Mr. Logan. I should say there is very little doubt, if any, that the modern devotion to death by the Mappilla is a modern phase of the old Malabar custom during the Mahamakham or "great sacrifice" which took place every twelve years when Jupiter was in Cancer. "There is nothing new under the sun" as the wise man has said; one thing but grows out of another in process of development or change. It is just as well to think of this. Otherwise the devotion to death which the Mappillas go through when there comes the vessel to bear them away to eternal happiness would be almost inexplicable.

XI.

51. It is time now to say something of prevention of outbreak. The practice has been in punishment by fine and in deportation. Against the latter there is nothing to be said. It must be done sometimes. Against the former, however, there is something. Now in the present case to fine Chembrachery, Tuvur and Pandalur would be analogous to giving a sick man an extra dose of his disease in order to cure him. What they suffer from in its lowest dimension is poverty. To fine them would be to increase their poverty. The fining for the last outbreak has added keenly to the poverty. I hope sincerely that the Government will pause well before they decide to fine. It seems that the Hon'ble Mr. Winterbotham accepts fining as a foregone conclusion. I hope this is not the case. Our system of justice has passed beyond that phase during which judicial punishment was in the light of revenge for acts on society. It may be said "What is to be done for all the terror and all the mischief done?" To this it can be answered —they have paid with their lives; they have been shot down like dogs. Police offieers are only too familiar with instances of bands of dacoits who not only terrorise, plunder and kill but also rape, which fanatics do not, and of murderers guilty of the most atrocious crimes getting through the loop holes in the law through no fault of *theirs* (Police) and leaving the Court smiling. And as for the harm done to Hindu temples and property, if men are responsible for what they do they are also responsible for what they do *not* do. The Hindus never made the slightest attempt to save their property or to help us as the poorest could have done by bringing us information. But after all is over, they have run-away with a whole skin, often leaving their women to bear the brunt, they turn up and claim compensation. They used not to behave in this way and it seems to me very wrong for us to encourage them in evading their duties as regards the general safety of person and property. The Maranath Nambudripad knew of the outbreak impending in the evening of the 24th February, but he never told any one. He made straight for his house to take away his women I think. He told me privately that people are *afraid* to tell these things: rumours, which may turn out to be no shadow of coming events—those who tell are *marked*. I have arranged with him for confidential communication in future. It is altogether hopeless to attempt to prevent the Mappilla propagating his kind and dividing up his property. They are two obstacles which must bring him to grief in the race of life. The only thing to be done is to humanize him. The Mappillas of the east of Ernad are in many respects altogether barbarians. How much civilized is a man who when he has performed the common act of nature runs his person, the lower end of his vertebral column, along the ground for the sake of cleanliness! Like the dog, sometimes he does it, sometimes he does not. The illustration is gross; but it illuminates. I have tried to get some figures showing the relative number of children in schools and amount spent on education in Ernad, where there are Mappillas and in Palghat, where there are Brahmins for comparison, but could not manage it. Direct comparison would not be fair, but the comparison should be with what was spent on high caste Hindus when they were in the condition in which the Mappillas are now as regards aid in education. I am not very disturbed because the figures give no idea whatever of the facts. Palghat teems with education up to any standard or degree. In Ernad there are included all the little children who attend the mosque school and who learn positively nothing at all—unless gabbling incoherent Arabic is something. The number of children who are taught anything at all are very very few; and they are taught little more than A. B. C. The Mulla in charge of a school in Manjeri, the only paid Mappilla schoolmaster, receives Rs. 6 a month! I am informed by one of the Mullas there that there were four paid formerly but those of three schools were struck off the pay list; and also that the

Note.—In the 1894 outbreak there was very considerable expression of sympathy with the fanatics. In the outbreak in this year there was *not*.

(Intld.) F. F.

I understood in 1894 there was very grave suspicion of several rapes having been committed by the fanatics.

(Intld.) M. H.

Note.—I have since obtained a few figures: see the end.

(Intld.) F. F.

Government grant is half what it was two years ago. The expenditure on Mappilla schools in Ernad amounts to some couple of thousands of Rupees, but the money is altogether ill-spent. It makes nothing at all towards improvement of the people. The high castes of Hindus are helped by private individuals for various, not altogether impersonal reasons. For instance the Zamorin has a first-class school in Calicut, with an Oxford man as headmaster, but no Tiyans and Mappillas can attend it; it is all for Brahmins and Nayars. Our line of administration all through has been most favourable to the Brahmins. They have thriven in the new medium, adapting themselves to it most beautifully. But it is by no means through inferiority that the Mappillas are now in their present condition. We know too much of the east to think anything of the kind. I need say no more on this point. It was Mappillas and not Brahmins or other Hindus who aided us in the serious crisis just past. The only Hindus who gave us any aid are the adhikaris of Chembrachery and Tuvur. I have great respect for both of these gentlemen, but aid such as theirs would never have enabled us to put down the rising.

52. The Mappilla possesses many fine qualities and it is only right that he should be given fair opportunity to develop them. In the first place the Government will have to make up its mind to spend some money in doing it if outbreaks are to be prevented. Refusal means outbreaks. It is sad to see as one travels through Malabar how that old cart roads are given up and abandoned. I am afraid that far too much of the money that should have been spent in maintaining roads has been educating Hindu children. Instead of abandoning roads, more roads should be made. For Malabar, peculiar in many respects, is quite unlike the eastern side of the peninsula as regards locomotion and carriage. As soon as you leave Malabar in the train and enter Coimbatore you can see cart-tracks in many directions. Anywhere on the East Coast, carts can travel in almost any direction. There are some localities to be excepted, of course; for instance, a portion of Ganjám; but there, there are plenty of roads. In Malabar it is altogether different. Carts can travel nowhere except along made roads. Over the greater part of the country it is impossible to ride on horse-back off the roads. Roads are a greater necessity, really, than they are in other parts of the Presidency. We know that making roads, digging wells and planting trees are the first duties of every administrator about to make for proper development of a province. The two latter are not so necessitous in Malabar as is the former. As I have said before, owing to the absence of means for locomotion the people in the east of Ernad are shut in from the world as if on an island, while their numbers increase enormously. What is needed most of all is to join them to the rest of the world and let them share in whatever enlightenment is going forward.

53. At present the only use these people can make of their heads is for carrying heavy loads. How can progress be expected! The community must be *helped* out of their present condition towards something better. At present a few go to Kolar, and gangs have been by far the best workmen (so the Engineers say) in building the big iron bridges in the Madras Railway. It is only through enlightenment, communication and partnership with the rest of the world can it be hoped that the Mappillas will for themselves see the mischief which over-begetting and sub-dividing property bring on themselves. The remedy must be made by themselves. No legislation can do it. It is to their credit be it said that their increase is not stopped by *vice*, one of the most certain of the positive checks to population.

54. But practical suggestion should be made and therefore I proceed to make some on the subject of roads. There should be a road from Melatur northwards and along the foot of the hills bending north-east and then northward to Kaliavu; at Kaliavu it would join the road which runs east from Wandur to that place. Formerly this was an old road.* It was the old way up by Sispara to some coffee estates and on to Ootacamund. The coffee estates have been abandoned and so has the road long ago. Had this road been made before, it would have had an influence on prosperity, for the valuable forest along the foot of the hills might have been made proper use of. Timber has been stolen and burnt without end in this no-man's land. Then there should be a road due east from Pandikad to Karivarikundu through

*Some of the furlong stones still to be seen—(Intld.) F. F.

Tuvur passing near the mosque. For several miles of this route there was once a road. While speaking of the locality I may propose also that there be opened a Police station at Kâliâvu, one at Karivarikundu—2 head constables and 10 constables in each and receiving the Wynaad allowance, for the locality is deadly feverish. If this allowance be not given, the men must be changed constantly, an arrangement which would negative their usefulness. I would not have any arms in these stations. Also a Police station at Chembrachery. Then, and it could be arranged easily, there should be established a weekly market at Kâliâvu and Karivarikundu. At both these places there is considerable timber trade, and at the latter there is an iron trade capable of development. I have talked about this to many of the sensible people of the locality, and they all said at once that what I beg to propose would be most advantageous to people and the best of all means for prevention of outbreaks. It would be an excellent means for humanizing the inhabitants. As it is, the eastern portion of Chembrachery is so far from Wandur that beats are out of the question. It is quite twenty miles or more to the south-east portion of Cheramba, the most dangerous locality of all. The people in this locality have no means of procuring ordinary supplies, salt, fish and the like and exchanging or selling produce except by a long trudge over very rough ground and through forest to Wandur, where there is a shandy every Tuesday or to Pandikad, 12 miles, where there is one every Monday. Every seer of grain grown in this newly-opened up locality must be carried on the head, sometimes fifteen miles before it can be brought to a road. I should say the road from Wandur to Kâliâvu has not been passable for many years, it only *being* done during this year; it will be made passable, I hope. The Police station at Chembrachery is really necessary not only as the other two as means for peace and knowing what is going on in the locality but as a guard for the Adikari's house. It should be located where Vellayur is marked on the map. Vellayur is the deshom where the Adikari lives. The station would suffice for watching Tuvur also. These stations should be good buildings with an upstairs room which European officers could occupy when travelling on inspection for a fixed charge. There are many advantages and no objection to an arrangement of this kind. It is most desirable that European officers should visit this part of the country which, were roads opened, would soon be sought out by sportsmen. From bison to peafowl there are quantities of game. Destruction to crops through game is a very serious loss to the farmers. At one place I was at near the foot of the hills, the bison feed on the young paddy and destroy a very large portion of the crops. The people want guns badly to scare away the trespassing animals, but this of course cannot be allowed. The only thing is to civilize it, and as civilization comes in the game will retire. From Kâliâvu a road should run north and north-westwards to Nilambur in order to open up that part of the country.

55. Then there should be a good road through Anakâyam, Pandalûr and Muddikôd, where the strongest fire of fanaticism has burnt ever since Mappilla troubles began. The place has been the home of misrule since a long time. In 1794 a Mappilla bandit's strong hold and the fortified houses of his followers on Pandalûr hill were destroyed by Major Murray, and it was at Pandalûr that in 1836 there was the first occurrence which was afterwards repeated again and again until the outbreak in February last. After the outbreak in 1894, it was proposed to make a road right through Pandalûr from Malápuram to Pandikad. It was thought the fines would be enormous. It was never supposed the amount collected would be not very much more than the cost of the establishment for collection. The Engineer was for some time at work surveying the line of road. I have seen him on the work about half way between the two places. But the whole thing was given up. It was a great mistake. How inflammatory the Pandalûr people are is quite plain in the fact that about 30 joined the gang within quite a few hours. Not that they joined *en masse*. The houses are all detached and some distance from each other. How ready they must have been!

56. The roads are needed not only as a means of humanizing the Mappillas but also for strategical purposes. Troops must have roads. In the very heart of fanaticism there is no road at all. In the 811 square miles of Ernad, there are only 177 miles 1 furlong of maintained roads. There should be 500. Looking at the map the distance to the road looks trifling; but it is country that must be *walked* over. It is very rough

indeed, rugged rocky hills and dales. This gives an idea of the country to be traversed—one day Mr. Wilkinson and I when out with the special force company managed to get an elephant to carry our things. One day's hard marching was enough for the beast. Its feet were so sore it had to lie up for a long time and we sent it away. During an outbreak when coolies for carriage are most wanted, there are none to be had. We ourselves were unable to change our clothes for days. Mr. Wilkinson and I were much without beds and feeding was a scramble. Once off the roads where carts cannot go, and the smallest comfort is not to be had. And as for the civilizing effect of roads I will only say that in the locality roads are so few in comparison to the needs that there is hardly any cart traffic. If a man has to carry a bag of paddy, say to Manjeri from Cheramba, he must carry it to the road and afterwards along the road. If he carries it half the way, he may as well carry it the whole way; indeed he must, because in the first place there are no carts to be hired and if there were, he could not pay for one to carry a bag. You may remember that at Pandikad, even in the piping time of peace, you had to retain your carts because none were to be had there. So one sees going along the road numbers of Mappillas carrying loads on their heads. It is impossible for the people to get a reasonable price for their produce in these days unless they can transport it by wheeled traffic. A hundred years ago things were different. But now, as far as moving a bag of paddy is concerned, Madras is nearer to Malápuram than Cheramba is. The price of a small measure, about a seer, of paddy in Cheramba is 6 pies. In Manjeri it is 7 pies. In Calicut it is somewhat dearer. And last of all, all the fanatics came from places *where there are no roads*.

XII.

57. Such are the first, the most immediate needs and there should be no delay whatever in having the needs supplied. But there are others, necessary, certainly, though not so pressing. The affair at Trikalûr will be remembered. There, there were proper war casualties on our side. (It seems really that the only circumstance which is not as it ought to be in the outbreak this year is that there was not one casualty on our side. That which is to be avoided not only for our own sakes but for the sake of the moral, the emotional effect rather on the Mappillas is regretted!). Now supposing there is to be an *emeute* gathering as fast or faster than as in February last in the direction of Trikalûr, how could we manage? Trikalûr is about 20 to 22 miles from Calicut, and would be no more if roads were maintained; but if troops had to go there to-morrow, they would have to march from Calicut *viâ Manjeri*, which is 30 miles, then 14½ miles to Ariacode, and then they would have to cross a big river, which if in flood would be quite impassable, and after that, march 4 miles where there is no road or only a foot way. I have been to Ariacode from Calicut using a bicyle which had to be carried across curious places (I do not think it is passable for a horse. I would not like to have to take one) in the latter half of the journey; and I have been from Ariacode in the same way to Tamrassery. The old roads, from Tamrassery and Makūlān, nearly 9 miles from Calicut on the Wynaad road, join about 9 miles to the eastward and then go on east to Ariacode. Maintenance of these roads is a necessity not only for strategy but for developing the country. Near where the two aforesaid roads meet to the eastward is a place called Manacherry, where there is a weekly market; and a little to the east of this on the way to Ariacode it used to be joined by an old road direct from Calicut—through Chevayur and Kanniparamba. This too should be re-opened and maintained.

58. The route book perpetuates the error that there is a military route *viâ* Kondotti and Ariacode. It has not been a route since the bridges were broken, and it was impassable for carts 17 years ago. When the troops marched out from Calicut to Trikalûr, 1885, they could not move by this route; they had to go round by Manjeri. Then Ariacode to Edavanna is an old route. It was the old road from the coast to the Nilgiris, but here two bridges are gone and it is not a route. The bridges should be re-made and the roads maintained in proper order. As for bridges that on the road between Manjeri and Pandikad is down and the torrent is often altogether impassable in the monsoon sometimes. Imagine a rising in Tuvur or Chembrachery and the troops unable to cross this rapid stream!

Again, there used to be a road from Kondotti to Tirurangadi (near where is the great Mappilla shrine) but it has disappeared. I took a horse over it once—not riding—but will not do so again. Much ginger is grown on the hills between the two places, to say nothing of other cultivation, and of course it must be transported on the heads of Mappillas. There should certainly be re-opened a good road here too.

It appears on the map that there is a road between Tirurangadi (and also Mambram) to Calicut; but there is not. Carts going between the two places must go through *Malápuram*. True there is the railway; but why should the railway have the monopoly! What has been the saving of these people is really the grand highway, waterway rather, the Bepore river, and it may be said the routes to Areacode are not necessary, as the river is always available. It is and it is not. The boatmen are mostly Mappillas. If there were a big disturbance, the men would not be seen, and neither would the Hindus; so that though the way would be there it could not be used. As I rode to join the troops on the evening of the 28th February, soon after passing Manjeri, there was not a soul to be seen. It was a deserted country. Houses shut, no one on the road, no one in the fields. A peon carrying a letter to the troops at Manjeri was the only one I met. So it is not to be relied on that boats would be had in plenty to proceed up the Bepore river at any time, for in the very crisis when they would be wanted they would not be had.

There is another old road from Tirurangadi to Kottákal and Kulathur (the scene of an outbreak when the Honourable Mr. Winterbotham was the Special Assistant Magistrate) to Angadipuram which should be re-opened and maintained properly.

That gentleman recommends bridle-paths, but again I must venture to express my disagreement. They would not relieve the Mappilla's head of its load, and would be of no practical use. Bridle-paths would not help to bring the Mappillas in touch with the world, and what is also very important with Europeans. They have an insane idea that the Europeans hate them and want to destroy them. Only contact will eliminate this. The shooting ground in the east of Ernad is closed against the sportsman because he cannot possibly get to it at present. It is not the business of Government to prepare conveniences for sportsmen and I am not suggesting that they should make them. The suggestion is that a desirable consequence is likely to follow opening out the country.

As I have said, the scheme demands money; and money must be spent or frequent recurrence of outbreaks is a moral certainty. The last one was the biggest yet by far. Nearly three times as big as that of two years previous. What will the next be! We should not await it with folded hands.

XIII.

59. There remains to be noticed the work done by the Police and needs for the future. Taking these points in turn I think you are already aware that the part played by the Police has been thoroughly satisfactory and praiseworthy. In the way that troubles have of falling together and which called forth the famous remark of Claudius, the year has been a very trying one. Hardly were the fanatics disposed of but there was a serious disturbance in Ponnáni where for sometime—for many years indeed—the two religious chiefs of Mappilla Islamism have been in grave dispute and in the ordinary course of things, the dispute ended in a fight. That affairs must come to a crisis about this time was inevitable. It was, of course, in no way connected with the outbreak. Troops were called for but I was glad to be able to ask the District Magistrate not to send any and a strong party of reserve Police under Inspector Walter fresh from a twenty-mile march made a forced march to Ponnáni and all was quiet. (The rioters have been convicted.) And then there was the trouble in Alatur, where in a riot a man was shot dead. There too all was soon quiet. A reserve party was sent there too. The part played by the troops has been reported on by the Special Commissioner and no doubt by the District Magistrate and I need not say much about it. The men of the South Staffordshire marched exceedingly well on the 29th February and on the 1st March and on the latter day their shooting was splendid. It was not, however, a severe part, for beyond these two days they did only a few easy marches and halted at places on the road. But they did it right well and were as cheerful as possible and ready for anything. That of the Police was

not such an easy one. On the 26th and 28th February a small party at each place saved the Adikaris of Chembrachery and Tuvur and from that date until they marched into Malápuram on the 30th April they have been at work. Although only a section was present at the Manjeri temple, where as I have already told you they were in their place in the line of advance; the part played by the rest was a most valuable one. But for their position at Nenmini with Mr. Wilkinson on the 29th evening and night the gang would ten to one have made for Vellatur side where they would have had heaps of adherents and the affair would have been much more serious altogether. While regretting they were not all present at the affair at Manjeri temple, I can by no means regret sending them to Nenmini where they did their proper part in the strategy which brought the fanatics to their death before their time. As soon as the firing was heard, they covered the 9 miles and odd to Manjeri in something less than two hours; and then for the rest of the day and through the night the duty was theirs; for I wished the Police to do every thing they *could* do. Posting Police parties at salient points, the dead and wounded were carried down to the sub-jail compound and laid out for burning. Then the guarding of the bodies was done entirely by the Police who formed a cordon of sentries right round the place of burning and the bungalow in the north-east corner. The burning itself was done altogether by the Police who had to find fuel as best they could. Mr. Wilkinson and Mr. Bidie (the Assistant Superintendents, who were with me) were working like coolies at the fire until half past three the following morning. It is not easy to burn ninety bodies when nothing is prepared. However it was all done. The day following Mr. Wilkinson and I with the Special Force Company marched through Anakâyam and Pandalûr and with Inspector Cheykutti's assistance arrested six of those whose case is now before Government for having joined the gang and left it or helped in some way. The day following six others were arrested by Inspector Cheykutti with the Special Force men and then we went eastwards and harried the second gang until we shot them on the 13th March. Orders for the mobilization of the reserve were sent as soon as I returned from Madras on the 28th February; subsequently, I ordered them to the front and they marched up rapidly under Inspector Walter, the Reserve Inspector and reached Pandikad on the 3rd March and from that day they worked together with the Special Force Company until the middle of April in quieting the country, a task which, now that it is all done with, may seem to have been easy enough. As usual, dacoity sprang up and men went about pretending they were fanatics. In order to stop it as soon as possible, the Special Force Company and about seventy reserve men were disposed here and there as occasion required; the locality was occupied with a strong force and there was much activity. At the same time stringent orders were issued by me throughout the district for the regular performance of all Police routine work, beats especially—to which I have always given the chief importance in Police work, as if nothing had happened, and I am glad to say that quietness was thus given. We have had some cases of dacoity but with the exception of two in Melatur side and in which no identifiable property was lost, in fact only a little food was taken by hungry Mappillas, the other cases are being accounted for. Unfortunately the recess is on or we would have had convictions ere this. While the terror is still surging, before subsidence, conviction of Mappilla dacoits in Sessions is easy enough; but what the effect will be when the Courts open I know not.

60. Then again there was the inquiry. I was with Mr. Winterbotham for a fortnight during part of which I sent two sections of the Special Force under Mr. Wilkinson scouring around Cherpalchery side to check the inclination to dacoity which sprang up there; and then followed my own inquiry which proceeded together with quieting the country. The reserve men were sent away by degrees and at last on the 30th April the Special Force Company marched into Malápuram, leaving but one section in Manjeri to guard the wounded man in hospital and I left for Calicut.

61. I am pleased beyond measure with the conduct of the men. From first to last they have been in the best of good spirits and going through the most trying duties with cheerfulness. An instance is this. Having marched to Pandikad by 7–30 on the 29th February (they reached Wandur late the previous night and had little or nothing to eat), the section with me (I was with the Malápuram Company of the

South Staffordshire Regiment) were given the option of waiting for food and following on and joining us on pursuit of the gang. The soldiers' breakfasts were ready and we were to start in half an hour. No: they preferred to go on, marched the whole day, doing scouting for the troops as well, and it was not until after 9 or 10 P.M. in Pandalur temple that they got some food. So it was all through. The other three sections with Mr. Wilkinson fared little better. Every man carried the scanty wardrobe he wanted in his haversack and slept in the open air on straw if he could get it, his rifle beside him. Blankets and kits were brought in carts to Pandikad, but there they were left as we could not transport them, nor indeed did the men want them, preparing to be in readiness to move at once in any direction. Under the hills we had a good deal of rain, but in spite of that sleeping on wet ground and the bad fever which prevailed at the time, we had no sick.

62. Something must again be said of the affair at Parambayil where the second gang was destroyed. The magnitude of the first overshadowed the second, which alone, but for the first, would have created just as much excitement as any other previous Mappilla disturbance. Troops could not have harried the second gang as we did, and thus preventing its growth. It is out of the question. Sepoys would have required their tents and blankets and mess and all that which is impedimenta, but which happily we were able to do without, and splendid marching power which brought us success. There was nothing for it but press on to the end. The police have done on the occasion what native troops have again and again failed to do, and therefore they have proved themselves to be most valuable and certainly most inexpensive light troops and well worthy of consideration and care. The Commissariat charges alone (and when wanted in the field one company had no carriage at all!) of the detachment at Malappuram or Calicut must be very much more than the cost of the Special Force company altogether. The amount spent by us on carriage was very trifling and would not have been so much by one-fifth or perhaps one-tenth, but that we had to retain carts, because none were available in Pandikad. I am sure I do not know where else in the Presidency men will be found who will work like this for two and a quarter months in one suit of clothes and a cloth in the haversack, and be as steady as they are in danger. The Ooriyas of the Northern districts are fine fellows for hill warfare, no better; but they by no means care about marching without kits. I do not think I am asking for too much favour when I ask for tangible proof of appreciation by the Government to the men of the Special Force and to the reserve, *but especially to the former*. There is no doubt this distinction should be made. In my letter describing the affair at Parambayil (1-A) to the District Magistrate, I made it clear that the Special Force men deserved the *most* praise, but he gives credit to both alike. Not only have they had the lion's share of the work all through, but the *proof* of their worth when for the first time they had to tackle a gang of fanatics alone lay in how they acquitted themselves on that occasion; and most certainly, the credit there is entirely due to the Special Force who were remarkably steady. Their steadiness at last steadied the Reserve men among whom were some young recruits who were tremendously excited. The Reserve men have most onerous escort duties and rare opportunities of drill; indeed it is only lately they have had any worth the name. The Special Force men went through the attack—in the new form and which I had instituted a year before and practised twice a week since—just as steady as on parade. I should say there was only about a section of the Reserve men present and the Reserve Inspector was not present—much to his regret and mine,—he having escorted the body of Kiri Abdulla to be burnt in Manjeri; he marched back rapidly but was just too late.

63. But the Reserve men have, however, done their share of the work right well on the whole, and next time they will do even better. It was a party of Reserve men and a section of the Special Force company under Inspector Walter which first scattered the second gang on the 9th March. Mr. Walter did precisely the right thing (see my letter 1-A) and gave another proof of his competence and reliableness. And it was a Reserve Head Constable Rahiman Khan who, when we found the fanatics would not leave the house and we talked of burning them out, at once volunteered to go and set fire to it. I have promoted this man who behaved most admirably, and setting a fine example to his men. He too asked for the honour of escorting the dead to be burnt in Manjeri, and with his men did the escorting. And then there

was the forced march to Ponnáni, on guard there for a fortnight and a forced march back. The Reserve men and Mr. Walter were as keen as possible and much disturbed because they were too late for the affair on the first march.

64. It is however only fair to give most credit where most credit is due, and in consideration for what they have done and how very inexpensive they are as troops. I therefore beg to ask that three months' pay be given to all ranks of the Special Force, excluding the Inspector who fell sick at the beginning and had to go on leave, and also excluding one or two men who were not to the fore all through. The distinction should be made, and the cost will not be much; of course recruits at Malappuram will be excluded also. Not only will the Inspector's pay not be included; but one European head constable also, as we were short. It will amount to pay for about 70 head constables and constables and three European head constables, and I am sure the outlay will be wise. Even with their extra allowance service in the Special Force company is not liked, and I am most anxious to make it *corps d'élite* in the district. This will help much.

65. You were good enough to favour my proposal to inaugurate signalling in the Special Force company and you are aware how that it has been successful. The signallers were employed constantly and did excellent work.

66. For the Reserve men who were employed during the disturbance, I beg to recommend one and a half months' pay all round. They too marched and slept in the clothes they stood up in and required no carriage. I may say the carriage, little as it is all through, was not on account of men's kits, but on account of ammunition; and the kits were put in the ammunition carts. Of Mr. Walter I cannot speak too highly. He is a valued ally to me in the district and his keenness was only equalled by his endurance, power of work, and willingness.

I think it would be a graceful act on the part of Government if they will be pleased to sanction these well-earned presents to the men, and at the sametime record their appreciation of their work throughout the whole disturbance, and hope earnestly for the favour of your recommendation.

I am very glad to be able to say that the police have been equal to the serious crises which have occurred in the present year in the district. The sepoys have had nothing to do but sit quiet sometime after the second gang was shot.

67. The constable, first class, No. 325 Krishnan Nair, whose clever arrest of the Musaliar on the 25th February was a most effective check to the outbreak, deserves a handsome reward. I recommend that he be given 50 rupees. He ran considerable risk. It must be remembered that he, a Hindu, went into the face of danger and avoided it only by his own self-possession. It is very probable that when the gang passed westwards from Raru Nayar's house that they intended going to Manjeri to release the Musaliar. The way is that to Manjeri as far as the High Road; and very likely, when they reached the High Road, they were told that he had just been taken off to the barracks at Malappuram, and so they changed their course southwards. While in the sub-jail, Manjeri, this man kept shouting out at the top of his voice that there was no use in guarding him, as his people were coming to release him. He was confident that he would be released by force. Luckily he had been sent in to Malappuram and there was a section of the South Staffordshire men at Manjeri. And now I must mention Inspector Cheykutti. He took charge of his division (Malappuram) a week or two before the outbreak. He was not, as you know, the Inspector of the division in which the outbreak took place. His aid was invaluable. From the very beginning to the end it was he and his people who obtained *all* the information concerning the movements of the gangs. A near relative of his, Pattayil Ahmed Kutti, working under him was a most extraordinary active scout. How or when he ate or slept I know not. For day and night he was here and there and everywhere. He is a man of means, and impervious to danger. In this part of the country Cheykutti is very influential, the adhikari of Painad is his close relative, and he himself is now the head of the first Mappilla family. The family is an old and honourable one, and Inspector Cheykutti himself is a steady, sober, sensible man who is a right good servant of the Government. He was engaged in special duty in North Malabar in the second half

of last year detecting dacoities and bringing to book a very famous bandit and murderer whom the police had assisted for years (an Inspector * and a second-grade head constable have just been dismissed for that) and whom he himself arrested. The smartest men sent by me failed to arrest the man, failed owing to his ally, the Inspector of the division and his friends, the most influential people in the locality; and it was only when I entrusted his arrest to Cheykutti that he was at last seized. For his work in connection with that alone—for the bandit Avulla was responsible more or less for all the grave crime in North Malabar where dacoity was very serious, but is now since his confinement stopped altogether—Cheykutti deserves to be handsomely rewarded. Following this there is his excellent work, throughout the late crises; and last of all, there is his admirable work in the dacoity cases which followed the outbreak. The dacoits have been caught and the movement checked. I do not propose to reward him with money and most respectfully urge that he be honoured with the title Khan Bahadur. He well deserves it. The honour would not be misplaced and it would have an excellent effect on the Mappillas. I may also mention that his kinsman Vellaedatha Chek rendered us considerable aid.

* A head constable acting *sub. pro tem.* as Inspector. (Intld) M. H.

Inspector Mr. Sweeney rendered good assistance in the way that was required of him, and I regret his having fallen sick and his departure after a short stay.

Second-grade Head Constable Krishnan Nair, Station House officer of Manjeri, was of good use in ascertaining the names of the killed and in obtaining other useful information. In order to do this he had to move about the disturbed tract while excitement had not yet subsided. I recommend for him a reward of Rs. 10.

Second-grade Head Constable Korukutti Nair has been made a probationary Inspector. His prompt action at the outset of the disturbance gave him an opportunity to show his mettle, and his conduct then decided me to recommend him for the appointment which you were kind enough to give him. He was in charge of the Manjeri division throughout.

First-class Constable No. 933 Hyderman of Wandur station was also useful, working under Inspector Cheykutti in obtaining some information concerning the second gang, and I recommend for him a reward of Rs. 5.

Fourth-grade Head Constable S. No. 635 Achutan Nair, Station House officer of Melatur, was one of the few of the Station Police officers whose head was not turned by the confusion and did his best throughout; he kept me informed of all that went on in his locality and was to be depended on. In a crisis like the one past, of course, the ordinary station police are not of much use. I propose to reward this man for his arduous and steady work by one month's pay. It will give an impetus of encouragement to the others.

Inspector Mr. Neill was the trustworthy and dependable officer in charge of Angadipuram division, and in many ways throughout he did good service.

Inspector Mr. Vasavamenon has grappled well with the dacoities following the outbreak in his division (which he has just joined), the southern portion of Walavanad. Even there, of course, people were in terror. I propose to reward the office clerks who were with us and who had a hard time as the Reserve men. I must add my commendation of the services rendered by the Hospital Assistant Mr. Ramutti who was with us throughout, always cheerful and ready and painstaking. It was his excellent care that saved the wounded man Kunyayu. He was in his hands ten minutes after he was shot, and day and night he tended him. He marched everywhere with us and was of the greatest service. I hope he too will be given a substantial reward.

XIV.

68. Now needs for the future—

Boots.—I think it is most important that the men be well shod. The boots we get from the jail are no manner of use, and buying them is downright waste. They will not last the Special Force men for ordinary parades: to appear at these even, they have to spend their own money for repairing their bad boots, and as for marching

in them it is out of the question. Not one man, Special Force or Reserve, wore a boot the whole time we were out. They would have been glad of *good* boots; but they could not march in *bad* boots. The country is very rough indeed and almost everywhere there is thorny jungle. I need not tell you how very important it is for men to keep their distance when advancing in skirmishing order. If they do not, they are almost useless against an enemy and most dangerous to each other. When advancing on the Manjeri temple there were places where the men could not possibly keep their distance because they had no boots. They did their best certainly, and recovered their places quickly. But that is not all that is needed. Now the 25th Regiment sepoys wear English boots, procured from Messrs. Wrenn, Bennett and Co. for Rs. 6 a pair. A boot of equal value (not price) made anywhere in India is not to be had under Rs. 7-8-0. The Commandant has made many experiments in boots and has at last decided in favour of English boots as the best and cheapest. The sepoy buys his own boots—and prefers to buy these boots to cheaper Cawnpore boots. He knows they are cheaper in the end. I have talked to the Colonel and the officers and to the rank and file of the regiment about boots; and I have examined and compared their boots; and I have no hesitation in recommending that the same boots be supplied to us—*one* pair a year, instead of as at present two pairs from the jail and which are quite useless. I propose that these boots be given to the special force and reserve. The jail boots are *no use*, be it remembered. In times when they should be *used* they are put aside, because they cannot be used. And who will say they are ornamental!

Water-bottles.—If the Reserve and the Special Force men may keep their water-bottles, there is no more to be said. Certainly they want them. Before we got the bottles we had to halt frequently in the scorching sun to get water; and water was not always obtainable.

Signalling.—I propose that a staff of signallers be maintained in the reserve, sanction being given for instruments and the signaller's allowance for three head constables and twelve constables and for an instructor for six months, and I propose that the signaller's allowance be given to as many of the Special Force constables as will pass the test. This is even more important than the other. After all, not very many will go in for it. The more signallers the better. It is a capital means for developing intelligence and steadiness.

Kaki for the Reserve.—I propose that the reserve be clothed in kaki with green turbands as the Special Force now. You saw how filthy the Reserve men's white clothing was. I brought a party in to Pandikad in order to show you. Besides, men in white and red are visible a long way off. Scouts on the hills can see them a long distance, while men in kaki are invisible. And for their ordinary escort duties, kaki will be much more suitable. They will be much smarter.

Cooking vessels.—I was trying to arrange about these just before the outbreak. A set of light metal vessels fitting one inside the other and a metal plate for each man, all to pack up neatly, would be useful.

Carriage.—I spoke to the Special Commissioner about this and was not sure whether mules or porters would be best. I now decide in favour of the latter. We very often have to go where mules cannot go. Men can go where we can and may be always ready at a moment's notice. We must have some porters for carrying ammunition, hospital kit, and a few necessaries; fifteen would suffice for this, and they might be had for Rs. 7 a month. They need not be given clothing, or but part-worn blue coats and a part-worn turband and an old belt and a blanket. They would be less costly than mules, more useful in the field as well as in camp. Before the outbreak when making rules for the men marching out equipped properly, I arranged that a certain number of men be selected to be engaged as porters at a moment's notice. It was no use: as soon as rumours of the outbreak reached Malappuram, there was not one of them to be found. They should be enlisted under the Police Act and thus made amenable to discipline.

But I am not at all sure that we would always carry and use cooking vessels. Before all things the company must march light, and the necessity for these things and for porters to carry them may be done away with in this way. If the Government

will be pleased to allow payment to be made for food supplied to the men on occasions when they cannot cook it themselves, this would be the most economical arrangement by far, and the easiest and best. It is difficult to explain. There are no shops to buy food, and if one relied on cooking ourselves we should have to carry about a large quantity of rice. We can manage some how quite well enough if no objection is made to payment on occasions. Many people supplied food to the men and would take no payment. For even if we had the vessels without rice, etc., they would be of no use and we could not be burdened with rice; and where we can get the one we can get the other. The cost would be very little indeed. If this be granted, then we can do without the cooking vessels and porters to carry them. But of course this would not do away with the necessity for the porters for ammunition, etc. The men carry always something in their haversack; and with *coffee and biscuit* in the morning, they will manage excellently. Whenever out in the field the men should have coffee and biscuit in the morning. They were very grateful for it this time, the cost is little, and it helped more than anything else to keep them in health. Before they got it in the middle of the little campaign, many is the day they had to march all day and get no food until the evening.

Serge clothing.—The brown woollen clothing is so thick and heavy that the men object to wear it even in the rains. If they were to turn out for an outbreak during the time when warm clothing is worn, it is kaki and not woollen clothes they would wear. I propose they be given kaki coloured *serge* clothing, of *English material* (Cawnpore stuff is always parti-coloured, and a company dressed in it looks like an arrangement in shades of brown), instead of the woollen clothing; it would be much better.

Ammunition.—I propose that the annual allotment per rifle for Special Force and Reserve be increased to 150 instead of as at present 100, in order to improve the shooting.

If the rewards I propose be granted and these sanctioned, then you can rely on the Special Force company being always ready for its work. The "Company Kâran" have earned a position of respect and they will be able to hold it, and remain ready at a moment's notice. And as Hamlet says, "The readiness is all."

69. At last I am able to bring this long report to conclusion. Mr. Bidie was in the field for a week or ten days. Mr. Wilkinson was with me throughout. Mr. Cardozo who was for some days at Mannarghat with the troops had his share of difficulties in Pounáni and Alattúr. I hope it is not out of place for me to say here that these gentlemen worked to the top of their bent helping me to pull the district through the trying period which has now, happily, ended.

Note.—I enclose an Appendix G from figures found after the report was written.

G.O., No. 968, Judicial, dated 6th June 1896.

Abstract.—Expressing the satisfaction of His Excellency the Governor in Council at the excellent behaviour and marching of the troops when assisting the civil power in the recent outbreak.

Letter from the Inspector-General of Police, dated 19th June 1896, No. 2145.

Abstract.—Reporting, with reference to G.O., No. 791, Judicial, dated 3rd July 1896, regarding the provision of cooking utensils for the special Police Force of Malabar and the grant of compensation for damage to the mens' clothing during the outbreak.

From M. HAMMICK, Esq., I.C.S., Inspector-General of Police, Madras, to the Chief Secretary to Government, dated Madras, 26th June 1896, No. 2553.

I have the honour, with reference to G.O., No. 968, J.D., dated 6th June 1896, to submit a report from Mr. Fawcett on the subject of Police signalling during the last Mappilla outbreak.

2. I agree with Mr. Fawcett that, in view of our ignorance as to where the next outbreak may take place, it is not advisable to construct permanent signalling stations. The Police could not assist the Military in the last outbreak in the matter, as they were working away from them most of the time. If, as I shall propose, our Police staff of signallers is strengthened, they will very likely be able to help the soldiers when the next outbreak occurs.

From F. FAWCETT, Esq., Superintendent of Police, Malabar, to the Inspector-General of Police, Madras, dated Calicut, 16th June 1896, No. 452.

I have the honour to reply to your C. No. 346, Government of 1896, and to return the copy of the Government Order on which is your endorsement.

The subject to be reported on is "whether it was found impossible to require the signalling staff of the Malappuram reserve to assist the troops and whether they were only of use to the police themselves"; and it seems to be better to answer it indirectly.

There are instruments in the Malappuram reserve for two signalling parties only; therefore, the signalling parties of the Police can never suffice for both Police and Military. We really want more Police signallers quite apart from the Military, and for this reason I have proposed already the institution of signalling in the A reserve. As a matter of fact, after the first few days of the outbreak, the Police were employed away from the Military hunting the second gang and it was here that our signallers were of most use.

I can therefore safely say that it was practically impossible to employ the Malappuram signallers for the Military as well as for the Police.

Perhaps I had better say something of the suggestion of Captain Chad's to construct regular signalling stations on certain hills. To do this would certainly be costly. The mere keeping down the jungle around them would be an item the Government would not care to pay; and, even if constructed, these very signalling stations might be quite out of view or quite useless. It would no doubt be a great advantage to have a signalling station in the top of Pandalur hill, 2,000 feet high, and which is visible all over the troublesome tract; but to erect a station there would be very costly and a road of some kind would be essential. Men could never be placed in an isolated post as on top of this hill unless they formed a very strong party, and then how are they to be fed, for any article of food excepting water must be carried up from below or unless they were in a small redoubt or fort, it would not be safe. I thought of proposing that the hill be prepared as a regular signalling station, but anticipation of the cost deterred me.

I think we will do very well provided we have plenty of smart signallers who are able to find points quickly.

From J. HEWETSON, Esq., Acting Collector and President, District Board, Malabar, to the Chief Secretary to Government, dated Calicut, 13th July 1896, No. A-Confidl.

Government telegram, dated the 2nd instant, enquired if the district board had any scheme for opening up the Mappilla country by roads and I replied that the board had no funds to spare for the purpose. As it seems to me very essential that parts of the Calicut, Ernad and Walluvanad taluks should be provided with better roads, I propose that a supervisor on Rs. 100 a month with a small staff be appointed for 3 months to survey and level the necessary lines of road and paid from Provincial funds. He should work under the supervision of the district board engineer. This, of course, is on the assumption that the Provincial Government is prepared to make and maintain the roads, for the district board cannot possibly do the work in the present state of its funds. When the new settlement is introduced or if the Local Government would undertake the duty of maintaining roads in planting districts, other arrangements may be made. There will be a surplus of about Rs. 3,000 from the fines for the 1894 outbreak which can be taken in part-payment for the work.

2. The first road to be undertaken is one from Kuttangudi ferry near Malappuram to Pandicad *viâ* the Pandalur hill. This has been already surveyed and is estimated to cost of Rs. 15,500. Work could begin on this road at once. It is lettered A on the enclosed tracing.

3. The second road, I would recommend, is an extension of road No. 50 from Kanniparamba Police station to Ariakode *viâ* Trikalur. This would give a shorter and better road to Ariakode than road No. 5 *viâ* Ferokh and Kundotti. This road is marked B on the plan. Connected with this is a short line marked C to connect Kanniparamba Police station on road No. 50 with Manacheri on road No. 49. This would be very useful for local traffic, but is not very urgent from the present point of view. A bridge on road No. 49 at the 11th mile is also required.

4. A line from Kalikavu on the supara ghât road towards Nilambúr is marked D on the tracing; it is suggested by Mr. Fawcett, but I do not consider it very urgent.

5. E is a very important and necessary road from Kalikavu to Melatur Police station. This should be one of the first undertaken.

6. Road No. 62 on the tracing from Mambram to Kundotti should also be remade and kept up. The roads from Kundotti to Ariakode and Edavanna is not so urgent and would require two large bridges to be of any real use.

7. I may mention that the bridge between Manjeri and Pandicad is being reconstructed this year by the district board and that work is being done on the road from Wandur towards the Supara ghât.

8. A good bungalow is very badly wanted at Pandicad, which is in the centre of the most likely tract for future disturbances. At present there is only a one-roomed shed there, in which eight officers were living for several days during the last outbreak.

9. I think that these proposals would meet the immediate requirements from a strategic point of view.

A.

Minute of dissent by His Excellency the Governor, dated 7th August 1896.

B.

Minute by His Excellency the Governor, dated 7th August 1896.

Minute by the Hon'ble Mr. H. W. Bliss, c.i.e., dated 15th August 1896.

Minute by the Hon'ble Mr. J. Grose, c.i.e., dated 18th August 1896.

Minute of partial dissent by His Excellency the Governor, dated 23rd August 1896.

Minute by His Excellency the Governor, dated 23rd August 1896.

Minute by the Hon'ble Mr. J. Grose, c.i.e., dated 27th August 1896.

Minute by the Hon'ble Mr. H. W. Bliss, c.i.e., dated 27th August 1896.

Order—No. 1567, Judicial, dated 30th September 1896.

The papers read above relate to the Mappilla outbreak which occurred in east Ernad in the Malabar district in February and March last.

2. The circumstances attending it are sufficiently exhibited in the reports of Mr. Winterbotham and the local officers.

3. The immediate causes of the rising are, as usual, obscure. The delay in the collection of the fines inflicted on account of the outbreak of 1894 appears to have been due rather to the elaborate nature of the principles upon which they were assessed than to any fault or negligence of the local officers, but in any case it is clear from paragraph 45 of Mr. Winterbotham's report of the 5th of May last, read above,

that this delay in no way operated as a cause. Should the levy of fines be considered necessary in the case of future outbreaks, the more summary methods of assessing them, suggested by Mr. Winterbotham in paragraph 46 of his further report, should be adopted. Fanaticism, rendered possible and strengthened by the presence of poverty and the absence of education and civilization, appears to have been the main reason which occasioned the disturbance, and such matters as Kochu Kaiyan Mussaliar's resentment at his treatment by the Tuvur adigari's brother and the removal of the so-called prayer-shed at Paiyanad are clearly rather pretexts to justify fanaticism than actual immediate causes of the outbreak.

4. The action of the District Magistrate, Mr. Hewetson, in ordering the troops to fire upon the fanatics at the Manjéri temple (which before full information on the subject was submitted appeared to require justification) has been shown by the reports since received, and especially by Mr. Winterbotham's letter of the 10th April, to have been warranted not only by the dictates of prudence but by the provisions of the law. It was known to him that, when outbreaks of this sort occur, the Mappilla fanatics go out with the set purpose of obtaining eternal bliss by death, and resolved to die, but before dying to kill as many infidels as they can; and that no Mappilla gang has ever surrendered. In this particular case, the gang, after committing murder, arson, desecration and robbery, had taken their stand in a temple which had been similarly occupied before and where a gang in 1849 had two actions with the troops and killed or wounded three officers and twelve privates before it was finally destroyed. On the opposite side of the temple to that on which Mr. Hewetson and Captain Chadds approached it by a forced march was the Taluk Cutcherry. It was quite near to the temple and in it were a treasury, several fugitives and twenty soldiers. Mr. Hewetson knew that the fanatics had fired on this place without provocation and that they had been called upon to surrender, but had refused to do so. He had been informed, also, that the little body of soldiers at the Taluk Cutcherry was hard pressed, was short of ammunition and had lost two men already. When Mr. Hewetson, with Captain Chadds and the troops, came within sight of the temple, they found that there was a deep valley between them and it, and that if they descended into this valley they would lose the advantage of their position, which was on the brow of a hill overlooking the temple, and expose themselves to great danger from such a rush as these gangs always make. They saw, too, that if they lost time in parleying the gang might descend on the Taluk Cutcherry, and annihilate the soldiers and fugitives who were there. Under these circumstances Mr. Hewetson was justified in attacking the gang as he did. The effect of the attack was disastrous to the gang, only two of them having been captured alive; many more would have been so taken but for the fact that some of the gang were brutal enough themselves to put an end to the lives of their comrades, wounded and unwounded alike. Mr. Hewetson acted then and throughout the outbreak in a manner which merits the approval of Government, and it is without doubt largely due to his successful management of the affair that matters were prevented from assuming a far more serious aspect than they actually did.

5. The Government now proceeds to deal with the most important of the questions raised in these papers, namely, the steps which should be taken to check the recurrence of risings of the nature of that which occurred in February last.

6. The first point to be considered is the punishment which should be awarded to the amsams in which the outbreak occurred or from which the rioters came, and to those persons who were concerned in it and who are now under arrest. It has been usual in the case of previous similar occasions to levy from the amsams which were in any way concerned the compensations and fines the infliction of which is authorized by section 9 of Madras Act XX. of 1859. The opinions recorded in the reports read above are not entirely unanimous on the question whether this course should, in the present instance, be persevered in; but His Excellency the Governor in Council has, after full and careful consideration of the matter, arrived at the conclusion that to do so on this occasion is undesirable. Two of the main considerations which have influenced this decision are the facts that far less sympathy with the fanatics was exhibited by the Mappilla community generally during the recent outbreak than

on former occasions, and that the levy of fines would tend to accentuate the poverty of this class in the eastern portion of the Ernad and Walavanad taluks which appears to be one of the main, if not the main, predisposing cause of fanaticism in that part of Malabar.

7. The cases of the thirty-six persons who were originally arrested in connection with the outbreak, and who are referred to in the District Magistrate's letters of the 2nd and 8th of May read above, will now be dealt with. Of these, No. 21, Chakála Kunnan Kunhiyan, has since died.

Nos. 13, Nariramparambath Ossan Moidin Kutti, 20, Arakkuparamban Avulla, 22, Ossán Unnien, 28, Tayyil Alivi, 29, Kundúr Ayammad Kutti Mulla, and 30, Máliyakkal Moyan Kutti, have already been released by the District Magistrate. The Government approves his action. The District Magistrate recommends that Nos. 33, Peedikaparamban Marakkarutti, 34, Thechiyólan Unni Ayamed, and 35, Kunnummal Ahmed, should be set at liberty. The Government concurs with him in this opinion and he has already been instructed by telegraph to release them immediately. No. 23, Máttummal Moidin, will be deported from Malabar under the provisions of the Mappilla Act XX. of 1859 and Regulation II. of 1819 and detained in the Reformatory School at Chingleput until he is 18 years of age. His case should then be specially reported to Government. In the meanwhile, the usual half-yearly reports required by the Regulation must be furnished to Government by the Superintendent of the school through the Director of Public Instruction. The boy should be separated, as far as possible, from the other Mappilla boy who is already confined in the school for connection with the outbreak of 1894.

Nos. 1, Kochu Kayyan Moidin Kutti Mussaliar, 2, Kappa Kunnan Mootha, 3, Pottammal Unni Mammad, 4, Alingal Aidru, 5, Aruviralan Mootha, 6, Cheruman Raman, 7, Puzhuthini Kunhayu, 9, Kuttipuliyan Ahmed, 10, Mattummal Veeran, 17, Páppádathil Mammu, 18, Kazhu Kunnumel Chek Kutti, 19, Parakkadan Ahmed Háji, 24, Kaithavalappan Kunhólan, 25, Aruviralan Athoyi, 26, Naipadath Kunhanmán, 27, Ambát Aidros, and Koyithodi Ahmed, whose case is dealt with in Mr. Hewetson's letter, Ref. on C. No. 1188, dated 19th May 1896, will be deported and detained in jail under the provisions of the Mappilla Act XX. of 1859 and Regulation II. of 1819 pending the pleasure of Government. The Government considers that the case of Nos. 1—5, 7, 10 and 27 can only be adequately met by their confinement in a jail outside the limits of this Presidency, and the Government of India will be at once addressed in view to ascertaining whether accommodation for them in such jails can be made available. The others, Nos. 6, 9, 17, 18, 19, 24, 25 and 26 and Koyithodi Ahmed will be detained in jails within the Presidency.

Nos. 12, Veluthedath Moidin, 14, Chittirámpalli Mootha, 15, Konnath Pari, 16, Talakkolath Ahmed, 31, Kóttápádan Mammi, and 32, Pottayil Mammad Mussaliar, will be deported from Malabar and detained under police surveillance, though not in custody, in districts on the East Coast. Orders will hereafter be issued as to the jails in which those of the above persons who are to be detained in jail will be kept and as to the towns in which the remainder will be required to reside. The case against No. 11, Karangádan Ayamed, is doubtful, and he should be released. The evidence against the Tuvur Tangal, Kottakuth Imbichi Koya Tangal, is not strong, and in consideration of this and of the fact that six months have now elapsed since the outbreak, the Government is of opinion that he should not be arrested. The complicity of No. 8, Kuttipuliyan Moidin Kutti, turns upon the proof of his presence at Arimbra Nair's house at a certain time. Further evidence upon this point should be taken from others of those who were present at the house and a report submitted to Government. The District Magistrate will report, after the lapse of six months, whether it is, in his opinion, safe to allow No. 6, Cheruman Raman, and 32, Pottayil Mammad Mussaliar, to then return to Malabar.

8. The Government now proceeds to consider what measures are practicable to remedy the condition of the Mappillas in east Ernad and Walavanad. It has already been stated that their poverty and the want of education and civilization operate as predisposing causes to the fanaticism which is so rife among them, and any remedies must have for their object the improvement of education and the advancement of

civilization among them and such enhancement of their material prosperity as it is possible to attain by action on the part of Government. The insecurity of land tenure under the janmi system, which is referred to in the reports read above, has no doubt operated to a considerable extent to prevent the agricultural Mappillas in the south-east portion of Malabar from maintaining that material prosperity which has rendered outbreaks on the sea-coast a matter of the past. The question of the revision of land tenures in Malabar is one which bristles with difficulties. It is now under consideration in the Revenue Department, and Government is unwilling in the meantime to undertake any piecemeal legislation such as that referred to in paragraph 53 of Mr. Winterbotham's letter of the 5th of May last. His suggestions will, however, be transferred to that department for consideration and disposal in connection with the subject of Tenancy Law in Malabar, and it will be requested to expedite, as far as possible, the settlement of the question therein alluded to.

9. With regard to education, special efforts have in recent years been made to encourage its spread in the Mappilla country. Mappillas have been included among the "backward classes" and enjoy the privileges conferred upon such communities by the Grant-in-Aid Code. After the outbreak of 1894, a Sub-Assistant Inspector of Mappilla Schools and two Inspecting Schoolmasters were appointed to supervise the education of this class on the West Coast, and a number of primary schools intended for Mappillas exclusively were opened there at the cost of Provincial funds. The Director of Public Instruction will be requested to report the degree of success which has attended these measures. A Mappilla scholarship scheme has also been brought into force. The Government is inclined to doubt whether this scheme altogether meets the objects for which it was intended. The scholarships are awarded on the results of the Matriculation, Lower Secondary and Primary examinations, but there seems reason to believe that very few indeed of the Mappilla schools have yet succeeded in reaching even the primary standard, and it is therefore a matter for question whether the scholarships are really of use in encouraging education among Mappilla boys. The Director of Public Instruction will consider whether it is not advisable to grant the scholarships to pupils of lower standards, to multiply them considerably, and to restrict them entirely to Mappilla boys in the eastern part of Ernad and Walavanad, and report the result. It is certain, however, that whatever steps be taken to facilitate its spread, education must necessarily operate with exceeding slowness in raising the Mappillas as a community. The difficulties explained in paragraph 50 of Mr. Winterbotham's later report, and the importance assigned by all Mappillas to religious, as opposed to secular, teaching, must always obstruct the rapid spread of the latter.

10. After full consideration of the subject the Government is disposed to rely, for the raising of the Mappilla community of the portion of Malabar where risings almost invariably take place, mainly upon the opening up of the wild country in which they reside by means of a system of roads. History is full of instances of the civilizing effect of these, under not dissimilar circumstances. The President of the District Board has already been requested in G.O., No. 1299 L., dated 17th July 1896, to submit, at the earliest date, estimates for repairing the broken bridges on roads No. 57 (Tirur to Malappuram) and No. 55 (Manjéri to Manarghat), and it appears from his letter No. A, dated 13th July 1896, read above, that one of the bridges on the latter of these roads is already under re-construction. In the same letter he states that a road from Kutlangadi ferry, near Malappuram, to Pandikad *viâ* the Pandalur hill has already been surveyed and that its estimated cost is Rs. 15,500. Neither Mr. Winterbotham nor Mr. Fawcett appear to regard a road from Malappuram to Pandalur as necessary, though the former recommends the construction of a road from Pandalur to Pandikad and the latter one from Pandalur to Mudikod. The Collector should, accordingly, report whether the road in question will take the place of any, and if so, which of the roads which have been suggested in the papers read above, or if it is required independently of them, and if so, why. In the meantime the estimates for it should be scrutinized in the Public Works Department, to which the Collector should send it, and the propriety of granting an allotment from Provincial funds for carrying out the work speedily will thereafter be considered. The Public Works

Department will also be requested to state whether it can spare an Assistant Engineer to survey and prepare estimates for such other roads in that part of the country as are most urgently called for. It appears to the Government on perusal of the report of Mr. Fawcett read above, of Mr. Winterbotham's letter of the 5th of May last, and of the report from the District Board already referred to, that roads (1) from Melatur through Karuvarakundu to Kalikavu and thence to Nilambúr, (2) from Kanniparamba police station on road No. 50 to Ariakode *viâ* Tirukkalliyur, and (3) from Pandikad through Tuvur to Karuvarakundu should first be considered. The Public Works Department will accordingly be requested to prepare and submit to Government estimates for these three roads. The question whether the roads to be constructed should be executed by the Public Works Department or by the District Board will be determined hereafter, but it appears to Government to be indispensable that the undertakings should be kept, as far as possible, out of the hands of contractors and be carried through departmentally. It is very desirable that the money spent upon them in paying for labour should pass, as far as possible, into the hands of the Mappillas who live in the country through which they will run and who appear at present to habitually earn a labour wage which is far below that ruling in other parts of the Presidency, and which is insufficient to keep them from grinding poverty. If necessary, the assistance of the Revenue Department should be obtained to collect and concentrate the labour which is required.

11. Certain improvements in the arrangements existing in the special police force and the reserve in Malabar appear to be called for. The Inspector-General of Police supports Mr. Fawcett's proposals that three new police stations should be established—one each in Kalikavu, Karuvarakundu and Chambrasseri. The Inspector-General will be requested to report more fully upon the necessity for this measure. It is not understood how, if these stations are to be kept without arms, the station at Chambrasseri could serve as a guard for the adigari's house. Without arms, also, the police in these stations would be useless in the suppression of any outbreak and could not do more than collect and communicate information. But for this purpose it does not seem necessary to establish three new stations in so small an area or to keep in them so considerable a strength of constables as is proposed. The Inspector-General's suggestions in his letter of the 9th of June last regarding boots, water-bottles, and khaki and serge clothing are approved and sanctioned. The Government also agrees with him that there is no immediate necessity to raise the allotment of ammunition in the special force and reserve from 100 to 150 rounds per rifle. The entertainment of a permanent establishment of porters for carrying ammunition and kit while on the march similarly appears to be in excess of requirements. The Superintendent of Police will now be authorized, in the event of another outbreak, to incur such unusual expenditure while on the march as may be necessary to buy supplies for his men locally when transport is impracticable. As regards ammunition each man should be able to carry without difficulty 60 or more rounds in a bandolier. In the unlikely event of more than this quantity being required, a few of the men themselves should be detailed as carriers of what is needed. Further orders on the subject of signallers will be deferred until the receipt of the definite proposals upon the subject which the Inspector-General of Police promises to submit to Government. Mr. Winterbotham's suggestion in paragraph 56 of his letter of the 5th of May that dark lanterns should be provided for night marching will be transferred to the Inspector-General of Police for disposal.

12. It remains to express the thanks of Government to the various officers whose efforts in the prompt suppression of the outbreak. and in dealing with the questions which arise from it, are deserving of commendation. Mr. Winterbotham's judgment and experience of the district have been of the greatest assistance to the Government, and he has executed the difficult and troublesome work allotted to him with much promptitude and ability. Mr. Hewetson's successful conduct of affairs has already been noticed, and Mr. Gillespie appears to have rendered him much assistance both during the outbreak and in the inquiry which followed it. P. Kunjayan, Sub-Magistrate of Ernad, appears to have acted very judiciously and promptly at the outset of affairs in arresting the four men suspected of originating the affair (a duty in which he was

well aided by Moussa Kutti, the adigari of Wandur) and to have been of much assistance in the course of the inquiry held subsequent to the outbreak. The Government has placed on record separately its appreciation of the excellent behaviour of the special police force and the reserve. A gratuity of one month's pay to the men of all ranks of both bodies who actually took part in suppressing the outbreak is sanctioned as a mark of this appreciation, and the grant of the rewards to the head constables and constables referred to in paragraph 6 of Mr. Hammick's letter of the 9th of June is approved. The special force is already distinguished from the reserve by the local allowances which are paid to it, and the Government is of opinion that further differentiation is not desirable. The praiseworthy conduct of the police is without doubt very largely due to the efforts and example of their officers Messrs. Fawcett, Bidie, Wilkinson and Cardozo. Mr. Fawcett's devotion to his duties during the outbreak and his subsequent thorough inquiry into the circumstances attending it are deserving of every commendation. The Government has perused with pleasure the testimony borne by the Superintendent of Police and Inspector-General of Police to the excellent work performed by Inspector Chey Kutti. The recommendation of Mr. Fawcett with regard to this officer, which is supported by Mr. Hammick, has been noted.

(True Extract.)

A. T. ARUNDEL,
Ag. Chief Secretary.

To the District Magistrate, Malabar.
„ Collector, Malabar.
„ Inspector-General of Police.
„ „ of Prisons.
„ Commissioner of Police, Madras.
„ Director of Public Instruction.
„ Accountant-General.
„ Public Works Department.
„ Educational Department.
„ Revenue Department.
„ Financial Department.
„ Public Department (with reference to paragraph 10).
Copy to H. M. Winterbotham, Esq., I.C.S.
„ to J. Hewetson, Esq., I.C.S.
Editors' Table.

Public Works (1896) Department.

G.O., No. 315345

DATED 3rd November 1896

Despatch Abstract.]

Cholera outbreak: Proc: Judicial dept
Passing orders on papers relating to the — which
occurred in East Coast in Malabar Dt
in February & March last, contd to 31st
inst.

T. C. 3/11.

[P.W. 25.
2,000—23-10-96.]

G.O.	No.	Department.	Date.	G.O.	No.	Department.	Date.

FURTHER PAPERS.

G.O.	No.	Department.	Date.	G.O.	No.	Department.	Date.

Public works (1896) Department

Current No: 9479

Government {1896} of Madras.

JUDICIAL.

Applin for 55c 30/10/96

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Recd. 21. 10. } 1896.
Regd. 21. 10. }

Enclosures

Spare copies 9 Sc

G.O., No. 1567, 30th September 1896.

No 3153 W of 3rd November 1896

B

Communicated to

SEPTEMBER. the Inspr Genl IV Circle

in continuation of No

No 2844 W of 2nd Octr 1896

& No 3006 W of 23rd idem

28/10/96

Cr

S.S. IV Circle

5/11/96

Mappilla Outbreak.

Passing orders on papers relating to the — which occurred in East Ernad in the Malabar district in February and March last.

GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS.

JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT.

Read—again the following papers :—

G.O., No. 502, Judicial, dated 11th March 1896.

Abstract.—Directing Mr H. M. Winterbotham, I.C.S., to make inquiries regarding the causes, ultimate and immediate, of the recent Mappilla outbreak and the reason of the delay which occurred in the assessment and collection of the fines imposed under the Mappilla Act in connection with the outbreak of 1894.

G.O., No. 662, dated 4th April 1896.

Abstract.—Stating that His Excellency the Governor in Council has perused with much interest Mr. Hewetson's testimony to the good work done during the recent outbreak by Mr. Fawcett, the Special Police force and the Reserve in the Malabar district.

G.O., No. 699, Judicial, dated 8th April 1896.

Abstract.—Requesting the District Magistrate of Malabar to expedite the report on the outbreak and reminding him that it is necessary that he should justify his action at the affair at Manjéri temple.

Letter from the District Magistrate, Malabar, No. A, dated 18th April 1896.

Abstract.—Replying to the order last quoted.

G.O., No. 733, Judicial, dated 21st April 1896.

Abstract.—Recording the interim report by the Inspector-General of Police upon the outbreak.

G.O., No. 791, Judicial, dated 30th April 1896.

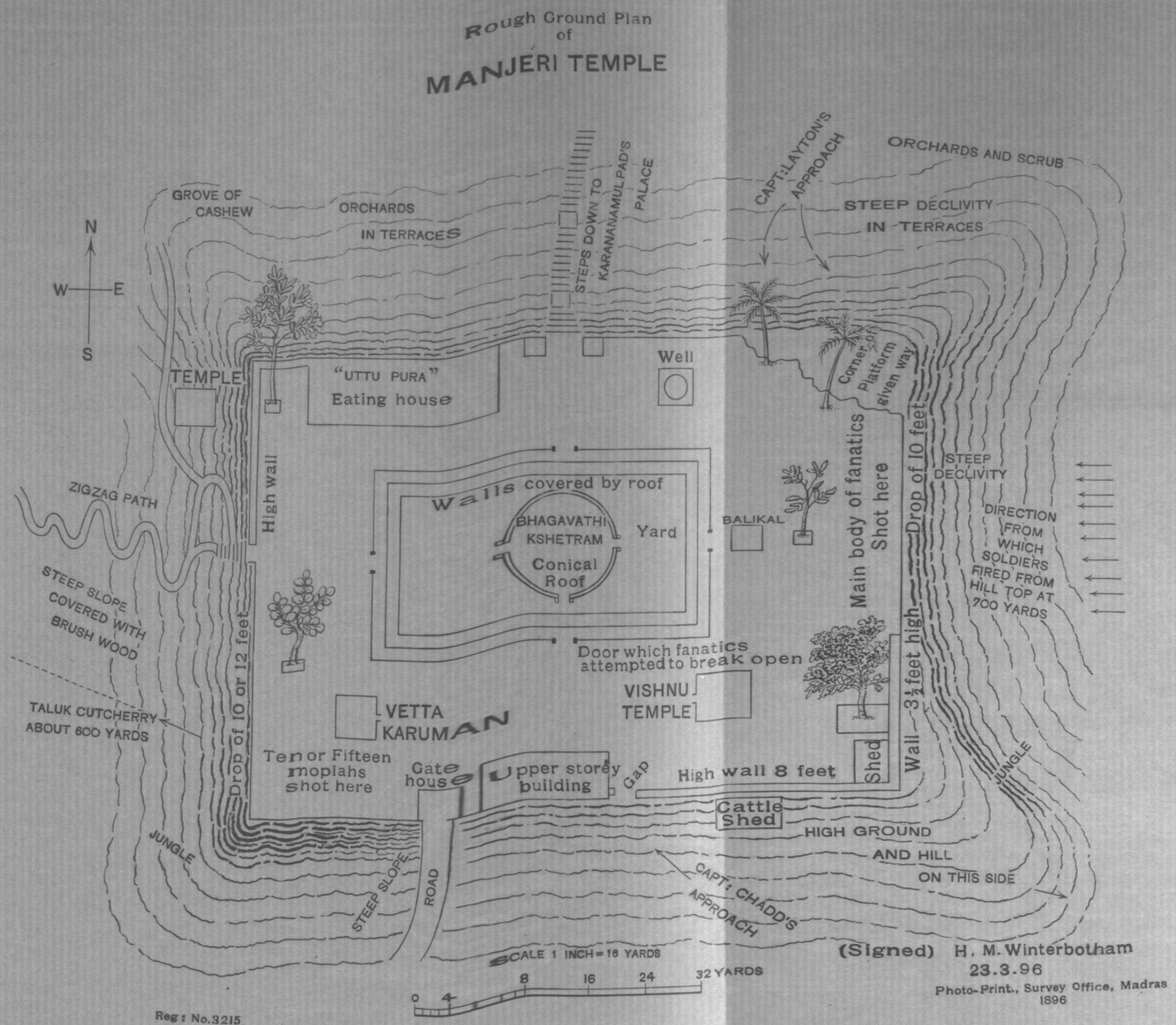
Read—the following papers :—

From H. M. WINTERBOTHAM, Esq., Member, Board of Revenue, to the Chief Secretary to Government, dated Madras, 10th April 1896.

With reference to G.O., No. 502, dated 11th March 1896, Judicial, I have the honour to report that I left Madras on the evening of 11th March, and reached Malappuram at 6 P.M. on 12th March.

On 13th March after taking a statement from a wounded fanatic at the Malappuram Barracks (Enclosure No. I), I rode on to Manjéri ; and, on arrival there, received news that the remnant of the fanatics, whom Mr. Fawcett, the Superintendent of Police, had been diligently pursuing through forest and jungle for nearly a fortnight, had taken up their stand in a granary about 19 miles away, near the foot of the Koondah mountains.

Mr. Hewetson, the District Magistrate, arrived in the evening from Pandikad, and with 25 men of the S. Staffordshire Regiment, we marched 12 miles by night to Wandur. On arrival there at dawn we learnt that the number of fanatics in the


Rough Ground Plan
of
MANJERI TEMPLE
N
W
E
S
GROVE OF CASHEW
ORCHARDS IN TERRACES
STEPS DOWN TO KARANAMULPAD'S PALACE
CAPT: LAYTON'S APPROACH
ORCHARDS AND SCRUB
STEEP DECLIVITY IN TERRACES
TEMPLE
"UTTU PURA" Eating house
Well
Corner of Platform given way
ZIGZAG PATH
High wall
Walls covered by roof
BHAGAVATHI KSHETRAM
Conical Roof
Yard
BALIKAL
Main body of fanatics Shot here
Drop of 10 feet
STEEP DECLIVITY
DIRECTION FROM WHICH SOLDIERS FIRED FROM HILL TOP AT 700 YARDS
STEEP SLOPE COVERED WITH BRUSH WOOD
Drop of 10 or 12 feet
Door which fanatics attempted to break open
VISHNU TEMPLE
TALUK CUTCHERRY ABOUT 600 YARDS
VETTA KARUMAN
Ten or Fifteen moplahs shot here
Gate house
Upper storey building
Gap
High wall 8 feet
Shed
Wall — 3½ feet high
JUNGLE
Cattle Shed
HIGH GROUND AND HILL ON THIS SIDE
STEEP SLOPE
ROAD
CAPT: CHADD'S APPROACH
SCALE 1 INCH = 16 YARDS
0 4 8 16 24 32 YARDS
(Signed) H. M. Winterbotham
23.3.96
Photo-Print., Survey Office, Madras
1896
Reg: No. 3215
Copies 50+118

granary was only three; that they had refused to surrender; that the Special Police had attacked their position on the previous evening; and that two of the three fanatics had been killed, and the third severely wounded.

2. This news was confirmed by the arrival of Mr. Fawcett at Wandur, with the wounded man. The latter expressed his wish to make a statement, and I at once proceeded to record what he had to say (Enclosure No. II). Exhaustion prevented him from completing his story. Up to 31st March, he was still too ill to stand further interrogation, but is likely to recover.

3. That same morning (14th March) certain Mappillas brought in two young men (Mappillas) from the jungle, and on being confronted with the wounded man he identified them as two of the gang of seven referred to in his statement.

I took statements from them (Enclosures IV and V). Another of the seven committed suicide by shooting himself in the jungle. Six were thus accounted for, and on 16th March, the seventh, who had been arrested at his hut in Vettatur, about 20 miles away, was produced before me and made a confessional statement (Enclosure No. III).

4. Adding the seven men above referred to to the ninety-two killed and wounded at Manjéri on 1st March, the total number concerned in the outbreak was ninety-nine; and so far as we could learn the tale of those who had pledged themselves to die in fight was thus complete.

5. After recording all available evidence relevant to my enquiry, I left Wandur on 17th March, and spent a fortnight in touring with Mr. Fawcett through the Chembrashéri, Tuvur, Pândikâd, Paiyanâd, Manjéri and Mangada Pallipuram amsams; following as far as we could the wanderings of the fanatics, visiting many of their houses, and the scenes of their outrages, and collecting what evidence came to hand.

6. The houses and huts of the fanatics are scattered over about one hundred square miles of wild, hilly, jungle-covered country, much of which is deadly feverish at this time of year. Nearly half the gang belonged to the Chembrashéri and Tuvur amsams, and dwelt within a few miles of the foot of the old Sispara Ghaut road, which in the first half of the century was the best route for reaching Ootacamund.

For the last fifteen years the ghaut has been abandoned, and a white face is now seldom seen in that neighbourhood. Right up to the foot of the ghauts much of the virgin forest has been burnt and cleared for fugitive hill cultivation, and the swamps between the smaller hills have been reclaimed and converted into paddy-fields.

The abandoned hill-clearings are generally covered with a dense growth of lantana, brushwood and scrub jungle. Scattered along the hill sides, on the edges of the paddy-fields, are the huts and houses of the Hindu and Mappilla inhabitants, each dwelling standing in its own compound, and generally overshadowed by plantations of jack and mango trees, areca palms, and clusters of bamboo.

7. Roads are few and far between, and the proper maintenance of these, with their many bridges and culverts, is already beyond the resources of the Local Boards. Off the made roads it is well high impossible to travel except on foot, and walking over such difficult country is slow and toilsome work.

8. Most of the fanatics killed at Manjéri on 1st March came from the jungles many miles away and were quite unknown at Manjéri.

It was impossible to preserve the bodies pending enquiry, and when they were burnt only twenty-five had been identified.

The identification of the rest, and the ascertainment of their individual circumstances and grievances, can only be accomplished by tedious enquiry throughout the difficult region above described, and the task is still far from finished. The Special Assistant Magistrate, and two Sub-Magistrates temporarily employed for the purpose, are pushing on with it.

9. With the permission of Government I came back to Madras on 2nd April to obtain instructions on certain points; and before returning to complete my task I think it desirable, in case of accident, to submit for the information of Government the more important of the statements which I have recorded, with some

remarks thereupon. It is impossible to report with confidence on the causes of the outbreak until I am in possession of fuller information regarding each individual member of the gang; but the statements appended to this letter will show what the survivors have to say for themselves, and will perhaps help Government to form an opinion as to whether it was possible to effect the apprehension of the fanatics by any means other than those which were in fact used.

10. The Manjéri temple has on two previous occasions been the scene of locally famous Mappilla outbreaks. In 1784, the temple and the Kâranamulpâd's palace were attacked by a large body of Mappillas, and after a three days' siege were burnt to the ground.

A detachment of Tippu's troops, one thousand strong, marched from Malappuram and attacked the rebels, but sustained a signal defeat with the loss of their commander. (Vide *Correspondence on Mappilla Outrages*, Vol. I, page 101.)

11. The temple was not fully restored till 1849, in April of which year a new idol was installed and consecrated (page 85).

The Mussulman Month of Fast ended on 20th August 1849 (page 72), and on 28th August a gang of about 30 Mappilla fanatics, who had occupied and desecrated the temple, repulsed and put to flight two companies of sepoys, killing four privates and a European officer (page 7).

The gang, which rose in number to 64, was eventually destroyed on 4th September 1849 by European troops, with a loss of two privates killed, and two officers and six privates wounded (page 17).

12. These exploits are still the talk of the whole country side, and it was doubtless in emulation of the prowess of their fathers and grandfathers that the last gang of fanatics selected this temple as a fitting theatre for their death struggle.

13. I enclose a rough ground-plan, and sketch, of the temple. The District Magistrate, writing in the hurry of the moment, stated in his first report that the fanatics had no protection. It would have been more correct to say that they scorned to use the available shelter. If they had chosen, and if their actions had been directed by the dictates of common sense, they might have gained their end, viz., a hand-to-hand encounter with the troops, by taking cover in safety behind the granite basement of the temple on the western side, a position from which they could not have been dislodged except at close quarters.

It was also open to them, at any time, to have retreated or escaped down the north-western slope of the temple hill, under cover of a thick growth of cashew trees, which would have completely hidden them from view.

The Kâranamulpâd, and many other trembling Hindus, who had sought refuge in the Taluk Cutcherry, would then have been at their mercy, and Providence alone is to be thanked that the fanatics were too mad to adopt the only tactics which would have enabled them to shed the blood for which they thirsted.

14. It is perhaps hardly necessary to remark that the past history of Mappilla outrages should be studied before any opinion is formed as to whether the fanatics in the recent outbreak could have been arrested alive. Government is familiar with the two printed volumes of *Correspondence on Mappilla Outrages in Malabar for the years* 1849 *to* 1859, and with the brief account given by Mr. Logan (pages 581 to 598, Vol. I, *Malabar District Manual*) of the suppression of the various outbreaks from 1859 to 1885. The records of a century will be searched in vain for a single instance in which a gang of Mappilla fanatics has been induced to surrender, or in which any member of such gang has been captured unwounded.

15. I served in Malabar continuously from 1870 to 1878, and was Divisional Officer in charge of the Mappilla taluks (Ernâd and Walluvanad) for five years. I served again in Malabar as District Magistrate in 1886, and from 1887 to 1890.

What I received from my predecessors I passed on to my successors in office, viz., that it is, and ever must be, the prime duty of the Malabar Magistrate to suppress a Mappilla outbreak without delay at all costs, and that the special endeavour should be "to prevent them (the fanatics) having the opportunity they covet of personal conflict hand-to-hand with the troops, and of exchanging thier lives for the lives of opponents" (Extract from Minutes of Consultation, dated 20th November 1851, No. 700, para. 17).

16. Mr. Conolly, District Magistrate of Malabar, three years before he himself was murdered by Mappilla fanatics, wrote: "The Mappilla insurgent is a fanatic mad man, whose sole object is to throw away his life after doing all the damage possible to his adversary" (*Correspondence on Mappila Outrages*, Vol. I, page 216), and again (page 227) "They will receive no quarter and fight like mad-men." In the same letter he expresses his entire despair of ever being able to invent a method of capturing the fanatics alive.

Every officer of Malabar experience, who has had to deal with these outbreaks, will confirm the above statements, and share in the despair.

17. The provisions of section 46, and of Chapter IX, of the Criminal Procedure Code, regarding arrests by the Police and the dispersion of unlawful assemblies, were hardly drafted with a view to dealing with gangs of savage fanatics pledged to sell their lives in fight, in a wild country covered with hill and jungle; but the law as it stands will be held, I hope, to completely justify and protect the District Magistrate, the Military and the Police in attacking and destroying the gang.

18. Chapter IX provides that, if an unlawful assembly conducts itself in such a manner as to show a determination not to disperse, and if it is necessary for the public security that it should be dispersed, and if it cannot be otherwise dispersed, the Magistrate of the highest rank who is present may cause it to be dispersed by Military force.

The officer obeying such requisition shall do so in such manner as he thinks fit; but in so doing he shall do as little injury to person and property as may be consistent with dispersing the assembly and arresting and detaining the members of it.

19. In considering the conduct of the District Magistrate and the Military in causing the deaths of ninety men inside the compound of the Manjéri temple on 1st March 1896, the following questions arise:—

(1) What was the nature of the assembly?
(2) Had it shown a determination not to disperse?
(3) Was it necessary to arrest the persons forming members of it?
(4) Could this be done except by firing on the said members at the risk of causing their death?

20. I am not yet in a position to give a full account of the wanderings of the gang and all that they did, but the following facts are accurate as far as they go, and are substantiated by ample evidence:—

For four days, from 26th February to 29th February 1896, the gang wandered about the jungle hunting up recruits, and collecting guns, ammunition and arms by burglary and robbery.

The resolution to go out and die as a 'saint' must always be sealed, and made irrevocable, by some murder. Accordingly, on the night of 26th February they visited the house of one Paniyankunnath Raru Nair, and hacked him to death in a small shed in his front-yard. His blood still stained the ground when I visited the place with Mr. Fawcett on 19th March.

The house is in a secluded spot in Chéramba Désam, Chembrashéri amsam, close to the foot of the uninhabited mountains. The only inmates of the house were the nephew and niece of the murdered man, who escaped and hid in the jungle. Some Cherumars (low-caste Hindu labourers) were sleeping in a shed in the yard, and these also fled. There are rumours, not yet fully investigated, that the murdered Nair had taken a second mortgage over the head of two of the fanatics; but the only motive suggested by the nephew is that the Nair was murdered because the fanatics were disappointed at not finding a gun in the house, and believed that the Nair had hid it.

21. About 7 P.M. on 28th February the gang were seen bathing in a river at Panikod, about 5 miles from Wandur, and their number was then apparently 47. Passing southwards that night, they burnt the Kârai temple in Pandikad amsam about dawn, and reached the Pandalur temple in the fore-noon of February 29th. This temple is a large and ancient one belonging to the Zamorin and is well endowed. The fanatics broke into the large central temple dedicated to Durga, entered the holy-of-holies, dragged out the image of the goddess, and smashed it into three pieces. They also smashed the metal utensils used in worship. From

the shrine dedicated to Vishnu they dragged out the image and broke it at the neck, waist and ankles. The image of Ganapathi was dragged from its shrine and smashed to bits. Some of the band perambulated the temple yard, shouting their war-cry, and smashing the tiled eaves.

22. While thus engaged they were interrupted by the near approach of Captain Layton's Company, and apparently not desiring an encounter there, the gang passed rapidly over several low ranges of hills on the western slopes of Pandalur Hill, descended on the southern side and proceeded to visit two Nambûdri houses in Mangada-Pallipuram in search of arms and food. All the Hindu inmates had fled and hidden themselves. From one of these houses the gang procured a good supply of rice, salt and curry-stuff.

They fired guns, and danced round the yard, chopping the wooden verandah pillars, smashing the tiled eaves and shouting their war-cry. While passing along the hill-side, close to the Nambûdri houses, the gang came upon a Hindu goldsmith. The unfortunate man ran, and the gang started in pursuit, as if playing at hare-and-hounds. The goldsmith rushed down to the paddy-flat, and one or two of his pursuers, overtaking him, cut slashes on his buttocks and shoulder as he ran. The victim then doubled and ran along a deep ditch, overgrown with brush-wood, and there he was shot dead in the back.

The goldsmith lives about half-a-mile from the spot where he was killed, and must have been known to many of the gang, who joined from that vicinity; but up to date enquiry has failed to disclose that the murder was other than wanton and unprovoked.

23. With the food which they had looted the gang ascended a spur of the Pandalur Hill, where there is a spring of water. Some of the gang shot a cow in the cow-shed of a Hindu near by, and near this spring they cooked their beef and rice, and passed the night.

At dawn on the morning of 1st March they reached and entered the Manjéri temple, where they remained until the troops and the District Magistrate arrived.

24. It is to be remembered that both Captain Chads' and Captain Layton's Detachments had been in hot pursuit of the gang for the whole of the preceding day, and at short intervals were receiving reports of the misdoings of the gang, from panic-stricken fugitives, in much greater detail than I have here given.

25. When the troops and District Magistrate arrived at the hill-top and saw the crowd of armed men in the temple-yard, they had ample information that this was the gang of fanatics of which they were in pursuit. The very presence of these Mappillas within the sacred precincts of a Hindu temple was an outrageous trespass, and taking the murders, arson, and desecrations which they had already committed into consideration, along with the well-known history of scores of similar outbreaks, the District Magistrate was, in my opinion, justified in concluding not only that the unlawful assembly showed a determination not to disperse, but also that every member of it intended to fight to the death.

26. It was further known that the fanatics had been engaged with the twenty soldiers at the treasury, and that the latter were short of ammunition. The soldiers could not be seen, and from the cessation of firing there was room to fear that they had been overpowered.

27. Between the hill-top and the temple was a deep valley covered with trees and bushes and broken ground.

Was it under these circumstances incumbent on the Officer Commanding to throw away his advantage of position, and to descend through brushwood and broken ground, where his soldiers might have been attacked hand-to-hand at a grievous disadvantage, merely in order to perform the useless formality of calling upon the fanatics to surrender?

Judging from scores of precedents the probability was that a volley at the fanatics would be answered by their immediately charging out upon the troops, and in view of the necessity of trying this experiment it was prudent not to leave the only position in which such charge could be advantageously met.

To send a message and get back a reply would have taken half-an-hour, and it was clearly undesirable that the fanatics should be given time to consider whether their best course was not to retire upon the taluk cutcherry, and try conclusions with the twenty men by whom it was guarded.

An immediate challenge to combat was the surest way of preventing such retreat, and, in my opinion, the Commanding Officer was justified in trying the effect of a volley. As soon as the firing began, the conduct of the fanatics in not taking shelter, and in exposing themselves to the bullets on the open platform, "howling, shouting, waving their arms, and firing off guns," showed that they were courting death, and that they were true fanatics of the sort described by Mr. Conolly. (*Vide* para. 16 *supra.*)

28. This fact was soon placed beyond doubt by the advance of the troops, when the survivors of the gang were invited to surrender with all due formality, and shouted back nothing but cries of defiance. It will be seen from the ground plan that the south-east half of the temple platform was completely hidden from the advancing troops by a high wall, and it was not till after the last fanatic had fallen at a gap in the wall, in the act of rushing at Captain Chads, that the officers became aware of the deadly execution which the fire of the soldiers had occasioned.

29. Here follows the strangest and most horrible part of this sad tragedy. It had been observed during the advance that some of the gang were apparently engaged in mutilating the wounded. When the two Surgeons of the Detachments examined the bodies of the dead, they found that the throats of "fully twenty" of the corpses had been cut from ear to ear, in many cases so as almost to sever the head from the body. In several cases the skulls of the wounded had been bashed in by blows from a chopper, and two or three of the fanatics had clearly been killed by shots from their own guns fired so close that the clothes and skins of the dead were burnt by the powder.

The evidence of the medical men shows that a considerable number of the fanatics, whose throats were cut and skulls bashed in, had bullet wounds which would certainly not have caused death. These men were deliberately murdered by some of their comrades to prevent their being captured alive.

For sheer inhuman bloody-mindedness this conduct is without precedent in the annals of Malabar, and I received the first reports of it with incredulity. It is, however, established by overwhelming evidence both European and native. The wounded fanatic, who is one of the two survivors of the gang (Statement No. I), was found to have a small cut-wound on his throat, and he states that one of the gang, whom he did not know, was in the act of cutting his throat, when a bullet struck the would-be murderer dead.

30. No bullet wound could be found on three of the bodies which had their throats cut.

31. Sergeant Aldridge, who was in command of the twenty men at the Treasury, tells an extraordinary story of how, before he returned the fanatics' fire, he saw one man amongst a cluster of the fanatics, on the exposed south-western corner of the temple platform, take another by the hair, and deliberately cut his throat. My first impression was that this might have been done in pantomime, to indicate the fate that was awaiting the soldiers; but Captain Chads informs me that the Sergeant told him this story as they were entering the temple compound, and that on proceeding to the corner referred to, he (Captain Chads) found the corpse of a long-haired man lying there with his throat cut, and that he could find no other wound upon the body.

Mappilla mendicants, who go about beating drums, and tumbling, wear their hair long, and there were several of these in the gang. I have not been able to find a particle of evidence to explain the alleged murder, and it can only be surmised that possibly the victim was an intending deserter.

I have not been able to find any native who witnessed the occurrence.

32. The conduct of some of the gang in killing their own wounded is a striking example of the determination of these fanatics that there shall be no prisoners, and completely exemplifies the futility of running any risk in approaching them with a call to surrender.

33. It is a fact that certain members of the gang, when they occupied the temple, expressed a wish to speak to the Collector. I have failed, on diligent enquiry, to ascertain what they meant to say. Probably their chief wish was to speak to him with a knife; but the Mappillas, who call themselves the Kâranam-ulpâd's guards, suggest that the fanatics intended to request that their bodies should not be burnt, and to represent that if their mothers and sisters were punished or molested, arrangements had been made for taking proper vengeance. Statement No. X, appended, contains all the information I could gather as to the sayings of the gang while in the temple.

34. My remarks on the causes of the outbreak, the constitution of the gang, and the antecedents of the individual members, must be reserved till the completion of the enquiry which is now being diligently prosecuted. In general terms it may be stated that the gang was composed of field-labourers, porters, timber-floaters, mendicants, and others of the lowest class, living from hand to mouth. Many of them (as in all former outbreaks) were mere lads.

35. It is perhaps as well to record here a few remarks regarding what may be called the Pandalur contingent, concerning whom my information is tolerably complete.

No less than 30 of the gang belonged to the Manjéri Amsam, which stretches about six or seven miles south-eastwards from the Manjéri Taluk Cutcherry and bazaar to the summit of Pandalur Hill. Eleven of the thirty belonged to Mudikôd, about two miles east of the Pandalur temple, and most of the rest lived along the south bank of the Anakayam river.

36. The leader of this contingent was undoubtedly one Manjapalli Ahamad Kutti, who has been for some years the terror of the Hindus in his neighbourhood. His reputation previous to this outbreak is apparent from a petition presented by certain Hindu servants and tenants of the Pandalur temple to their Overlord the Zamorin in November last. (*Vide* Statement No. XI.)

At the back of Ahamad Kutti's dwelling half-a-dozen low ranges of hills, covered with thick brushwood and jungle, offer a safe hiding place for stolen cattle, and there is no doubt that this man, with a score of Mappilla lads at his back, had been carrying on a thriving trade as cattle stealer and professional depredator.

From the Police Crime Register I find that in 1891 he was convicted of house-breaking by the Ernâd Stationary Magistrate, and sent up to the Special Assistant Magistrate for enhanced punishment, but was acquitted by the latter officer.

In 1892 he was charged again with having committed house-breaking and theft by breaking into the strong room of a Hindu temple.

The case ended in his discharge.

This man and his contingent joined the gang on February 29th, when the Pandalur temple was desecrated; and at the Manjéri temple, on the following morning, he gave out that his joining in the outbreak was unpremeditated, and was due to the various anonymous petitions and complaints against him by which he was being worried.

That his intention to die as a fanatic had not been long entertained appears from the fact that he had married a second wife only two or three weeks before the outbreak. His first wife alleges that she also is undivorced, and I have been able to discover no renunciation on Ahamad Kutti's part of his worldly affairs.

37. No words can depict the abject terror of the Hindus of all ranks and classes, while a gang of Mappilla fanatics is on the warpath. Their plight is as humiliating as it is pitiable. It is remarkable that by the first gang only two murders were committed, but I am convinced that this moderation is chiefly due to the effectual manner in which the leading Hindus concealed themselves.

An invasion by a hostile army could not cause more consternation or a greater panic. Against a Mappilla fanatic no Hindu seems able even to contemplate striking a blow in defence of himself, or his women. Those who had arms either delivered them to the Government officers for safe custody, or hid them, or gave them up to the fanatics, and put their whole trust in flight, or in the security of their hiding places.

Every Hindu within possible reach of the gang remains in mortal terror of his life till the gang is destroyed, and this pitiable condition of the law-abiding section of the inhabitants should not be forgotten when considering the propriety of the prompt and drastic measures taken to restore public security.

38. My further report shall be submitted with the least possible delay.

Order—No. 791, Judicial, dated 30th April 1896.

A copy of the report will be transmitted to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State and the Government of India.

* * * * *

(True Extract.)

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

Read—also the following paper :—

From J. HEWETSON, Esq., I.C.S., Acting District Magistrate, Malabar, to the Chief Secretary to Government, dated Camp, Manjeri, 2nd May 1896, No. A-Camp.

I have the honour to forward a report from the Special Assistant Magistrate on the recent Mappilla outbreak. The report is divided into four sections :—

Section A (paragraphs 2—26) is a narrative of the outbreak from the point of view of the pursuers.

Section B (paragraphs 27—58) deals with the movements and outrages committed by the two gangs.

Section C (paragraphs 59—66) deals with the causes and origin of the outbreak.

Section D (paragraphs 67—91) deals with the evidence against some of the men now in custody.

The report is accompanied by three enclosures :—

List A is a list of the ninety-nine fanatics who took part in the outbreak. Nos. 2, 13, 24, 43, 44, 49 and 99 formed the second or smaller gang. Of these 43 and 49 were shot dead and 44 shot himself, 24 was shot through the lungs and is still in hospital at Manjeri; No. 99 stole money from the rest of the gang, ran away and was arrested in his wife's house; 2 and 13 are in custody unwounded. The other ninety-two formed the gang who made a stand in the Manjéri temple. All of them are dead except Nos. 14 and 98. Some account of the position and antecedents of these ninety-nine men would naturally have formed part of the report, but this will be dealt with by the Special Commissioner and it was not thought necessary to do the work twice over.

List B is a list of the men in custody and includes the survivors of the two gangs : the following shows the corresponding numbers in the two lists :—

List A.	*List B.*
2	24
13	25
14	5
24	7
98	6
99	27

List C shows the amsams and desams to which the fanatics belonged. Thirty-three came from three desams of Manjéri, chiefly from the Pandalúr Hill. Thirty-one came from four desams of Chembrasséri, and eighteen came from Túvúr amsam, and ten from Payyanad amsam. The remaining seven came from Elankúr, Irimbuzhi, Pándikád, Vettathúr and Mangadapallipuram.

In addition to these enclosures I will forward in a few days a map showing the movements of the gang.

2. *Section A.*—Mr. Gillespie deals with the movements of the Malappuram detachment, but says nothing of the earlier movements of the Calicut detachment under Captain Layton. As Government is aware, I was in Madras on the 26th February, and on reaching Calicut on the afternoon of the 27th found that the Deputy Magistrate had warned the troops that their services might be required. This warning reached the barracks at 4–15 P.M. I at once issued orders for the troops to leave for Tirúr by the 5–35 P.M. train. My order reached the barracks at 4–45 P.M., and at 5 P.M. the men left barracks and caught the train. Mr. Bidie, Assistant Superintendent of Police, and I went with them. We were detained at Tirúr to get carts for the men but left about midnight and reached Malappuram between seven and eight next morning (the 28th) and Manjéri about 2 P.M. There I left the troops and Mr. Bidie and pushed on to Pándikád, where I found Captain Chads and his detachment just starting for Wandúr and went on with them. Captain Chads as senior officer ordered Captain Layton to march to Pándikád, which he reached early next morning (the 29th). The subsequent movements of the troops are detailed by Mr. Gillespie. The promptitude with which Captain Layton started deserves great praise.

3. *Paragraphs* 17 *and* 18 deal with Sergeant Aldridge, who had been sent to guard the Manjéri temple. I forward his statement (No. 382) and also statements from the Head Accountant (No. 72) and a Revenue Inspector (No. 118), both of whom were present at the cutchery on the morning of March 1st. It seems to be clear that Sergeant Aldridge did not fire until he had been fired on, and I think he acted quite rightly. It is to be regretted that no magistrate was with him, but the Tahsildar and Stationary Magistrate were both with the troops, and as Sergeant Aldridge was sent out without my knowledge I had no opportunity of sending a magistrate back to Manjéri.

4. *Section B.*—The list of offences given shows that the larger gang committed two murders, cut off three kudumis (topknots), burnt one temple (Káráyi) and desecrated two temples (Pandalúr and Manjéri); they also set fire to a kalam (granary) and looted twenty houses principally to get provisions and arms. The smaller gang were guilty of one attempted murder, desecrated a temple, cut off a kudumi, looted twelve houses and burnt six houses and huts. This second gang seem to have taken money and ornaments to a greater extent than the first. As regards Ráru Nair's murder, I understand that the Superintendent of Police has obtained information as to the reason for the murder and further enquiries will be made.

5. *Section C.*—As a Special Commissioner has been appointed to enquire (amongst other things) into the causes of the outbreak, I have not thought it necessary for myself or my subordinates to go deeply into the question, but only to forward to Government such information as we have incidentally obtained.

6. Kochu Kayan Mussaliar (No. 1 in List B) undoubtedly preached to the Mappillas in Túvúr and Chembrasséri on the advantages of their dying as "Sahids" and so roused the fanaticism of the people. His grudge against the brother of the adhigari of Túvúr is detailed by Mr. Gillespie in paragraph 62.

7. The four following causes for the outbreak were given by Kunhólan (statement No. 380), who was one of the second gang and now in custody (No. 24 in List B):—

(1) Because apostates from the way are walking about in freedom.
(2) Because a Niskárapalli (praying-shed) was pulled down.
(3) Because women were tortured after the outbreak two years ago.
(4) Because janmis grant mélchárths over the heads of poor tenants.

The first reason alludes to a Tiyathi woman who was a Mappilla for a few days some forty years ago and who has ever since lived quietly in Chembrasséri amsam. At the end of January this year there was some talk of her life being in danger from the

Mappillas and she was accordingly sent into Calicut. It cannot for one moment be admitted that the protection of such persons from murder is any insult to the Mappilla faith and Government must retain their right to protect the lives of all their subjects.

8. The second grievance is explained by Mr. Gillespie in a foot-note to paragraph 63. It is very curious that, though Abdulla Gurikal professes to have had no grievance about this and even denies that the building was meant for a prayer-shed at all, the matter was talked about all over the Túvúr and Chembrasséri amsams, which are at least ten miles from the site. It is also a curious coincidence that Abdulla Gurikal holds a large extent of land in Chembrasséri amsam. Abdulla's statement was taken by the Special Commissioner. Government will no doubt remember that Abdulla's father was under grave suspicion after the 1894 outbreak (paragraph 6 (14) of G.O., Nos. 2186–2192, dated 8th September 1894).

9. There seems to be no foundation for the third grievance: all the women who gave up property after the 1894 outbreak gave full confessional statements to the Stationary Sub-Magistrate of Ernád and none of them made any allusion to torture or the use of force. If they had any complaint to make they should have made it then, and no evidence given now would be worth anything.

10. The fourth grievance relates to the grant of mélchárths or second mortgages without allowing the first mortgagee the option of making the further advance required. The result, of course, is that the first mortgagee is evicted at the end of twelve years—the period allowed by custom to the holders of land on kánam. No doubt, a good tenancy law is badly needed in Malabar, but Mappillas have no special grievance and in practice are probably treated more leniently than Hindu tenants.

11. *Section D.*—The first four men in List B are the men who were arrested on the 25th February before the outbreak began.

Paragraph 69—*No.* 1, *Kochu Kayyan Mussaliar.*—Avarán (statement 298) says that Mootha (prisoner No. 2) told him that the Mussaliar had preached jehád, and Mootha (statement No. 139) says that the Mussaliar tried to persuade him to join an outbreak. The Mussaliar denies having encouraged any one to join an outbreak, though he admits having been consulted on the subject, and denies that he had preached jehád. His wife (statement 170) admits hearing that her husband had preached jehád.

12. *Paragraph* 70—*No.* 2, *Kappa Kunnan Mootha.*—This man told Avarán (alluded to above) that he had been impressed by the Mussaliar's preaching and later he tried to borrow a saw from Avarán. Prisoner No. 3 says that No. 2 told him about an intended outbreak. The Special Assistant's expression "asked him to join in an outbreak" appears to go rather beyond the prisoner's admission. The prisoner admits that the Mussaliar had asked him to join an outbreak. The prisoner's statement is not satisfactory, for he denies having ever fired a gun in his life, though Ayappan (statement 296) proves his practising at a tree and he had been convicted of unlawful possession of two guns. He asserts that he belongs to the Kundotti faction, but the evidence against him is too strong for this to be believed.

13. *Paragraph* 71—*No.* 3, *Pottemmal Unni Mammad.*—He admits that No. 2 told him about the outbreak and he was with No. 2 when the latter asked Avarán for a saw. He also told V. Unni Kammu (statement No. 276) about the intended outbreak and the reasons for it. There is also evidence that this man had agreed to attend a *nercha* at the house of No. 2 on the very night of his arrest. The prisoner admits that he knew of the outbreak and gave no information; the explanation that he did not know how to give information is most unsatisfactory.

14. *Paragraph* 73—*No.* 4, *Alingal Aidru.*—This man is believed to have gone out in the 1894 outbreak: the evidence against him is not so strong as against the first three prisoners: there is evidence that the Mussaliar (prisoner No. 1) and Pálóli Mammu who was shot at Manjéri visited his house: he sent his wife away without apparent reason, did not thatch his house or fence his compound and mortgaged his domestic utensils. All these things may be taken as an indication that he intended to go out, though each of them taken singly might be explained away.

I think there can be no doubt that these four men intended to join in the outbreak: the fact that they failed to give information of the outbreak would alone be sufficient reason for deporting them, and I recommend that they be deported.

15. *Paragraph* 75—*No.* 5, *Aruviralan Mootha*, is one of the two survivors of the Manjéri gang. His statements are numbered 377 and 13. He admits joining the gang on the 25th February and that he was with them until they fell at Manjéri. He says that their object in going out was to fight with the soldiers and die and that this was their intention when they started. There is no evidence to connect him with any particular offence, unless Government is willing to try the survivors for waging war against the Queen. I recommend that he be deported.

16. *Paragraph* 76—*No.* 6, *Cheruman Raman*, is the other survivor of the Manjéri gang. His contention is that he did not go willingly with the gang, but was taken away by force. The Special Assistant accepts this story as probably true and recommends that the man be set at liberty. The Superintendent of Police, who at first agreed with this suggestion, now says that the Cheruman must have left his work and run after the gang, who did not pass the place where he was at work; his family will not receive him back as he is a Mappilla and they have no intention of becoming Mappillas. Moidu (statement 87) says that he joined voluntarily and that no one forced him. Everything said by the boy Moidu that can be tested has turned out to be true and I see no reason to disbelieve him on this point. The theory that he was forced to join the gang can hardly be accepted and I recommend that he be deported.

17. *Paragraph* 77—*No.* 7, *Puzhuthini Kunháyu*, is the man who was shot through the lungs on the 13th March. He is not yet out of danger and if he survives should be deported. There is no evidence to connect him with any particular offence.

18. *Paragraph* 78—*No.* 10, *Mattummal Veeran.*—Two of his brothers (56 and 57 in List A) were shot at Manjeri and another—Moidu (No. 23)—is in custody. K. Arimbra Nair (statement No. 319) and M. Moidin (statement No. 31) saw him at Arimbra Nair's house armed with a gun. Moidin Kutti Mulla (318) saw him with the gang at Veluthédathpara, and K. Ali Ammu (320), E. Góvinda Váriar (321) and P. Athan Móyan (323) saw him at Udumbath house. Moidu (No. 87) has also given a statement implicating his brother. He says that he and Veeran (No. 10) went to fetch the other two brothers back, but as they refused to return, he and Veeran remained with the gang and Veeran was given a gun and himself a chopper. He and Veeran left the gang just as it was entering the Manjéri temple. There can therefore be no doubt of the guilt of No. 10 and I recommend that he be deported.

19. *Paragraph* 79—*No.* 12, *Veluthedath Moidin.*—His son (No. 52 in List A) was killed at Manjéri, and he himself was arrested in 1893 on suspicion of getting up an outbreak, but was eventually released. Paravan Kutti (330) and Veluthedath Check (328) give evidence showing that No. 12 left the Manjéri temple, of which he was a guard, at 9 P.M. on the 29th February and did not return. Paravan Kutti gives evidence of a suspicious conversation between No. 12 and his wife showing that he was inclined to follow his son's example. The Special Assistant recommends that he be bound over under section 107, Criminal Procedure Code, but the Superintendent of Police and I am of opinion that he should be deported. Accused's statement is 20; he says that he only heard of his son's joining the gang after he had been shot.

20. *Paragraph* 80—*No.* 20, *Arakkuparamban Avulla.*—This man is a beggar who was arrested on suspicion. There is no evidence against him and I have ordered him to be released. His statement is No. 114.

21. *Paragraph* 81—*No.* 21, *Chakkala Kunnan Kunhiyan.*—The statement of this boy is No. 110. The gang visited his house at least three times and left some food with him. He is at present in a very bad state of health and is in the Manjéri hospital, and may be excused for not reporting the movements of the gang to the authorities. Unless Government issue contrary orders, I will release him as soon as he is fit to leave the hospital.

22. *Paragraph* 82—*No.* 23, *Mattummal Moidu.*—This prisoner is a boy of twelve, is brother to prisoner No. 10, Veeran and two other brothers were shot at

Manjéri. There is no doubt that he went willingly with the gang, though he could not have understood the real nature of the expedition. He has a mother alive and married sisters, of whose children he is very fond. Mr. Gillespie recommends that he be sent to school in Calicut and given a small allowance and that his mother be induced, if possible, to live in Calicut. I regret that I cannot take the same view. The mother would not live in Calicut and would be always trying to get her boy back, so that he would be a continual source of anxiety. It would be much better to remove him to a distance and I recommend that he be sent to the Chingleput Reformatory. The boy sent there after the 1894 outbreak is, I believe, doing very well, and I think this will be the best way of training Moidu to lead a useful life.

23. *Paragraph* 83—*No.* 24, *Kayithavalappan Kunholan.*—Two witnesses (statements 83 and 208) saw this man with the first gang, though he himself denies it that he was ever with the first gang. He admits having been with the smaller gang for three days. I recommend that he be deported.

24. *Paragraph* 84—*No.* 25, *Aruviralan Athoyi.*—This is the other member of the second gang who was arrested unwounded and is brother to Mootha (prisoner No. 5), a survivor of the Manjéri gang. He left his house with Mootha on the 25th February, but denies ever having joined the larger gang. He admits that he was with the smaller gang on the 7th and 8th March. The wounded man Kunháyu (statement 378) also mentions the prisoner as a member of the gang. I recommend that he be deported.

25. *Paragraph* 85—*No.* 26, *Naipadath Kunhunnian.*—C. Krishnan Nair (statement 322) and prisoner No. 23, Moidu (statement 66), prove that this man joined the gang on the 29th February. The prisoner himself (statement 113) denies that he joined the gang but admits leaving the Udambath house where he was a guard twice in 24 hours for meals, but his witness, Ráru Nair (statement 106), says that he was on duty the whole day and never once left the Udambath house. There can, I think, be no doubt of this man's guilt and I recommend that he be deported.

26. *Paragraph* 86—*No.* 27, *Ambat Aidros.*—This is the man who joined the second gang and ran away with Rs. 36 which he took from the cloth of another member of the gang while he was asleep. The money was given up by one of his daughters. His confessional statement is No. 379. I recommend that he be deported.

27. *Paragraph* 87—*No.* 28, *Tayyil Alivi.*—The case against this man is not complete and will be included in my next report. There is no need to release him on bail until the enquiry is completed.

28. *Paragraph* 88—*No.* 29, *Kundur Ayammad Kutti Mulla.*—This man did not join the gang and the statements that he intended to join can hardly be relied on. The story that two of the gang called on him is not credible, for Mappillas never call each other by their house names. I have released him with a warning.

29. *Paragraph* 89—*No.* 30, *Maliyakkal Moyan Kutti.*—This man did not join the gang and the evidence that he intended to join cannot be relied on. I have released him with a warning.

30. To sum up I recommend that Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10, 12, 24, 25, 26 and 27 be deported, and that No. 23 be sent to a Reformatory. I have released Nos. 20, 29 and 30, and will release No. 21 as soon as he is fit to leave hospital. The cases against the other prisoners are not complete and will be reported on shortly.

31. *Other Punishments.*—None of the men killed appear to have had any property which it would be worth while to forfeit. As regards *fines*, I am inclining to doubt whether fining whole *amsams*, guilty and innocent alike, does not do more harm than good. On the present occasion, there are some reasons which may be urged in favour of no fines being levied. In 1894 six murders were committed and on the present occasion only two, and there was a similar decrease in the number of attempted murders. Moreover, there seem to have been none of the usual preparations for an outbreak which the neighbours could report to the authorities: in fact one of

the fanatics, Manjipalli Ahmed Kutti, married a wife only ten or fifteen days before the outbreak began. If fines are to be levied, the following amsams and desams are liable to fine:—

		Fanatics residing in the desam.	Outrages.
Manjéri ..	Pandalúr	22	
	Anakayam	10	
	Vakkattodi	1	
	Manjéri		Attempt to murder—final stand.
Payyanad ..	Nellikuth	4	
	Payyanad	6	
Elankúr ..	.. ..	2	
Irumpuzhi ..	Pappinipara	2	
Chembrasséri ..	Chembrasséri	1	
	Cheramba	6	One murder.
	Pariangad	1	
	Poongode	4	
	Trikkunnasséri		Kudumi-cutting.
	Vellayúr	19	
Túvúr ..	.. ..	18	Attempted murder and three kudumis cut.
Pándikád ..	Valluvangad	1	
Vettatur ..	Karkitagamkunnu	1	
Mangada Pallipuram.	Vallikapetta	1	One murder.

32. Several of these localities have only just paid up the fines for the 1894 outbreak. Pandalúr, Cheramba, Pándikád, Payyanad, Elankúr and Vettatur (part) were all fined for 1894, and this enhances the difficulty of suggesting fines on the present occasion. Túvúr and Vellayúr, of Chembrasséri, deserve to be heavily fined, if fines are levied at all, and they were not fined on the last occasion.

If fines are to be levied, some more speedy way of assessing and collecting the fines must be devised than we had recourse to after 1894; great delay must occur if all the items of a man's property, every field and every tree, are to be accounted for in elaborate written statements. I would recommend that the divisional officer go round to each amsam to be fined, and, with the assistance of the adhikari and menon and three or four mukhyastans (chief men of the place) make out a rough list of property, assess the fine at a rate to be fixed by Government, and then collect the money on the spot. Each amsam should be dealt with in a week or ten days, and the whole work should be done in less than three months. A *minimum* fine should be fixed, for every cooly can easily pay eight annas, and there should be no fines of two or three pies as after the last outbreak.

33. *Possible Remedies.*—This is to be specially dealt with by the Hon'ble Mr. Winterbotham, so I will only mention briefly a few points that have occurred to myself.

The most disaffected parts of the country—Pandalúr Hill and the Túvúr and Chembrasséri amsams—are unprovided with roads. The local fund board cannot undertake to make more roads; in fact, they are not able to maintain all the existing roads. The drag on the district is the Wynaad taluk, which absorbs quite Rs. 60,000 more than the revenue raised in it. If the district board is to be left to its own resources, I can only suggest that a few bridle-paths might be made and kept open at no great expense.

34. Great stress has been laid on educating the Mappillas, but this will be a very slow task at the best and the present educational system seems to waste too much time on the Koran.

35. There can be no doubt that poverty and ignorance of the world have a great deal to do with the outbreaks, for Mappillas on the coast who have property never go out. Some Mappillas go to the Kolar mines, but very few go to the Wynaad as coolies. Both these occupations should be encouraged and also the scheme to enlist Mappillas in the Native army. Cottage industries have also been mentioned, but whether the

Mappillas would adopt them I do not know. At present the Mappillas of the affected parts have only two occupations—cultivation and porterage. This latter industry would be assisted by the bridle-paths I have suggested.

36. Mr. Logan more than once made suggestions as to regulating mosque services and stopping seditious sermons, but Government (paragraph 14 of G.O., No. 1169, Judicial, dated 2nd May 1895) declined to interfere, and it is difficult to see how any practical suggestions could be made that would be at all likely to be approved.

37. In conclusion, I must again remark on the exceedingly good work done by the South Staffordshire Regiment. The police officials I leave the Superintendent to deal with, but my own subordinates all did good work. Mr. Gillespie did very good work during the outbreak and has worked hard at the subsequent enquiry. Three hundred and eighty statements have been sent up as the foundation of his long and full report on the outbreak. The Tahsildars of Ernád and Walavanad, Ramier and Ananta Patter, and Kunhayan, the Mappilla Sub-Magistrate of Ernád, all did good work.

38. I hope that Government will not think that this report has been unduly delayed, but it must be remarked that the second gang was not disposed of until the 13th March, and the enquiry has been a very big affair in consequence of the number of men who went out.

Enclosure.

From J. T. GILLESPIE, Esq., Acting Special Assistant Magistrate, to the District Magistrate of Malabar, dated Malappuram, 26th April 1896, Dis. No. 47-M.

I have the honour to submit the following detailed report on the recent Mappilla outbreak for your information. My former reports were of necessity meagre, having been written whilst I was actually engaged in the pursuit of the rebels. I have therefore, at the risk of repetition, included in this report a full account of the outbreak from its very inception.

A.—2. At about 1 p.m. on the 25th February 1896, I received a report from the Stationary Magistrate of Ernád stating that he had just received information from the Wandúr amsam adhigari to the effect that certain Mappillas of Chembrasséri, Pórúr, Pándikád and Manjéri amsams were preparing to commit an outbreak and that they had fixed on the 26th February as the day on which they were to make their intentions public by the commission of an outrage or outrages. The report further named four men—(1) Kochu Kayan *alias* Thoppitta Moidin Kutti Mussaliar, (2) Kappa Kunnan Mootha, (3) Pottemmal Unni Mammad and (4) Alingal Aidru—as the organisers of the outbreak.

3. This information I at once communicated to you by wire, and as it was exceedingly vague I directed the Stationary Magistrate to proceed to Chembrasséri and to report more fully at once, whilst I held myself in readiness to set out at a moment's notice to whatever place the rioters might choose as their rendezvous. I also wrote to the Assistant Superintendent of Police, Mr. Wilkinson, who was then at Cherpulchéri, giving him the information and asking him to join me at once at Malappuram. He, however, as I afterwards discovered, went direct to Pándikád without returning to Malappuram.

4. On the 26th February I received a second report from the Ernád Stationary Magistrate stating that the four men mentioned in paragraph 2 as the organisers of the outbreak had been arrested and that twelve other Mappillas had left their houses and gone off into the jungle with intent to die as "Sahids."

5. This information I at once communicated to you by wire and also by letter, and after warning the Special Force Police Inspector and Captain Chads, Officer Commanding, Malappuram, to have their men in readiness to march at a moment's notice, I proceeded to Pándikád on the evening of Wednesday, the 26th February.

6. At about 9 p.m. the same evening I received news at Pándikád that the fanatics had perpetrated their first outrage by dacoiting the kalam (farm-house) of a Nair in Túvúr amsam about eight miles away from Pándikád. I at once wired to you and asked you to order the Officer Commanding, Calicut, to have his troops also in readiness to march and at the same time I sent to Malappuram for twenty men of the Special Force, of whom I directed ten to remain at Manjéri to reinforce the Treasury guard, while the others were directed to come on and join me at Pándikád.

7. The night of the 26th February I spent at Pándikád. At about 4 a.m. on the 27th February I received information that the Nair's kalam in Túvúr referred to in paragraph 6 had been burnt, that another Nair had been murdered, and that the gang of fanatics had grown in numbers to fifty. Again I wired to you requesting that the Calicut troops might be ordered up to Pándikád and at the same time I requested the Officer Commanding, Malappuram, to bring out his troops at once.

8. At about 10-30 a.m. on the 27th February I left Pándikád with the Ernád Tahsildar and all the Special Force constables mustered there and set out across country to the Túvúr adhigari's house. We arrived there at about 1 p.m. and found Mr. Wilkinson, the Walavanad Tahsildar and Stationary Magistrate and the Stationary Magistrate of Ernád encamped there. They had then no further information of the whereabouts or the doings of the fanatics, so we called a halt there to await the receipt of information from the spies who were sent out on all sides.

9. Captain Chads arrived at Pándikád from Malappuram with his men about 3 p.m. the same day. I at once sent the Ernád Tahsildar back there to look after the requirements of the troops and to act as Civil officer to that party and to keep them there until he received further instructions.

10. During the night of the 27th and the forenoon of the 28th February we remained inactive at Túvúr. Several persons from time to time brought in vague rumours of the numbers and equipment of the gang and of their movements. I took statements from all these persons, but as their information was of the most meagre description we had no alternative but to remain inactive until the receipt of definite tidings. Here we experienced the greatest difficulty in obtaining information. Hindus were fleeing the disaffected country in all directions and those who remained were too terrified to stir out of hiding or to describe coherently any deed of the fanatics of which they had had the misfortune to be the victims or the unwilling witnesses. The Mappillas on the other hand, most probably from sympathy with their co-religionists who aspired at martyrdom, were exceedingly inert and did not bring in the information we waited so anxiously for. All we could ascertain was that the fanatics in two or three separate gangs were wandering about in Túvúr and Chembrasséri amsams, but their exact whereabouts we could not learn. One rumour reached us that they had designs on the Manjéri Sub-jail, which they proposed to attack in order to release the four ringleaders mentioned in paragraph 2 who were in confinement there. I accordingly transferred those four prisoners from Manjéri to the Malappuram barracks for greater security.

11. Until afternoon on the 28th February we got no more definite news of the gang. But about 2 p.m. that day information was brought in to our camp that the rioters had gone towards Parambayil, about seven miles north-east of Wandúr. We accordingly proceeded to the latter place at once and arrived there at about 8 p.m. There shortly afterwards, as you are aware, you joined us with the Malappuram troops under the command of Captain Chads A little later, Mr. Fawcett, the District Superintendent of Police, also joined us.

12. About midnight on the 28th February one of the Wandúr adhigari's men brought in information to the effect that the gang, fifty-three in number, had left Parambayil and was going southwards again. The Walavanad Tahsildar and Police Inspector Chékkutti were therefore sent off to Pándikád at once to join the Calicut detachment, which under Captain Layton was expected to arrive there early on the morning of the 29th February. As it was anticipated that the fanatics intended to return to Túvúr, the Walavanad Tahsildar had orders to escort Captain Layton's detachment to Túvúr to cut them off. The subsequent movements of the fanatics prevented the execution of these orders.

13. At about 4 A.M. on the 29th February we struck our camp at Wandúr and retraced our way to Pándikád, where we arrived about 7-30 A.M. *En route* we learnt that the fanatics had crossed the Wandúr-Pándikád road during the night and that at dawn they had burnt a temple situated to the west of the road in Káráyi desam, Pándikád amsam, at a distance of $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the Pándikád travellers' bungalow. When we reached Pándikád we found there Captain Layton and his party who had just heard that the rioters were in their neighbourhood and were preparing to set off in pursuit. Orders were given to Captain Layton to follow up the gang, while Captain Chads and his men halted at Pándikád for a little rest and food. By 9 A.M., we (*i.e.*, the District Magistrate, the District Superintendent of Police and myself with Captain Chads and his detachment) were again on the march advancing due west along the road to Manjéri in order to intercept the fanatics should they escape southwards from Captain Layton and his men. Before we had proceeded very far along this road we received information that the gang had already crossed it in front of us, closely followed by Captain Layton's party. We accordingly left the Pándikád-Manjéri road and, marching a mile or so to the south across very uneven country, advanced in a direction parallel to the road in order to prevent the gang from proceeding towards the south-east in the direction taken by the fanatics in 1894. We continued our march in this direction until at about 3 P.M. we came up with the Calicut detachment at a point about two furlongs to the east of Pandalúr temple. From Captain Layton we learnt that he had closely pursued the fanatics and that at one place he had been within about two miles of them and had distinguished them clearly with the aid of a glass and that he had counted them and made them out to be fiftv-five in number. We also learnt that the fanatics had entered and desecrated the Pandalúr temple and had just vacated it before Captain Layton and his men came into view over the hill to the north of it.

14. Again we called a halt to give the men a well-deserved rest and to await fresh information as to the direction taken by the fanatics. No sufficiently reliable information coming in, we entered the desecrated temple and prepared to camp there for the night. During the night we heard that the fanatics, having been largely reinforced in and around Pandalúr, were by this time 100 strong and were halted on a rock named Ottupara on the side of Pandalúr Hill about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the south of our camp. Information was also received that they had visited three Nambudiris' houses and had taken food therefrom and that they had murdered a goldsmith in Mangadapallipuram amsam.

15. At about 6-30 A.M. on the 1st March a report was received from the Ernád Taluk Head Accountant that the fanatics had entered the Kunnath temple belonging to the Manjéri Káranamulpád at Manjéri and that the troops guarding the treasury had been drawn into an engagement with them and were running short of ammunition. We accordingly set out with all possible speed in a bee-line for Manjéri, and about 9 A.M. we reached a hill which overlooked the Kunnath temple from the south-east at a distance of about 750 yards from it. Having heard on our way that the garrison of twenty men of the South Stafford Regiment at the Manjéri Treasury were hard pressed by the Mappillas and had lost two of their men, we were in some concern for their safety. At length it was decided to fire at the fanatics from our position on the hill instead of advancing closer to the temple; for, had we done so, we would have lost all the advantages which the higher ground afforded us and would have given the Mappillas the opportunity they most certainly longed for of rushing on our bayonets and perishing there after dealing death to as many of our men as they could. We accordingly opened fire, and after the first volley, which did not take effect, the Mappillas defiantly returned the fire and the action proceeded. A detailed account of the action which followed I leave to the Officer Commanding.

16. After several volleys, during the firing of which we had gradually advanced on the temple, we reached the gates and almost without opposition took possession. We found ninety-two fanatics in the temple, of whom several were still alive. I took statements from two of them—Aruviralan Mootha and Cheruman Raman—the only two who were capable of speech. These two are still alive and are in custody in the barracks at Malappuram. Of the other wounded men only one lived to reach the Manjéri hospital, where he died a couple of days later without recovering sufficient consciousness to be able to speak coherently.

17. Sergeant Aldridge *, who was in command of the twenty men of the South Stafford Regiment who had been sent out from Malappuram at the request of the Manjéri Taluk Head Accountant to protect the Manjéri Treasury, gives the following account of the commencement of the action between him and the Mappillas. At about dawn on the 1st March the shouts of the fanatics entering the temple were distinctly heard by the troops at the treasury (about 700 yards distant). Sergeant Aldridge formed his men up on the side of the treasury nearest to the temple. The Mappillas opened fire on the troops as soon as they caught sight of them, but as the fire was ineffectual the soldiers did not return it at once. At last when the Mappillas seemed to be collecting in a body with the evident intention of charging down the hill on the treasury, Sergeant Aldridge gave the order to fire. After he had fired a few volleys the fanatics in the temple, of whom eight or ten seem to have succumbed to the fire, called out that they wanted two hours' armistice in order to cook their meals; and that if this was not granted they would come down at once to the treasury. They asked that food might be sent to them and they intimated that they had some grievances to represent to the Collector. Asked what their grievances were, they replied that they had come away without bidding farewell to their wives and children, that their bodies should be buried in a mosque instead of being burnt, and that their wives and children should not be put to trouble on their account. A message was shouted back to them that the armistice was granted and that the Collector would arrive shortly.† The Manjéri Karanamulpad sent some food stuffs up to the temple and the Mappillas began to prepare their meal. Just before the armistice was granted, Krishnan Nair, a servant of the Karanamulpad, had a very narrow escape from death by a Mappilla's bullet. He had been sent from the Karanamulpad's palace to the treasury with some message and was running along the foot of the temple hill when one of the rioters called out: "There goes a *kudimi man*; shoot him." The Mappillas fired several shots at the man as he ran past them at a distance of two or three hundred yards and one of their bullets grazed his left side causing a slight abrasion of the skin.

* (*Vide* Statement No. 382.)

† (*Vide* Statements Nos. 72 and 118.)

18. It is not for me to attempt to justify Sergeant Aldridge's act in firing on the fanatics as he did, but I should like to point out that he was left in a most trying position. He had no magistrate with him from whom to take instructions, so that he had to use his own discretion in the choice of means taken to defend the treasury and temple from the fanatics as the orders he had received directed him to do. The clerks and others who were with the Sergeant at the treasury had in all probability completely lost their heads and did their utmost to reduce him to the same pitiable state by recounting their fears. This young Sergeant was thus thrown absolutely on his own resources, and he was not even left to measure the danger of the situation by his own judgment, but was led to magnify it considerably by the statements of his affrighted companions.

19. When we entered the temple, we found there the weapons with which the fanatics had been armed. They consisted of twelve guns, one sword, nine spears, one axe, a huge pile of choppers and knives, three powder-flasks and some loose gunpowder and bullets. It is impossible now to give correctly the exact number of choppers and knives, though there can be no doubt that every fanatic was armed with at least one of these weapons, which is so easy to get hold of. When we first entered the temple, our attention was completely taken up with the care of the wounded. It was no easy task to examine the ninety-two bodies to separate the living from the dead, to tend those whose lives it seemed possible to save, to take statements from those who were capable of speech, and to try to ascertain the identity of all. When this was accomplished, I set myself to collect the arms and make a list of them, but by that time a considerable number of the smaller and more portable ones, *e.g.*, choppers and knives, had been concealed or carried off as trophies.

20. The names of the fanatics killed in the action are shown in a separate list (Enclosure A). Considerable difficulty has been experienced in ascertaining correctly

the names and house-names of those who came from Túvúr and Chembrasséri, many miles from the spot where they finally stood and fell. The difficulty was enhanced by the fact that the majority of these men, as in former outbreaks, were mere coolies whose existence even was unknown to any one beyond a radius of two or three miles of their houses. The list is, however, at last complete and, it is believed, accurate.

21. I am extremely thankful that I have not to record a single casualty on our side. When the temper of the fanatics and their determination to die themselves and to kill as many white men as they can first are borne in mind, we have every reason to congratulate ourselves on the satisfactory termination of the engagement at Manjéri.

22. Surgeon-Captain Hinge and Surgeon-Lieutenant Saman at once attended to the wounded men and, after having done all that was possible for them, examined the corpses of the killed. This examination showed that several of the fanatics had died from simple throat-cut and not from the bullets of the soldiers. Steps were at once taken to identify the bodies of the killed. Forty-four bodies were identified on the spot. As the number of corpses was very large and a great many belonged to distant amsams, it was found impossible to have all of them identified. Long before persons could have been brought for the purpose from the places where the deceased were known, putrefaction would have rendered identification impossible. The bodies were accordingly burnt in the compound of the Manjéri sub-jail on the evening of the 1st March. Subsequent enquiries have been made in order to determine the identity of the killed.

23. After the death of the fanatics at Manjéri we hoped that the trouble was over and the riot completely stamped out. Not so, however. On the 2nd March information was received from the Pándikád station-house officer that a second gang of fanatics was still at large and had burned a temple and dacoited a house belonging to Pattikátthodiga Govinda Panikkar, of Pándikád amsam, on the previous night. Immediately Captain Layton and the Calicut detachment accompanied by Mr. Bidie, Assistant Superintendent of Police, started for Pándikád, while the remainder of our forces waited at Manjéri for further information. On the next day, 3rd March, I also pushed on and joined Captain Layton at Pándikád. At about 1 A.M. on the morning of the 4th March one Valia Vretti Ittirarichan Nair, who had been dangerously wounded and left for dead by the fanatics at Peruvazhikode kalam in Túvúr amsam was brought in a cart to our camp at Pándikád. I recorded statements from him and from his brother, Kannan Kutti Nair, whose kudumi the fanatics had cut off, and sent the wounded man on to the Manjéri hospital. This Nair is still in hospital and is slowly recovering. He has had a most wonderful escape. One of the cuts dealt him by the fanatics just missed the carotid artery. It appears that the man was the agent of another Nair, E. Krishnan Nair, whose life it was the fanatics thirsted for, though what grudge they bore him has not been elucidated. On the next day, 5th March, we got information that the fanatics had moved to the north as their predecessors had done. We therefore pushed on to Wandúr after calling on Captain Chads to send another party of troops up to Pándikád to take up the important position just vacated by us. On the 6th and 7th March Captain Layton and I remained inactive at Wandúr. We could not obtain any clue as to the exact whereabouts or the intentions of the gang, which seemed to have gone off into the fastnesses of the jungle. On the 8th March Captain Layton and I with thirty-six men returned to Pándikád, leaving Lieutenant Corbett with twenty-four men to do outpost duty at Wandúr.

24. Meanwhile the District Superintendent and the Assistant Superintendent of Police, Mr. Wilkinson, with the special and reserve forces, were pursuing the fanatics through the wilds of Túvúr and Chembrasséri, where the European troops were not able to follow. At last on the evening of the 13th March the fanatics were forced to make a stand in a house in Parambayil, in Trikunnasséri désam of Chembrasséri amsam. The fanatics had dwindled down to three in number by this time. They obstinately refused to surrender and were accordingly shot by the police, two being killed outright and the third badly wounded. The wounded man was removed with all despatch to Manjéri hospital, where he is still under treatment and is in a critical condition.

25. The second gang of fanatics consisted by all accounts of seven persons only; and the seven whose names are noted in the margin have been thus accounted for:—

1. Keeri Ahmed Unni.
2. Ossén Unnien.
3. Pazhuthini Kunháyu.
4. Ambat Aidros.
5. Keeri Abdullah.
6. Aruviralan Athóyi.
7. Kaithavalappan Kunholan.

No. 1, the leader of the gang, and No. 2 were killed by the police at Parambayil, No. 3 was wounded at the same place and is at present undergoing treatment in the Manjéri hospital. No. 4 deserted the gang on the 6th March and was arrested in his wife's house in Vettathúr amsam, Walavanad taluk, on the 8th March. No. 5, a younger brother of No. 1, committed suicide on the 11th March in a jungle close to his father's house in Túvúr amsam. No. 6 is a brother of Aruviralan Mootha, who was wounded in the Manjéri temple on the 1st March and who has since recovered and is in custody in the barracks at Malappuram (*vide* paragraph 15 above). No. 7 is a brother of Chêk, who was killed at Manjéri temple by the troops on the 1st March. These two were arrested on the 13th March at Kálikávu by three Mappillas of Chembrasséri amsam named Tenath Kunhólan, Namban Valia Mammad and Namban Cheria Mammad, who escorted their prisoners to Wandúr and handed them over to the District Magistrate, who remanded them and sent them to the sub-jail at Manjéri, where they now are.

26. Having thus completed the narrative of the outbreak from the point of view of the pursuers, it is necessary to follow the movements of the fanatics and to recount the outrages perpetrated by them in their deplorable career.

B.—27. As the fanatics did not always move about in a single body but worked at times in different sections, it is difficult to give a clear and concise account of their movements. It will perhaps impart lucidity to the following narrative if the gang which made a stand at Manjéri temple on the 1st of March and that which was subsequently reduced at Parambayil on the 13th March are treated as distinct and separate gangs, although there can be no doubt that such was not the case but that the latter gang was merely a detachment from the former which somehow remained behind when the rest set out southwards for Manjéri.

28. On the evening of Tuesday, the 25th February 1896, the Vellayúr (Chembrasséri amsam) section of the fanatics set out from their houses in Vellayúr. For 24 hours they remained inactive on the top of Chevika mala (hill) within a mile of the Túvúr amsam adhigari's house. At about 6 P.M. on Wednesday, the 26th February, they inaugurated their career as Sahids by setting fire to Mampuzha kalam in Túvúr amsam which belongs to Chembramunda Panikkar. The gang then proceeded northwards to Erádiathra *padam* (in Túvúr amsam), where at about 8 P.M. the same evening they cut off the kudumis or top-knots of Karoppu Nair and Tiyan Parangódan. The scene of these two outrages is about a quarter of a mile to the north-east of the Túvúr mosque and two miles to the west of Mampuzha kalam. The gang is supposed to have numbered about sixteen at this time.

29. At about 10 P.M. on the 26th February the fanatics, now headed by Poonthiruthi Moidin Kutti Háji *, were seen in a lane to the east of the Túvúr mosque going off towards the east. Ten or twelve of the fanatics went to Kuttathi kalam in Chéramba desam of Chembrasséri amsam and examined the dead body of one Ráru Nair † which was lying in a shed there.

* No. 40 in List A.

† This Ráru Nair had been murdered by another section of fanatics headed by Válakódan Moidutti, whose movements are described below.

30. Shortly after this the gang, in number twenty, visited Válakóttil Parangodan's house in Túvúr half-a-mile to the east of Kuttathi kalam. They demanded a gun there but did not get one. However they went away without doing any damage. Thence they proceeded northwards, passed through Anakallu nilam in Túvúr, then turned westwards to Nanthalapoil (in Túvúr); thence they went to the house of Tházhathéthara Krishnan in Vellayúr desam of Chembrasséri amsam, where they got some jaggery. At about midnight they left this house and went off in an easterly direction and at sunrise on the 27th February they turned up at Cheriyódath Chóyi's house at

Pattarvákkayil, in Túvúr amsam. They entered the house, took from it what provisions they could find such as raw rice, cocoanuts, &c.,* and then continued their march to the east. They next crossed Mékkánian hill in Túvúr and visited Neelánchéri Panikkar's house, made an unsuccessful search for weapons there, and carried off twenty cocoanuts. From this house they went to Chathu Panikkar's house situated a quarter of a mile further west. They entered the house after breaking open the door and carried off some ornaments, three choppers and one axe.

*The wounded fanatic Aruviralan Mootha states that the fanatics got a gun and a spear from this house, but the owner of the house denies it.

31. The gang had by this time increased to thirty in number. They next visited Chóllóttil Kundu's house and removed from it some earthen pots in which they prepared jaggery water. Thence they passed northwards along the western side of Kundilampádam kalam in Túvúr, two miles west of Manhikundu, and when they reached Vengakaracotti (in Túvúr) they turned towards the east and went to Manhikundu (Cheramba desam) through Párakadavu. At Manhikundu they are believed to have united forces with Vélakódan Moidutti's section of men from Túvúr about noon on the 27th February.

32. It is now necessary to trace the course of V. Moidutti's gang up to this point. At sunset on Wednesday, the 26th February, about nineteen Mappillas assembled at Vélakódan Moidutti's house in Manhikundu. Starting from this rendezvous they went to Chathu Panikkar's house in Chéramba desam, where they plucked some tender cocoanuts. Thence they seem to have marched to Kuttathi kalam and murdered Kunhi Kuttan *alias* Ráru Nair at about 7-30 P.M. (*vide* paragraph 29 *supra*). As they left this farm-house they were heard to shout out Bánku—their call to prayer. Ráru Nair was formerly the Kariastan of the Mélattúr adhigari and as such must have given offence to some member or members of the gang in some way, though the exact nature of the grudge is not known. From Kuttathi kalam Moidutti's section returned to Manhikundu and did no more mischief till after it was joined by the other section under Poonthiruthi Moidin Kutti Háji at noon on the 27th February (*vide* paragraph 31 *supra*).

33. The two sections thus united the fanatics took meals at Vélukódan Moidutti's house in the afternoon, started out northwards in the evening, and continued to march in that direction till they reached the Wandúr Sispára road, along which they proceeded some distance to the west towards Wandúr. Arrived at the Kalikavu river they left the road and went to Vengathattil Chathu Nair's kolam called Mêlê Kálikávu kalam in Trikunnasséri desam, Chembrasséri amsam. It was about 4o'clock in the afternoon of the 27th February when the gang reached this point. They were then about forty-three in number. They broke open the doors of the house and stole therefrom ornaments, money (Rs. 34 in cash), clothes, rice, ghee, oil, a copper vessel, a brass kindi, two axes and three choppers and ate a quantity of pig's fat mixed with rice in mistake for ghee, thus unwittingly polluting themselves. This kalam had been in the possession of the Kaithavalappan family for twelve years; and as there were three members of this family joined in the recent outbreak the visit to the kalam was probably due to their guidance.

34. At about 5 o' clock the same day (27th February) the gang halted on a rock in front of Pottayil Mamad Mussaliar's † house. Four men who had apparently gone in advance to this Mussaliar's house were seen coming out of a prayer-shed close to the house and joining the fanatics. The gang then continued their course to the north until they reached Srambikallu kalam (in Trikunnasséri desam) in the occupation of a Tiyan called Vélukutti. They entered the kalam and carried away from it some rice and a copper vessel. Thence they went eastwards to Chakkikuzhi kalam in Trikunnasséri occupied by P. Vélu Nair. Here they slaughtered a cow and took three paras of rice from the kalam as well as a copper vessel, some clothes, a knife and a chopper. Then they went a mile to the north of the kalam and cooked their stolen provisions at the *kootapura* (temporary shed for coolies) of Kunhi Koya shortly after sunset.

†This man is now in custody: *vide* No. 32 in List B.

35. After finishing their meal at the *kootapura* the fanatics went northwards again for half-a-mile to Kallamoola kalam. From this kalam they obtained four axes, eight choppers, some flour and oil and a coat. Some documents which they found in a box in the farm-house they wantonly burned. They next entered Chulliparal kalam (in Pazhédam desam of Chembrasséri amsam) occupied by Palakkal Chandu. From this kalam they carried off four *mundus* or waist cloths. Thence they went on to another kalam—Paralil kalam in Pazhédam desam, in the occupation of Vettimmal Charu. They reached this kalam at about 2 A.M. and threatened to kill the owner if he did not open the door. He immediately opened the door and the fanatics entered and searched the house for arms, but finding none were forced to content themselves with some ornaments and a *mundu*.

36. They next went to Thordathil Parangódan's house at Panampoil Mundayil in Pazhédam desam about two miles to the south-west of Charu's house. They demanded weapons from the inmates but without success. They took away a mundu and 14 *annas. Thence they went northwards through Válakkulampadam and Payanpadam in Trikunnasséri desam, skirted the Amarampalam teak plantations in Nilambur amsam for about a furlong and, passing through Pookótumpadam in Amarampalam desam, went northwards and then turned eastwards to Parambayil after entering four Nair houses on the way in search of arms without doing any mischief. One house at Parambayil in Amarampalam desam belonging to Kommanchéri Nárávani Amma was entered at about 7 A.M. on the 28th February and two guns, two swords, one shield and some ornaments and clothes were taken away. Again the fanatics went eastwards and entered and desecrated a small temple called Anakote ambalam situated about three furlongs off in Trikunnasséri desam.

*In this house they inadvertently left behind a heavy iron-headed spear which was brought in to our camp at Wandúr that night by one of Moosa Kutti, the Wandur adhigari's, men.

37. On coming out of the temple they met one Krishnan Nair and cut off his kudumi. They next entered one Ramuni Nair's house in Trikunnasséri desam at about 8 A.M., asked for guns but were again disappointed, got some rice, fowls and plantains and clothes and cooked their meals there.

38. A little before midday they halted in a paddy flat named Payangode-Pariyangád padam in Amarampalam desam, where they were seen and interviewed by one Mammad Móyan, a Mappilla. They then resumed their march eastwards, crossed the Kootapuzha river in Trikunnasséri desam, and then turning towards the south passed over Vellilakadan hill in Trikunnasséri, where they seized and threatened to cut off the kudumi of one Chayicha Panikkar but eventually let him go unhurt. They then crossed Chokkadan river and passed again through Chulliparal Milam and Manbappetti and Maliyakkal kalams (in Trikunnasséri) and crossed the Pariyangád river at Muthandathandu in Pariyangád desam. They were seen bathing in this river at about 8 P.M. After their bath they continued their march, passed through Pannikode padam in Pariyangád desam and crossed the Wandúr-Kalikavu road at Pannikode at about 9 P.M. Then they passed through Arpoil in Pariyangád towards the south and thence along the western boundary of Cheruvath (a subdesam of Vellayúr)—the place where the houses of many of the Vellayúr fanatics are situated. Thence they went westwards and shouted their call to prayers—*Banku*—on a rock about a furlong to the west of the Chembrasséri adhigari's house at about 1 A.M. on the 29th February, to the consternation of the inmates of the house. Then they proceeded westwards and passed through Chembrasséri desam and along the southern side of Chálamanian mala (hill) in Teyyampádikuth desam of Pándikád amsam through Kotasséri desam of the same amsam and crossed the Wandúr-Pándikád road at a point about three miles north of Pándikád bungalow at dawn on the 29th February. They then set fire to the Káráyi temple in Káráyi desam of Pándikád amsam about half-a-mile west of the road and two-and-a-half miles north-west of Pándikád bungalow. This temple belongs to Pallikuth Gopala Menon. The next thing they did was to enter one Kóman Nair's house in Vetti Káttiri desam of Payyanad amsam, about two miles west of the temple, and there they cooked their meals. Then they are said to have looted the house and carried away property worth, at the

Nair's valuation which is undoubtedly exaggerated, about Rs. 457. After leaving this place they went westwards along the foot-path leading to Cherukulam (a sub-desam) in Payyanad desam of Payyanad amsam, halted for a while on a small hill about two furlongs to the south of Puttémannil Unni Ahmed's * house. This hill is two miles west of Kóman Nair's house. It is here that the fanatics from Payyanad and Elankúr amsams are supposed to have joined the gang. The hill affords a commanding view of the surrounding country on its north, east and south sides. It was probably on this hill that Captain Layton and the Walavanad Tahsildar, who were then hotly pursuing them, saw and counted the fanatics (*vide* paragraph 13 *supra*). From this hill they moved on towards the south and, passing through Nellikuth desam, crossed the Manjéri-Pándikád road at a point about three furlongs west of the 5th milestone from Manjéri. Here Kunhi Ayamed, a taluk peon of Ernád, who was going from Pándikád to Manjéri to despatch a telegram, was seized by the fanatics at about 8 A.M. The money—Rs. 12—which he was carrying was instantly seized, but the fanatics did not notice the telegram which was secured in his cloth. After much entreaty on the part of the peon the money was returned to him and he was sent to the right about in the direction from which he had come.

* This man was killed at Manjeri temple: *vide* No. 85 in Enclosure A.

39. After crossing the Manjéri-Pándikád road the fanatics passed southwards through Nellikuth (Payyanad amsam) to Mudikode (Manjéri amsam). Through Mudikode bazaar they went westward and entered one Arimbra Nair's house in Pandalúr desam (Manjéri amsam). In this house they searched for arms but found none. They next entered the Pandalúr temple at midday and desecrated it. This temple belongs to the Zamorin of Calicut. Then they left the temple and looted the shop of a Variar close by and carried away some clothes and sundry articles which were there for sale. They then passed the gate of Udambath house, where they plucked tender cocoanuts, and demanded weapons, but obtained none. Thence they went to Velluthadoth para (rock) in Anakayam river, where they had a bath. From this place they proceeded southwards, crossed the Manjéri-Angadipuram road, and visited Narayana Mangalatu *alias* Naras' mana in Vallikapatta desam of Mangadapallipuram amsam, (Walavanad taluk.) Between 4 and 5 P.M. on the 29th February they entered the mana, and, after hacking the woodwork of the portico, they carried away some rice and a copper vessel. They next visited another neighbouring Nambudiri's illom called Perimpalli mana, attempted to shoot a young elephant belonging to the Nambudiri, and cut off the projecting end of the waste pipe of a urinal. On their way from this illom, they chased a goldsmith, named Kander, and shot him and hacked him to death in a most brutal manner. No motive can be assigned for this outrage. The unfortunate goldsmith seems to have run away when he saw the fanatics, and they seem to have pursued and killed him from the mere love of the chase.

40. During the whole of the afternoon of the 29th February the fanatics gained recruits at a most alarming rate. In the middle of the day when they traversed Nellikuth desam they numbered fifty-five (*vide* paragraph 13 above), and by night-fall their numbers were more than doubled, the majority of the re-inforcements joining from Pandalúr and Anakayam desams of Manjéri amsam.

41. After murdering the goldsmith, Kander, the fanatics recrossed the Manjéri-Angadipuram road, and went to the "Ottupara" (rock) in Mangada amsam of Walavanad taluk. This rock is a continuation of the Pandalúr hill. On their way to the rock the fanatics shot a bull and carried it away along with them. They prepared their meals on the rock, and remained there till after midnight. Then they went towards the north-west to a rock called Porunathampara, about a mile east of the Manjéri temple, and finally just before dawn on the 1st of March, they made a descent on the temple and entered and desecrated it. There the career of the first gang came to a close as already described in Part A of this report.

42. When the fanatics were in Mangadapallipuram amsam on the evening of the 29th February they approached to within about five miles of Malappuram barracks. There is every reason to suppose that their intention was, as rumour then said, to

attack the barracks in order to release their ringleader, Kochukayyan Mussaliar, who had been arrested on the 25th February, and had been sent to the barracks for safe custody (*vide* paragraph 10 *supra*). Had they done so, the result would have been most disastrous to us, for at that time there were only about thirty-five men remaining in barracks, of whom sixteen or seventeen were inmates of the hospital. Fortunately, however, the fanatics had not sufficient boldness to carry out this plan, but changed their tactics and determined to go and die at the Manjéri Karanamalpad's temple instead. The Mussaliar must have been greatly disgusted with the chicken-heartedness of his followers; for when in custody at the Manjéri sub-jail, he is said to have announced to his guard with all assurance that it was useless for them to try to detain him, as his men were coming to release him by force.

No. 1 in List B.

43. Let us turn now to the second and smaller gang, and see how they were engaged in the meanwhile. There can be no doubt that this was an off-shoot of the larger gang and that the division into two took place at Parambayil on the 28th February, when the major portion of the fanatics, under the leadership of Poonthiruthi Moidin Kutti Háji, marched southwards, and the remainder, seven in number, strayed behind under the leadership of Keeri Ahmed Unni (No. 43 in Enclosure A) for some unexplained reason.

44. This second gang first made its existence known on the night of the 1st March by setting fire to a kalari (gymnasium) belonging to one Govinda Panikker, and situated in Pándikád desam of Pándikád amsam. They also entered the Panikker's house and are said to have carried off Rs. 250 in cash and some gold ornaments valued at Rs. 66. The same night they burnt an out-house attached to a temple belonging to a Tiyyan called Parangodan, situated in Poolámanna desam of Chembrasséri amsam, about two miles north of Govinda Panikker's house. They also entered Parangodan's house, and carried away some ornaments. In the same neighbourhood, on the same night (the 1st March), they burnt the house of one Sankaravariar and a bathing shed attached to Poolamanna temple which belongs to Kudumakat Nambudiri.

45. At about 8 P.M. on the 2nd March, they went to a kalam belonging to Erathodiyil Kutten Nair in Túvúr amsam of Walavanad taluk, and demanded that guns should be given them. The watchman, Volia Veetil Ittirarichan Nair, said that there was no gun in the house. Immediately the fanatics seized him, stabbed him several times on the neck and shoulders, and left him for dead (*vide* paragraph 23 *supra*). They then laid hold of his brother, Kannan Kutti Nair, and cut off his kudumi. The leader of the gang, Keeri Ahmed Unni, is said to have subsequently expressed to one Vakayath Sankaran Nair that Ittirarichan Nair was stabbed by mistake for the owner of the house, E. Kutten Nair, whom they bore a grudge against, but the nature of the grudge has not been ascertained. Vakayath Sankaran Nair states that the sole cause of enmity is the niggardliness of the Nair, who is in the habit of refusing to give rice, plantains, &c., to poor Mappilla beggars; but there was in all probability some stronger personal cause for enmity between K. Ahmed Unni and the Nair, although we have been unable to discover its exact nature. Ittirarichan Nair is still under treatment in the Manjéri hospital, but he has now almost recovered from his wounds.

46. The same night the fanatics burnt a toddy shop belonging to a Tiyan named Ayappan and also a hut belonging to a Chetty called Karuppan in Túvúr. These two buildings are not far from the house of the leader of the gang, Keeri Ahmed Unni.

47. At about midnight the fanatics set fire to the house of one Modavakkat Sankaran Nair in Túvúr, and carried away a cloth, an umbrella and a coat belonging to the Nair. The same night they entered the house of a Nair woman named Nettumparambath Ittunni Amma, and carried away half-a-rupee in cash and some clothes. They next went to the adjoining house, where Vakayath Sankaran Nair lives, and extorted from the latter Rs. 40. They sent this Sankaran Nair to the house of the aforesaid Ittunni Amma (his mother-in-law) to demand some more money from her. According to Sankaran Nair, he received Rs. 50 from Parvathi Amma, Ittunni

Amma's daughter, and handed it over to the leader of the gang, Keeri Ahmed Unni. This statement of Sankaran Nair cannot be accepted without question, for Ambat Aidros (No. 27 in List B), Puzhuthini Kuhayan (No. 7 in List B) and Kaithavalappan Kunholan (No. 24 in List B), have all three stated that they got only Rs. 36 in all from the Nair and his mother-in-law, and the prisoners have had no opportunity of concocting a falsehood regarding this matter, nor is there any apparent reason why they should do so.

48. The fanatics appear to have left Túvúr soon after midnight and to have proceeded northwards into Trikunnasséri desam of Chembrasséri amsam, where, at about daybreak on the 3rd March, they entered Srambikallu kalam *, the property of Tiyan Velukutti, and took away some raw rice and curry-stuff. They next entered Perinkollanpoyi kalam (which lies a little to the north of Srambikallu kalam) in the afternoon and took away two copper vessels and one bunch of plantains, the property of the owner of the kalam, Elipatta Chandu. The gang then went to a koottupura † north of Chandu's kalam, had their meals there, and then went southwards in the evening. E. Chandu also states that at about 7 A.M., on the 29th February, six Mappillas entered his house and took away some rice, two silver anklets and some clothes. These visitors were in all probability the second gang which had been left behind at Parambayil on the previous day, and of whose movements nothing was heard until the 1st of March.

* Visited by the first gang (*vide* paragraph 34 *supra*).

† Temporary shed for coolies.

49. At 6 o'clock the same evening (3rd March) the fanatics entered the house of Thayathara Krishnan in Vellayúr and took all the jaggery which they could find there. It will be remembered that the first gang had already paid a visit to this house (*vide* paragraph 30 *supra*). These visits do not seem to have been the outcome of spite, but the fanatics were kept so well cornered in the jungle by the numerous parties of troops which were on their tracks that they were very hard pressed for food and were accordingly driven to seize what little provisions they could find in the few houses scattered about in their neighbourhood.

50. Later on the same night the gang revisited another house which had been already plundered by the first gang—that of Chandan Kuralil Chathú in Cheramba desam of Chembrasséri amsam. Here they managed to get some raw rice which they took away with them.

51. About noon on the 4th March they went to another Tiyan house in Cheramba desam and demanded a cow, but were only able to procure a chicken from the boy who was in charge of the house. Shortly after this, two members of the gang entered Arimanalil kalam in Cheramba desam, the property of the Maranat Nambudripad and occupied by Krishna Variar, but they did no harm beyond carrying off four cocoanuts and Rs. 2 in cash. The gang was next seen in the afternoon of the same day cooking meals at Manhikundu, close by the house of Vélakódan Moidutti, one of the prominent members of the first gang. At 7 o'clock in the evening of the same day they went to Kundilampadam kalam ‡ in Túvúr amsam and asked for guns. Not being successful at this house they went straight to that of Vettath Kanaren Nair, a mile further west. In this house they broke open some boxes and carried off Rs. 25 in cash and some ornaments, as well as a quantity of raw rice. Of these ornaments twenty-five silver earrings besides some money have been recovered from Ambatt Aidros, one of the members of the gang (*vide* No. 27 in List B). At ten o'clock that night they entered the house of a goldsmith, named Chaichu, in Pórúr amsam, and carried off some rice, some gold and silver ornaments and Rs. 25 in cash.

‡ The property of Chennu Pariker of Payyanad amsam.

52. No further outrage appears to have been committed by the gang until the 8th March. At about 8 o'clock in the evening of that day they set fire to Kakra kalam in Túvúr amsam, the property of the adhigari, against whom K. Ahmed Unni, the leader of the gang, is supposed to have had a grudge (*vide* paragraph 72 *infra*).

53. The gang seems to have retired right into the heart of the jungle after this, for nothing more was seen or heard of it until Wednesday, the 11th March. On the morning of this day one of the members of the gang named Keeri Abdulla (a younger brother of the leader of the gang) committed suicide by shooting himself close to his father's house in Túvúr amsam. The dead body and the gun with which the act was done were discovered there shortly afterwards.

54. On the 12th of March the gang appears to have gone again to Thayathathara Krishnan's house in Vellayúr desam and to have stolen therefrom some rice. Then they went to Kallamoola kalam in Trikunnasséri desam, one of the farm-houses pillaged by the first gang (*vide* paragraph 35 *supra*). In this farm-house they obtained some jaggery. The same night they also visited Srambikallu kalam * for the second time, and went away disappointed after an unsuccessful search for jaggery. After midnight they entered and destroyed the idol in Anakóde temple in Parambayil in Trikunnsséri desam. This temple had been desecrated already by the first gang (*vide* paragraph 36 *supra*).

* *Vide* paragraph 48 *supra*.

55. Early on the morning of the 13th March before dawn, the fanatics entered a two-storeyed farm-house † adjoining the Anakóde temple. Here they determined to make their final stand, and set about preparing the house for a defence. They took off the thatch and set fire to it in the court-yard lest the house should be burnt over their heads (*vide* the statement‡ of the wounded fanatic Kunhayu). The same day Mr. Fawcett, the District Superintendent of Police, with the special force, arrived at and surrounded the house, and, after calling on the rebels to surrender without avail, fired on them, killing two and wounding the third, P. Kunhayu (No. 7 in List B).

† The property of Vella Katt Bhattathiripad.

‡ No 378.

56. Only three of the seven fanatics who composed this gang were found to have made their stand in the house at Parambayil, though Mr. Fawcett supposed that six of them (all except K. Abdulla who had shot himself on the 11th March, *vide* paragraph 53) were there. But Ambat Aidros, Kaithavalappan Kunholan and Aruviralan Athoyi (all under arrest, *vide* Nos. 27, 24 and 25 in List B) had deserted the gang and been taken into custody as mentioned above (paragraph 25).

57. The dead bodies of Keeri Ahmed Unni and Ossán Unnian were taken at once from Parambayil to Manjéri, where they were burnt in the sub-jail compound, like those of the fanatics who were killed at Manjéri. P. Kunhayu, the wounded man, was removed with all possible despatch to Manjéri hospital, where he still lies in a precarious condition.

58. I regret very much that I have no map ready to accompany this report, in order to illustrate the path taken by the fanatics as described in the foregoing paragraphs. The Special Commissioner, however, is having a map prepared in order to elucidate his own report. If a copy of that map, when printed, be attached to this part of my report, it will serve to make clearer what is at present, I fear, a medley of unintelligible proper names.

C.—59. The causes and origin of the outbreak naturally form a third chapter in this report. I do not, however, intend to deal with this part of the subject at any great length since the Special Commissioner, the Hon'ble Mr. H. M. Winterbotham, has been deputed to make enquiries and to submit a separate report in this connection. I shall merely record a few facts which have been revealed by my enquiries into the identity of the fanatics and into the connection with the outbreak of the prisoners now under remand.

60. In several important features this outbreak stands unique in the annals of Mappilla fanaticism in Malabar.

In the first place, in point of numbers. In order to restore the peace it has unfortunately been necessary to shoot down ninety-two misguided Mappillas—a number far in excess of the greatest number killed in any previous outbreak, not even excepting

that in which sixty-four Mappillas fell at Angadipuram in 1849. In the next place there is the total absence of any incentive of sufficient importance to explain the magnitude of the outbreak. Again, the fanatics this year did not divorce their wives, as usual, prior to "going out." This may be accounted for by the fact that the offenders' plans were precipitated by the arrest of their ringleaders. Doubtless, too, in the case of several of the fanatics it argues an entire want of premeditation and design. Several of them in all probability merely joined the gang when it passed their way without any previous knowledge of its existence. In fact, the ringleader of the band of men who joined from Manjéri amsam—Manjipalli Ahmed Kutti by name (No. 58 in List A)—had actually married a wife about ten days before the 29th February—the day on which he threw in his lot with the fanatics. Again, this is the first time that the fanatics were known to kill one another or to commit suicide—acts forbidden by their religion and totally out of accord with the career of "Sahids" according to all accepted principles. It is almost incredible that they should have done so, but it is proved beyond the shadow of a doubt that they did (*vide* the reports of the medical officers who examined the corpses and the statements * of eye witnesses of the engagement at Manjéri).

* Nos. 384, 385, 387, 118, 72, &c.

61. The following paragraphs contain a brief narrative of the incident which seems to have been the immediate cause of the outbreak, with an account of the manner in which information reached the authorities.

62. Kochu Kayyan *alias* Thopitta Moidin Kutti Mussaliar (No. 1 in List B), aged forty years, originally a Cheruma by caste, became a convert to Muhammadanism about 26 years ago. After acquiring some knowledge of Muhammadan doctrines, and having undergone six months' training in a religious school at Ponani, he assumed the title of Mussaliar (without actually taking the degree), and began to pose as a religious teacher. For the past twelve years he has lived with his family (consisting of a wife and three children, of whom the eldest is a boy of sixteen years of age, the second a daughter of eleven years, and the third a boy of six years) near the Túvúr mosque about half-a-mile from the residence of Govindan, the adhigari of Túvúr amsam in Walavanad taluk. He has been earning a livelihood by preaching and teaching Koran. His eldest son and his wife work as coolies. He has no property of any description. In January last he had a quarrel with Veluthodath Sankaran, the younger brother of Govindan, the adhigari of Túvúr amsam. One day this Sankaran met the Mussaliar on a footpath in Túvúr amsam. The Mussaliar was wearing sandals at the time, and did not remove them while Sankaran passed him. Sankaran, incensed at this want of respect, rebuked the Mussaliar, and the latter took the rebuke very much to heart. He appears to have expressed to his wife on many occasions his regret at his inability to avenge the insult. He continued his preaching amongst his co-religionists of Túvúr and Chembrasséri amsams, and seems to have imported to his doctrines some of the bitterness which he began to feel against Kaffirs. His sermons after this seem to have been based principally on the text of *jehad*, and they awakened in the neighbourhood the slumbering spirit of fanaticism. There is evidence to show that he thus preached in the houses of several of the fanatics who took part in the recent troubles. Kappa Kunnan Mootha, of Trikunnasséri desam, Chembrasséri amsam, one of the four persons arrested on the 25th February (*vide* paragraphs 2 and 4 *supra*), appears † to have been deeply impressed by the Mussaliar's eloquence on the advantages of martyrdom and to have expressed to one Mancheri Avaran, in the course of a conversation, that he who had heard the preaching of the Mussaliar would never more toil for a living.

† *Vide* statement No. 298.

63. On a night in the beginning of the Muhammadan month of Ramazan, about a month after the conversation referred to at the close of the preceding paragraph, the aforesaid Avaran happened to meet Kappa Kunnan Mootha and a cousin of his named Pottemmal Unni Mammad (also arrested on the 25th February) in a foot-path, when Mootha asked Avaran, who is a sawyer by profession, if he would sell him an *old* saw, as he wanted to saw some timber for gun-stocks. Though Avaran knew that Mootha was a good shikari and as such likely to require gun-stocks, he could not understand why Mootha wanted to *purchase* an *old* saw for this purpose alone. He accordingly questioned him further, when Mootha said that he wanted the saw in order to make knives out of it. This conversation recalled to Avaran's mind the conversation which he had with Mootha about a month before on the subject of the Mussaliar's preaching. He therefore gave no definite promise but said that he would see about it. The next morning Avaran communicated the details of this conversation and his suspicion of coming mischief to a friend and neighbour of his named Pattikatan Alavi, a hanger-on of the local police, with a request that the matter should be enquired into and information given to the authorities. As neither Mootha nor Unni Mammad lived in his (Alavi's) neighbourhood and as Unni Mammad was a neighbour of Valiapeedikkal Unnian Kutti Háji, a rich Mappilla of Pórúr amsam, Thodiapulam desam, Alavi communicated this information to Unni Kammu, the son of Unnian Kutti Háji, on the 20th February. The next day (Friday) Unni Kammu, falling in with Unni Mammad on their return from the mosque, asked him whether Kochu Kayan Mussaliar was in the habit of visiting Mootha at his house. Unni Mammad answered in the negative. In the meantime Unni Kammu commissioned a neighbour of Mootha's named P. Ahmed Kutti to ascertain whether the Mussaliar did visit Mootha's house. On the morning of the Monday following (24th February) Ahmed Kutti informed Unni Kammu that the Mussaliar had paid frequent visits to Mootha's house. The same evening Unni Mammad went to Unni Kammu and enquired of him why he wanted to know about the Mussaliar's visits to Mootha. Unni Kammu taxed him with having concealed the truth from him and told him that he was in possession of the real facts, and that it would be as well for himself to speak out the truth, whereupon Unni Mammad made a confessional statement to the following effect:—"It is a fact that the Mussaliar used to visit Mootha's house. Mootha told me that the Mussaliar had told him that several persons were prepared to commit an outbreak and that there is much salvation in it. He also asked me to take part in it with him. I told him that we should not go in for it, as the people at large and our families would be put to difficulties." In reply to further questioning Unni Mammad said that of their neighbours, Kundur Ayammad Kutti Mulla and Maliyakkal Moyan Kutti (both under arrest *) as well as Pottayil Mammad Mussaliar (under arrest) and the sons of Pattikatan Srajadin had also agreed to take part; that the intention was to break out on the 12th or 17th day of the Ramazan; that their object was to murder the Túvúr *adhigari*, *Govindan Nair*, and the Maranat Nambudripad—the former for having beaten or kicked the Mussaliar and the latter for having evicted Srajadin's sons. Another reason assigned by Unni Mammad for the intended outbreak was the demolition of a certain mosque in Payyanad amsam †. Unni Kammu at once communicated this information to his father, Unnian Kutti Háji, who informed the Wandúr adhigari, Moosa Kutti, about it the same night.

* (Nos. 29, 30 in List B.)

† *Vide* foot-note to the paragraph.

[*Foot-note.*—On the southern side of the Manjeri-Pándikád road, at the second milestone from Manjeri, there is by the road side a spring of water, which has also been made use of by the general public as a bathing place. In March 1895, Abdulla Gurikal of Payyanad amsam, son of the pensioned Police Inspector, Khan Bahadur Ahmed Gurikal, began to erect a *Niskara-palli*, or Mappilla praying-shed, by the side of this spring. The Assistant Superintendent of Police noticed this work, and seeing that it meant practically a usurpation of the spring in favour of the Mappillas, on the 14th March 1895 he reported the matter to the Ernád Tahsildar. The Tahsildar issued orders on the same date to the adhigari of the amsam to stop the work, and to report full particulars about the shed. The report of the adhigari (who is a Mappilla and a relative of Abdulla Gurikal) showed that the shed was not intended as a *Niskara-palli*, but that, as there was a good supply of water near the place, Abdulla Gurikal thought that the erection of the shed would confer a boon on wayfarers of all classes who had to pass that way, especially in the hot season. The adhigari further reported that if the authorities found the work in any way objectionable, Abdulla Gurikal was prepared to demolish it and that he had already stopped the work. The Tahsildar soon afterwards had a conversation with Abdulla Gurikal about the matter with the result that the latter agreed to pull down the shed. The shed was accordingly pulled down on the 21st March 1895.]

64. Moosa Kutti had also received information at an earlier hour on the same day from one Unnian of Pannikkod in Chembrasséri amsam, that one Pálóli Mammu, of Vellayúr desam (killed at Manjéri ‡ temple) had been seen getting three choppers made by a certain blacksmith. (This blacksmith, named Koma, was tried by me for an offence under the Offensive Weapons Act XX of 1854, and was acquitted on the 16th March on the ground that

‡ (*Vide* No. 1 in List A.)

the choppers which he made were of the ordinary kind used in every native house, and that he did not manufacture them with any guilty intention or knowledge). Moosa Kutti (Wandúr adhigari) reported these facts to the Stationary Magistrate Ernád, early on the morning of the 25th February, and, accompanied by the Acting Inspector of Police of Manjéri, who then happened to be at Wandúr, he proceeded to the residence of the suspected persons, and, before evening, had succeeded in arresting the three of them named in the margin. The same night the Stationary Magistrate joined the Wandúr adhigari at Thodiapalam in Pórúr amsam and made a report about the arrest of the aforesaid three persons and of the Mussaliar * who was arrested at his house in Túvúr amsam by Constable Krishnan Nair. The report further stated that Pálóli Mammu, to arrest whom a constable had been sent out, had with nine others fled into the jungle.

1. Kappa Kunnan Mootha.
2. Pottemmal Unni Mammad.
3. Alingal Aidru

) Nos. 2, 3 and 4 in List B.

* No. 1 in List B.

65. It is clear that the Mussaliar had been preaching sedition in the houses of his co-religionists in Túvúr and Chembrasséri amsams. In fact, he himself admits having preached recently in the houses of several of the fanatics who were shot at Manjéri on the 1st March. Of course, he denies that he preached *jehad*, and maintained that his sermons dealt with prayer, ablution and bath, and with those subjects alone (*vide* statement No. 308.) There can, however, be little doubt that he really preached *jehad*, at any rate after his ire had been roused by the insult which he received at the hands of Sankaran, if not prior to that also.

66. It is true that a few of the rioters were animated with a desire to avenge some private grievance, real or imagined (the Special Commissioner's report will, I believe, deal with these grievances); but the great majority of those who "went out" on the 25th February appear to have been actuated in the main by the spirit of fanaticism, breathed into them by the preaching of the Mussaliar and readily accepted by those who had but little in this life to lose, and who were persuaded to believe that if they died as "Sahids" they would instantly pass to the seventh heaven, where all sorts of joy unspeakable would be their portion. The Mussaliar seems, therefore, to be primarily responsible for fanning the spark of fanaticism which eventually burst into flame on the 25th February, as soon as the Mussaliar himself and three of his associates had been arrested.

D.—67. I have now to deal with the persons under arrest in connection with the outbreak, to detail the evidence on record against them, and to make my recommendations concerning them. This part of my enquiry is not yet complete, but there is sufficient evidence available now to enable Government to pass temporary orders in the case of several of the prisoners; and as all the sub-jails in the division and the cells in the barracks at Malappuram are terribly over-crowded, it is very necessary that those of the prisoners who can be removed should be taken away at once, in order to relieve the congestion. I therefore request that those prisoners whom Government decides to remove from the district may be temporarily transferred to some other district pending the final orders of Government.

68. Enclosure B is a list of the prisoners at present in custody charged with complicity in the outbreak. I shall hereafter, as a rule, refer to the prisoners by their numbers in this list.

69. *No. 1* is the Mussaliar or priest referred to in paragraph 62 above as having been insulted by a Nair, and having taken the insult to heart to such an extent as to have worked up a number of his Mappilla neighbours to a determination to join an outbreak. A full account of this incident is given in Part C of this report. The Mussaliar admits having been consulted by several Mappillas in the neighbourhood of Maruthath, in Túvúr, as to the advantages of a martyr's death, but he denies having recommended the same to the enquirers. He also admits that he preached recently in the houses of several of those who joined the fanatics and were shot at

the Manjéri temple on the 1st March (*vide* his statement No 308). His wife admits that she heard that her husband had preached *jehad* to some of the fanatics who were killed at Manjéri. She also states that her husband was deeply wounded by the insult offered him by the Túvúr adhigari's brother (*vide* paragraph 62 *supra*) and often regretted his inability to avenge it. Mancheri Avaran * says that Kappa Kunnan Mootha (prisoner No. 2) told him that the Mussaliar had preached *jehad* in his (Mootha's) house, and that whoever had the opportunity of hearing his preaching would never toil for a living any more. The prisoner † Mootha supports this by stating that the Mussaliar tried to persuade him to join in an outbreak which was being organized to avenge the demolition of Payyanad *Niskara-palli* or prayer-shed (*vide* foot-note to paragraph 63 *supra*.) Add to all this the suspicious circumstances in which the Mussaliar was found at the time of his arrest. When the constable went to call him on the 25th February he was sitting in his house reading and declined to go with the constable ‡ because he was engaged to perform a moulhoud § at his neighbour Mussaliar Unni Koya's house. This Mussaliar Unni Koya joined the fanatics shortly afterwards and was killed at Manjéri temple on the 1st March (see Enclosure A, No. 37). Another Mappilla who was present at Mussaliar Unni Koya's house at the time of the arrest of No. 1 also went out and was killed at Manjéri (Paramal Poker, No. 36 in Enclosure A). There is thus the clearest proof that No. 1, if not an active conspirator, was at least fully cognisant of the conspiracy which was being hatched. There is not sufficient evidence forthcoming for his criminal prosecution with any chance of obtaining a conviction; but it is none the less indubitable that he was intimately connected with the conspiracy. I recommend that he be removed from this district.

* Statement No. 298.

† Statement No. 139.

‡ Statement No. 390.

§ A service in honour of a saint.

70. *No. 2* is the Mootha referred to in the preceding paragraph. About a month before the outbreak he told Mancheri Avaran that he had been deeply impressed by the preaching of No. 1. Again, just before the discovery of the conspiracy, the prisoner, accompanied by No. 3, asked Mancheri Avaran, who is a sawyer by trade, for an old saw to make knives of. This request it was which led to the first information being given to the authorities (*vide* paragraph 63 *supra*). The prisoner's wife admits ‖ that Kochu Kayan Mussaliar (No. 1) had been visiting her husband's house shortly before the outbreak. Prisoner No. 3 states that No. 2, his cousin, had asked him to join in the outbreak, but that he declined. Thayathayil Ayappan deposes ¶ that prisoner No. 2, his neighbour, who is reputed to be a great shikari and who was fined Rs. 35 by the Special Assistant Magistrate in 1891 for unlawful possession of two guns, recently engaged in some firing practice in front of his own house. The Special Magistrate, Koonhayan, states ** that he visited the house and saw the tree which had been used as a target by No. 2 with three bullet marks on it. No. 2 himself admits that No. 1 had invited him to become a *Sahid* and to help to avenge the demolition of the Payyanad *Niskara-palli*. The conclusion is irresistible that No. 2 knew all about the conspiracy which was on foot and there can be but little doubt that he would have "gone out" with the others had it not been for his timely arrest. It is said that one of the guns found in the Manjéri temple after the engagement there was Mootha's (he had taken out no license for it), but this fact is difficult of proof and no evidence in support of it is forthcoming. The man's statement ‡‡ is most unsatisfactory. He denies having ever fired a shot in his life, in spite of his conviction for unlicensed possession of the two guns referred to above, which he himself had to admit (*vide* statement No. 137). It is a moral certainty that No. 2 was also a conspirator and had made preparations

‖ Statement No. 209.

¶ Statement No. 296.

** Statement No. 112.

‡‡ Statement No. 135.

to join in the outbreak. The evidence is not sufficiently substantial to procure his conviction by a Criminal Court, but the man should be dealt with, I think, under Act XX of 1859. I recommend that he be removed from the district.

71. *No. 3* is the cousin of No. 2. He admits * having been asked by Mootha (No. 2) about the 10th February to join in the outbreak which No. 1 was organising. He was present with No. 2 when the latter asked Mancheri Avaran for a saw from which knives were to be made. He confessed † to V. Unni Kammu that at the instigation of No. 1 several persons including prisoners Nos. 29, 30 and 32 were preparing an outbreak in which they proposed to murder the Túvúr adhigari and the Maranat Nambudiripad—the former because of the insult offered by his brother to No. 1 (*vide* paragraph 62 *supra*), and the latter because he had evicted some of the Pattikatan people. The outbreak was also intended to avenge the demolition of the Payyanad *Niskara-palli* ‡. This confession of No. 3 to Unni Kammu was one of the steps which led to the first information being given to the authorities (*vide* paragraph 63 *supra*). Thithi Umma, wife of No. 2, states§ that No. 3 had agreed to attend a *nercha* ‖ which was to have been held at the house of No. 2 on the 12th night of the Ramazan, *i.e.*, the 25th February—the very day on which the arrests were made. A *nercha* may be a harmless enough festival in itself, but considering the certainty of the complicity of No. 2 in the conspiracy it is but reasonable to suppose that the principal topic to be discussed at this particular *nercha* was the proposed outbreak. No. 3 has admitted that he knew of the conspiracy some days at least before his arrest, and the fact that he took no steps to prevent it by warning the authorities argues that he was hand-and-glove with the conspirators. In his statement before me on the 20th April the prisoner volunteered a most unsatisfactory explanation for not having given information to the authorities (*vide* statement No. 131). I do not consider that it would be safe to leave this man in the district, and I recommend that he also may be removed.

* Statements Nos. 131 and 140.

† Statement No. 276.

‡ *Vide* foot-note to paragraph 63 *supra*.

§ Statement No. 209.

‖ A festival in honour of a saint or martyr.

72. It is remarkable that, although the Túvúr adhigari and the Maranat Nambudiri were thus mentioned as the objects of attack, neither of them were in any way injured by this gang. A kalam or farmhouse belonging to the former was, it is true, burnt by the second gang of fanatics ¶, but the motive for that outrage is entirely different to that which actuated those whom the Mussaliar (No. 1) encouraged to go out. The leader of the second gang was Keeri Ahmed Unni, and there is reason to believe that he had a personal grudge against the Túvúr adhigari, which accounts for the destruction of the Túvúr adhigari's kalam. It appears that Keeri Ahmed Unni had purchased the door and window frames of a certain house from the sons of one Akkarakalavan Ali. Subsequently the sons of Ali mortgaged the house to the Túvúr adhigari. Meanwhile Ahmed Unni had removed the door and window frames without the adhigari's knowledge. The adhigari then got the sons of Ali to complain to the police against Ahmed Unni, and Ahmed Unni was finally induced to pay Rs. 40 to the adhigari and the police to hush up the case. This is the story which Ahmed Unni himself told to Vakkayath Sankaran Nair **. How far it is true I have not yet been able to discover but a separate enquiry will be made into the matter. The fact that the Túvúr adhigari and Maranat Nambudiripad escaped injury at the hands of the first gang of fanatics I can only attribute to (1) the strong police guard which was kept at the Túvúr adhigari's house during all the time that the fanatics were in that neighbourhood and (2) the fact that the sons of Srajadin, who are said to have borne malice against the Nambudiripad, did not actually join the gang and so their particular grievance was left unavenged.

¶ *Vide* paragraph 52 *supra*.

** *Vide* statement No. 105.

73. *No. 4* is a man who is said to have gone out with the fanatics of 1894 but to have left the gang and returned to his house before the final stand was made at Pallikurup. His own sister, Achamma *, who lives with him, and his neighbour, P. Unnian Kutti †, both swear that this rumour is generally believed in the neighbourhood. A few days before the outbreak, No. 4 received visits from Kochu Kayan Mussaliar, the moving spirit in the affair, and from Pálóli Mammu, who was subsequently shot with the fanatics at Manjéri temple. He must therefore be presumed to have known what was going on. His intention to join the proposed outbreak is proved by the fact that he made the customary preparations for "going out". In the beginning of Ramazan, just after P. Mammu had visited him, he sent his wife away to her home in Mudikode, Manjéri amsam, without any ostensible reason. The probability is that he had divorced her, though it is not to be expected that the woman will admit it now. She, in fact, denies ‡ it, and contradicts every statement of her sister-in-law, Achamma, in a way which shows that she is prepared to deny everything in order to protect her husband. Her statement carries its own condemnation. In one breath she says that she left her husband because of a slight misunderstanding, and in the next she says there was no such misunderstanding and that she does not know why she was sent home. The prisoner omitted to make preparations for fencing his compound and thatching his house at the usual time this year, and lastly he mortgaged his domestic utensils—almost the only property he has—in the beginning of Ramazan. There can be no doubt that this man was also aware of the proposed outbreak and fully determined to join in it, though he was arrested before his intention could be carried into effect. He is a mere cooly and the fact that he is reported to have gone with the fanatics in 1894 shows that he is a bad character and one most likely to join in organizing an outbreak. It would not be safe to allow him to remain in this district, and I therefore recommend that he may be removed from it.

* Statement No. 269.

† Statement No. 268.

‡ Statement No. 122.

74. These first four persons are the men who were arrested on the 25th February after the receipt of the first information of the conspiracy.§ Their plans were not quite mature when the authorities pounced upon them, and this makes it more difficult to obtain much evidence against them. It is always difficult to prove an intention which has not been followed up by action, and in this case the prisoners had not quite completed their plans. To this must be attributed the absence of any great evidence of preparation. No. 4 alone had arranged his affairs in the customary manner of a "Sahid." Whether No. 1 actually intended to go out himself with his disciples must remain a mystery. It is quite possible that he did not intend to live up to his precepts, but it cannot be doubted that he took an active part in the organization of the rebellion. I am perfectly satisfied that all four men were conspirators, and I consider that it would be in the highest degree unsafe to allow any one of them to remain in the district.

§ *Vide* paragraph 64 *supra*.

75. *No. 5* is Aruviralan Mootha, one of the two survivors of the engagement at Manjéri on the 1st March. He is the brother of the prisoner No. 25. He admits ‖ that he joined the fanatics on the 25th February—the day on which they went out—and continued with them until the stand was made at Manjéri. He says that he had no grievance whatever, but joined the gang solely at the invitation of others. He is only 18 years of age. He seems to have a charmed life, for not only did he escape death from the terrific volleys which were poured into the fanatics at the Manjéri temple, but he likewise had a marvellous escape from having his throat cut by one of his fellow-rebels there. After he was wounded one of the fanatics, either to put him out of pain or to prevent his being taken prisoner, deliberately attempted to cut his throat and had actually inflicted a slight flesh wound upon the front of his neck when he was carried off by a bullet himself before his object was accomplished. The prisoner still bears the scar on his throat. This is additional proof, if such were necessary, that the fanatics deliberately

‖ *Vide* Statements Nos. 13 and 377.

put an end to one another in the temple on the 1st March (*vide* paragraph 60 *supra*). This prisoner is now a "failed" sahid, and it would be exceedingly unsafe to allow him to continue in the district. He has now quite recovered from his wound and is able to walk about. I recommend that he be deported permanently.

76. *No. 6* is the Cheruman Raman, who alone besides No. 5 survived the engagement at Manjéri. He was wounded in the left leg, the bullet passing through the calf and then through the thigh, as the prisoner was held in a sitting position, with his legs directed towards the troops, by a fanatic who was anxious that the prisoner should not be taken alive. The prisoner is now convalescent, though still somewhat lame. He has been discharged from the hospital and is in custody in the barracks at Malappuram. He maintains * that he did not go with the fanatics of his own free-will and accord, but that as they passed him in Cheppur desam, Manjéri amsam, on the afternoon of the 29th February, they laid violent hands on him and forcibly carried him with them till they reached Manjéri. This story is quite probable, and if it be true the prisoner has been very badly used. The question is what to do with him. He has become a marked man. He was made a Mappilla by the fanatics, who gave him the name of Ahmed, and if he is now released, he will assuredly revert to his former name, religion and caste, and may perhaps be regarded by the Mappillas as a renegade and as such a standing insult to their religion. This would expose him to great risk. However, it is impossible for Government to protect all such apostates, and I think that this man may be set at liberty, which is all he asks for. The Special Commissioner and the District Superintendent of Police agree that, though this is to some extent an experiment, it may well be tried in this case.

* Statements Nos. 11 and 79.

77. *No. 7* is the sole survivor of the attack made by the District Superintendent of Police on the house at Parambayil, where a stand was made by Keeri Ahmed Unni's gang on the 13th March (*vide* paragraph 24 *supra*). The prisoner was struck by a bullet in the left side of his chest. The bullet penetrated his left lung and came out behind just at the inner edge of the left scapula, which was slightly fractured. It is almost a miracle that the man has lived so long. He is still in the hospital at Manjéri in a very precarious condition. It is exceedingly doubtful whether he will live much longer. According to his statement † he left his house through fear of being arrested, searched for the first gang of fanatics without success, met five others who were engaged in the same quest, and, joining with them, formed what has been so often referred to in this report as the second gang. They wandered about the jungles and committed several outrages until at last they were brought to bay by the District Superintendent of Police with the special force at the house in Parambayil, where the prisoner received his wound.‡ The man disowns all participation in any of the offences committed by the gang and there is no reliable evidence to bring any of them home to him. He, too, if he survives, must, I think, be dealt with under Act XX of 1859 and permanently deported.

† No. 378.

‡ *Vide* Part C of this report.

78. The case against *No. 10* is a clear one. He was seen by Kunhunni Arimbra Nayar and Mathâri Moidin at Arimbra Nayar's house in company with the gang on the 29th February (*vide* paragraph 39 *supra*). The prisoner was armed with a gun. He was again seen with the gang at Veluthedath para by Moidin Kutti Mulla § and at Udambath house by K. Ali Ammu ‖. E. Govinda Variar ¶ and P. Athen Moyan ** saw him with the gang at Pandalúr temple. Ráru Nayar saw him with the fanatics at the gate of Udumbath house. Two of this prisoner's brothers—Ahmed and Kunhormu by name (see Nos. 56 and 57 in List A)—were shot at Manjéri temple on the following day,

Statement No. 319.
Statement No. 317.
§ Statement No. 318.
‖ Statement No. 320.
¶ Statement No. 321.
** Statement No. 323.

while his brother Moidu, a lad of twelve years of age, is now in custody for having gone with the fanatics (No. 23 in List B). This boy Moidu's statement * removes all doubt as to the guilt of No. 10. Moidu says that he himself joined the gang with his three brothers on the 29th February, that Veeran (No. 10) was armed with a gun, while he himself had a chopper, that his brothers Ahmed and Muhammad entered the Manjéri temple with the fanatics and were shot, whilst Veeran (No. 10) and he left the gang when they were within view of the temple, and that they threw away their arms on the side of the hill there and returned home. This statement is borne out by the fact that, while advancing on the temple on the morning of the 1st March, we found a flint lock gun fully loaded lying on the hillside within a few hundred yards of the temple (*vide* the statement † of what I observed during the engagement, made at the request of the Special Commissioner). There can be absolutely no doubt, therefore, that the prisoner Veeran (No. 10) went with the gang, that he was armed with a gun, that he was present at the desecration of the Pandalúr temple and in all probability at the murder of the goldsmith in Mangadapallipuram amsam likewise, and that at the eleventh hour he deserted the gang, either because his heart failed him or for some other reason. The prisoner states ‡ that he was not arrested at all, but that he voluntarily came to Pándikád to enquire about his brother Moidu who had been arrested. Even if true, this could scarcely help the prisoner in the face of the evidence against him, for it might be explained as a piece of effrontery intended to avert suspicion. But the statement does not appear to be true (see statement No 138 of Constable No. 144 of Manjéri station who arrested the prisoner). I therefore recommend that this man, too, be deported.

* Statement No. 87.

† No. 383.

‡ Statement No. 126.

79. *No. 12* is a Hindu convert to Muhammadanism. His son was killed at Manjéri temple on the 1st March (*vide* No. 52 in Enclosure A). Against the prisoner there is very little evidence—not more than enough to raise a suspicion against him. He was doing duty as a guard at the Manjéri temple and left it on the evening of Saturday, the 29th February, without reason. A neighbour of the prisoner, Paravan Kutti, states § that he (the prisoner) went home at about 9 P.M. on the 29th February; that while at his meals he informed his wife that their son had joined the fanatics, and that therefore it was immaterial whether he (prisoner) lived or died; and that shortly afterwards the prisoner left his house again. If Paravan Kutti's statement is accepted, it raises a strong suspicion that the prisoner intended to join the fanatics. The latter seems to be a suspicious character. He was once before arrested in 1893 on a suspicion that he was organizing an outbreak, but was eventually set at liberty. He has now got an additional incentive to create further trouble in the loss of his son, which he is said to feel very bitterly. He seems to envy the son his reputation as a "Sahid." I am of opinion that it would be advisable to institute proceedings against the man under section 107, Criminal Procedure Code, with a view to bind him over to be of good behaviour for one year.

§ No. 330.

80. *No. 20* is a beggar who was arrested under somewhat suspicious circumstances on the 4th of March. He had a bundle of paddy in his hand and was overheard questioning a Tiyan, who was at work in the fields near the Túvúr adhigari's house, as to the whereabouts of the troops. He was accordingly arrested as a spy. The prisoner admits ‖ having asked about the whereabouts of the troops, and explains the circumstance by stating that he was afraid he would be arrested if he were seen walking about. The explanation is far from satisfactory; but there is not sufficient ground for believing that the prisoner was in league with the fanatics. I recommend that he be released with a warning.

‖ Statement No. 114.

81. The statement * of *No. 21* is sufficient to condemn him of having been aware of the movements of the fanatics without having exerted himself to warn the authorities. He admits that the fanatics visited his house on three separate occasions and that he received presents of rice and curry from them (*vide* statement No. 100). The boy (he is only sixteen years old) did not, however, go with the gang nor actively sympathise with them. He is an utter pauper and is suffering from an enlarged spleen and chronic starvation. He is so ill that he had to be removed from the Manjéri sub-jail to the civil hospital where he still is, and it is doubtful whether he will live long; certainly he will never be very robust. He could not well help the fanatics visiting his house, which is situated in the heart of the jungle at Manhikundu; and he may well be excused for not having gone to inform the authorities about their visits, considering what a wretched invalid he is. I recommend that a little mercy be extended to him and that he may be released as soon as he is fit to be discharged from hospital. I am confident that this act of mercy will not be followed by any evil consequences to the public peace. My recommendation has the approval both of the Special Commissioner and of the District Superintendent of Police.

* No. 100.

82. *No. 23* is Mattummal Moidu, a boy of twelve years of age, already referred to (*vide* paragraph 78 *supra*). He was seen in company with the gang by Mathari Moidin, Moidin Kutti Mulla and K. Ali Ammu. The boy himself admits † that he joined the gang at Mudikód about midday on Saturday, the 29th February, and that he left it with his brother Veeran (No. 10) at dawn on the 1st March, just before the entrance to the Manjéri temple. He further admits having been armed with a chopper and having been present at the desecration of Pandalúr temple, and having witnessed the pursuit of the goldsmith in Mangadapallipuram amsam, a few yards from the place where the man was shot and hacked to death (*vide* paragraph 39 *supra*). No doubt can therefore be entertained as to the boy's having been a member of the gang. But considering his extreme youth it would be absurd to regard him as a fanatic. He simply followed the example of his elder brothers, without thoroughly understanding the nature and consequences of his acts or what were the motives of the gang. None the less I consider that it would be dangerous to allow the boy to remain in his native place. He would to a certainty, if sent back there, be driven at some future time to put in practice the lesson which has unfortunately been taught him and to emulate the fate of his brothers Ahmed and Kunhorum. Still I do not think that the boy's case calls for deportation. That would be too severe a step to take considering that the boy cannot in all justice be regarded as a voluntary agent. I think it would suffice if he could be kept under surveillance at Calicut and sent to school there for five or six years. By the end of that time he would be pretty well forgotten in his own amsam and would have lost all sympathy with its people, and he might safely be made a taluk peon in Calicut, say, or in one of the taluks of North Malabar. If Government cannot see its way to sanction this recommendation, the only other course is to send the boy to a Reformatory, for it would be most unsafe to set him at liberty altogether. The objection to sending him to the Reformatory is that he would have no one there to instruct him in his own language. The boy is a bright, intelligent little fellow, and, if given the opportunities which I have recommended, I feel sure that his future career would fully justify the clemency shown him. An allowance of Rs. 7 a month would probably be sufficient to cover his expenses, including school fees, and would in addition suffice to maintain his widowed mother also if she went and lived with him in Calicut. This unfortunate woman has lost all four of her sons in the recent outbreak. Ahmed and Kunhorum fell at Manjéri temple, Veeran (No. 10) is in custody and will have to be removed from the district, and the fourth is the boy Moidu whose case is under discussion. If my recommendation regarding him is approved, his mother would probably go and live with him in Calicut, and thus his last connection with the ill-starred home of his childhood would be severed. I have informed the Special Commissioner of this recommendation and he fully approves of it.

† Statement No. 87.

83. *No. 24* is a brother of Kaithavalappan Chekk and uncle of Kaithavalappan Avaran Kutti and Chevidikunnan Moidin, who were all three * shot at Manjéri temple on the 1st March. This prisoner has made a long statement before me (No. 103) in which he admits having been in company with the second gang of fanatics for three days, but he tries to condone his guilt by maintaining that he was driven to join the gang through fear, and that he was not present at, and did not assist in the perpetration of, any of the outrages committed while he was a member of the gang. He denies having ever seen the first gang, but the lie is given to this part of his statement by the evidence of several witnesses whose veracity there is no reason to doubt. He was seen with the first gang, then forty-three in number, on Thursday, the 27th February, at six naligas before sunset by Chathu Nayar, whose house was on that occasion looted by the offenders (*vide* paragraph 33 *supra* and statement No. 208). He was seen by Parakalathingal Krishnan among the first gang when it visited the house of Thayathathara Krishnan at Vellayúr, in Chembrasséri amsam, on the night of the 26th February (*vide* paragraph 30 *supra* and statement No. 83). This witness Krishnan was so terrified at giving evidence against one of the fanatics that he would not say that he actually identified the prisoner, but only that he was "almost certain" that it was the prisoner whom he saw. From Krishnan's manner, however, it was clear that his hesitation was only the outcome of his terror of the Mappilla. It is quite certain that the prisoner was not only a member of the second gang of fanatics on the 6th, 7th and 8th March, as admitted by him, but that he also went with the first gang before the end of February and remained behind with Keeri Ahmed Unni's gang at Parambayil when the main body of the fanatics started on its rapid march to Manjéri. The prisoner's statement is, however, sufficient to convict him. I recommend that he be deported permanently from the district.

* *Vide* Nos. 3, 4 and 5 in List A.

84. The case of *No. 25* is very similar to that of No. 24 except that there is not so much evidence to prove that he was ever a member of the first gang. He admits † having been with the second gang on the 7th and 8th of March and from his statement it seems almost certain that he joined the first gang with his younger brother Mootha who joined it on the evening of the 25th February and was subsequently wounded at Manjéri temple on the 1st of March (*vide* paragraph 75 *supra*). It is impossible to believe that the prisoner, as alleged by him, searched for the first gang from the 25th February without being able to find it although it was hanging about the same neighbourhood from the 25th to the 27th February. At all events the prisoner was a member of the second gang and would in all probability have perished with it at Parambayil had it not been for his arrest on the 14th March at Kálikávu, though he, like No. 24, tries to make out that he was not arrested at all but voluntarily delivered himself over to the authorities (*vide* statements Nos. 78 and 381). This prisoner, too, must be removed from the district. I recommend that he be deported permanently.

† Statements Nos. 78 and 381.

85. *No. 26* is another prisoner of whose guilt there cannot be the shadow of a doubt. Chemmala Krishnan Nair (statement No. 322) states that he saw the prisoner with the gang close to Pandalúr temple. The boy Mattummal Moidu (No. 23) says that the prisoner joined the gang at noon on the 29th February at Pandalúr temple compound (where Krishnan Nair saw him join) and that he remained with the gang till about sunset, when he left it. Moidu remembers a particular incident which occurred during the time that the prisoner was with the gang. While they were near Manjipalli Ahmed Kutti's (No. 58 in Enclosure A) house, the latter sent the prisoner there with two others of the gang and almost immediately afterwards the trio returned to the gang each bearing a weapon, the prisoner's being a sword. Udumbath Ráru Nair ‡, for some reason which I am unable to fathom, has spoken for the prisoner by deposing that he was on guard at Udumbath house without leaving it from noon on the 29th February up

‡ Statement No. 106.

till noon on the 1st March. Unfortunately, however, the prisoner himself contradicts this, for he says he left the house for his meals twice during those twenty-four hours ‡. This discrepancy lays Udumbath Ráru Nair's statement open to suspicion, which is further increased by the fact that Ráru Nair, although afraid to come and identify the prisoners against whom he gave evidence (on two occasions I asked him to come and though he personally promised me to do so the first time, he never put in an appearance), did not hesitate in the least to come and pick out the prisoner (No. 26) from the other prisoners in the Manjéri sub-jail, and the prisoner's face visibly brightened when he saw Ráru Nair. I do not think that this Nair's atatement is at all reliable in respect to this prisoner, and I am perfectly satisfied that the boy Moidu (No. 23) has spoken the truth concerning him. I therefore recommend that he, too, may be removed from the district.

‡ *Vide* Statement No. 113.

86. *No. 27* is the man who was arrested at his wife's house in Vettathur amsam, Walavanad taluk, on the 9th March (*vide* paragraph 25 *supra*). He made a confessional statement* before the Special Commissioner at Wandúr on the 16th March in which he admitted that he joined the smaller gang, of which Keeri Ahmed Unni was the leader, on Friday, the 28th February, and that he deserted the gang early on the morning of the 7th March while the others were asleep, taking with him Rs. 36 which another of the gang, Kunhayu (No. 24 in Enclosure A), had tied up in his cloth. He further admitted that while in the custody of the police at Mannarghat he was seized with an inspiration to kill his warders and attempted to seize one of their rifles in order to do so. This shows what a desperate character the man is. He cannot safely be allowed to remain in the district. I recommend that he be permanently removed from it.

* No. 379.

87. *No. 28* was arrested at Pattambi railway station on the 27th February under somewhat suspicious circumstances. So far no evidence against him is forthcoming. I have examined the adhigari of his amsam (Melattur) and he states † that the prisoner is a man of some little means. I recommend that he may be released on bail pending further enquiries into his case, which will be fully reported on in my next report.

† Statement No. 116.

88. Against *No. 29* the evidence is very slight indeed. Unni Kammu states (statement No. 276) that this prisoner was mentioned to him by Unni Mammad (prisoner No. 3) as one who had agreed to join in the outbreak. Kunhi Ráyan, a neighbour of the prisoner, states that on Monday, the 24th February, the prisoner received a visit from two Mappillas whom he heard called "Kaithavalappan" and "Pálóli" (the house names of two of the fanatics, *vide* Nos. 2, 3, 4 and 1 in Enclosure A) and that the prisoner left his house with them. This is scarcely sufficient to prove that the prisoner intended to join the fanatics, and as a matter of fact he did not actually join. I think that this prisoner may be released with a warning.

89. Against *No. 30* the available evidence is still more meagre. He did not actually join the fanatics, but Unni Kammu says (statement No. 276) that he is one of the persons mentioned to him by Unni Mammad (prisoner No. 3) as having avowed an intention to join the fanatics. This man, too, may, I think, be released with a warning.

90. In the case of prisoners Nos. 8, 9, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 22, 28, 31, 32, 33, 34 and 35, my enquiries are not quite complete. I am hurrying on the enquiry and hope to be able to submit a further report on these cases very shortly. I have recommended that No. 28 may be released on bail as there appears to be but little reason to suppose that he was implicated in the outbreak (*vide* paragraph 87 above).

91. It may seem strange that in no single case have I recommended a prosecution before a Criminal Court; but I think there are good reasons for dealing with all these men directly under the Mappilla Outrages Act XX of 1859. In the first place not one of the prisoners can be charged with the actual commission of any one of the offences of which the fanatics were guilty. There is not a scrap of evidence available

to show that any of the prisoners now reported against actually had a hand in any particular outrage. It is true that some of them were members of one or other of the gangs, but can the gangs be regarded as unlawful assemblies when they have not been proved to have been actuated by any *common* object unless the intention to die for their faith or in desperation of life can be regarded as such? Prisoners 1 to 4 did not actually join the fanatics owing to their timely arrest. They might, perhaps, be charged with conspiracy to wage war against the Queen, but the evidence on record against them is scarcely sufficient to stand the test of a Criminal Court. There can, however, be no doubt of their guilt, and the effect would be bad if the prisoners had to be finally dealt with under Act XX of 1859 after having been discharged by the Court of Sessions. Another point for consideration is that all the Hindu witnesses would to a certainty contradict their former statements through their fear of the Mappillas if called upon to give their evidence in the presence of the accused before a Criminal Court. Some of the Mappilla witnesses even might ruin a prosecution from this same cause. The Hindus whom I have examined have all declined to give their evidence in the presence of the prisoners, and it was with great difficulty that I could induce some of them even to identify the prisoners. For these reasons I feel certain that criminal prosecutions would in all likelihood fail even in those cases in which the evidence appears to be sufficient for a criminal trial, and hence I have recommended that the prisoners should be dealt with under the Mappilla Outrages Act XX of 1859 which has been specially enacted to meet such cases.

92. I cannot close this report without recording my high appreciation of the valuable services rendered by the European troops—the men of the South Staffordshire Regiment on detachment duty at Malappuram and Calicut. They performed the most arduous marches by night and day, at times across exceedingly difficult country, often with but little food and little sleep, and I believe that not a single man had to fall out or to be sent back to barracks. Their behaviour was admirable. The constables of the special force, too, did their share of the work remarkably well. They, of course, did not experience the same difficulties in the Commissariat Department, but they were constantly on the march with scant opportunity for sleep and they deserve great praise for the excellent way in which they did their duty under their indefatigable Superintendent and Assistant Superintendent, Messrs. Fawcett and Wilkinson. It is in the highest degree satisfactory that so large an outbreak has been quelled without the loss of a single man and without even the slightest casualty on our side.

93. I regret the delay in the submission of this report, which even now is incomplete. The delay was due in part to the magnitude of the enquiry into a rising in which so many persons were concerned, and also largely to the fact that the suppression of the outbreak was succeeded by a series of dacoities and house-breakings to detect and check which the services of every available police officer had to be called into requisition. Tranquillity has at last been restored; the Hindus are recovering confidence and the disaffection and unrest are, I hope, over for the present. I am pushing on the enquiry against the remaining prisoners with all possible despatch and hope to bring it to a speedy conclusion.

94. I enclose herewith the records of my enquiry.

LIST A.

List of the Fanatics who took part in the Outbreak of February and March 1896.

No.	Name.	Age.	Occupation.	Amsam.	Desam.	Relation which one fanatic bore to another.	Evidence of identification, &c.
1	Pálõli Mammu ..	YRS. 35	Wood-cutter ..	Chembrasséri (Ernad taluk).	Vellayúr	*Nil*	His wife Kadiammunni states that he left his house on Tuesday the 25th February and that she has since learned that he was shot at the Manjéri temple. Married; had two children.
2	Kaithavalappan Kunhólan.	20	Do. ..	Do. ..	Do.	Elder brother of No. 3 ..	A member of the second gang of fanatics. He was arrested at dawn of the 13th March—*vide* the list of persons wounded and arrested.
3	Kaithavalappan Chekk.	16	Do. ..	Do. ..	Do.	Younger brother of No. 2 ..	Aruviralan Mootha, one of the wounded fanatics who is still alive, states that Chekk was a member of the gang shot at the Manjéri temple. The fanatic's sister Ami Umma states that she heard that he was shot at the Manjéri temple.
4	Kythasalappan Avarán Kutti.	18	Do. ..	Chembrasséri ..	Do.	Son of the elder brother (Kunhunnian) of Nos. 2 and 3.	The wounded prisoner Mootha states that Avarán Kutti was a member of the gang killed at the Manjéri temple.
5	Chevidikunnan Moidin.	18	Do. ..	Do. ..	Do.	Nephew of Nos. 2 and 3 ..	His mother's sister Ami Umma states that he joined the gang on the 25th February 1896 and that she has since learned that he was killed among the gang at the Manjéri temple.
6	Parambath Kunhi Koya.	35	Labourer	Do. ..	Do.	Husband of sister of Nos. 2 and 3.	Son of Pokker. Parambath Mootha states that Kunhi Koya joined the gang on the 25th February and that he has since learned that he was shot at the Manjéri temple. The fanatic's wife Ami Umma states that she heard that her husband was shot at the Manjéri temple.
7	Parambath Kunhi Koya.	20	Do.	Do. ..	Do.	Son of the younger brother of the father of No. 6.	Son of Unnioker. Aruviralan Mootha, the wounded fanatic, states that Kunhi Koya was shot at the Manjéri temple.
8	Parambath Koymiar.	50	Wood-cutter ..	Do. ..	Do.	Elder brother of No. 7 ..	Mootha, the wounded fanatic, states that Koymiar was shot at the Manjéri temple.
9	Parambath Ayammad.	35	Labourer	Túvúr (Walavanad taluk).	Túvúr	Younger brother of No. 8 ..	Mootha, the wounded fanatic, states that Ayammad was shot at the Manjéri temple. Iyadia, wife of the killed, states that he joined the gang on the 26th February and that every one told her that he was killed at the Manjéri temple.
10	Parambath Alivi ..	20	Cultivation	Chembrasséri ..	Vellayúr	Grand father's elder brother's grandson of Nos. 7, 8 and 9.	His father Mootha states that Alivi joined the gang on the 25th February and that he has since learned that he was shot at the Manjéri temple.
11	Kiliyola Kunhi Moidin.	30	Labourer	Do. ..	Do.	Cousin of Nos. 7 to 10 ..	His mother Ithachu states that her son joined the gang on the 25th February and that she has since learned that he was shot at the Manjéri temple.

List of the Fanatics who took part in the Outbreak of February and March 1896—*cont.*

No.	Name.	Age.	Occupation.	Amsam.	Desam.	Relation which one fanatic bore to another.	Evidence of identification, &c.
12	Kiliyola Kunhi Mammu.	YRS. 20	Labourer	Chembrasséri ..	Vellayúr	Younger brother of No. 11.	His mother Ithachu states that her son joined the gang on the 25th February, that she has since learned that he was shot at the Manjéri temple, and that Kunhi Mammu had sent his wife away to her house two weeks before the Ramazan.
13	Aruviralan Athóyi ..	20	Cultivation and Labourer.	Do. ..	Do.	Married to a relation of Kaithavalappan.	The fanatic was a member of the second gang. He was arrested at dawn on the 13th March 1896—*vide* the list of persons wounded and arrested.
14	Aruviralan Mootha ..	18	Do.	Do. ..	Do.	Younger brother of No. 13.	Still alive. Wounded at the Manjéri temple—*vide* the list of persons wounded and arrested.
15	Thottathil *alias* Cholayil *alias* Karuvarakothil Kunhi Moidin.	30	Ploughman and Wood-cutter.	Do. ..	Do.	*Nil*	The wounded prisoner Mootha states that he was the leader of the gang. The fanatic's wife Kunhami states that he joined the gang on the 25th February, and that she has since learned that he was shot at the Manjéri temple. His body was identified at the temple by Raman Nayar, amsam peon of Pándikád, and Krishnan Nayar, constable No. 325 of Wandúr Police station. Married; has a child; did not know how to read Koran.
16	Malayath Aidros ..	19	Labourer	Do. ..	Do.	....	His brother Kunhi Koya states that he joined the gang on the 25th February and that he has since learned that he was shot at the Manjéri temple. Friend and neighbours of Nos. 2 to 5. Married; no issue; divorced his wife two years ago.
17	Puthen Peetika Chekk.	30	Ploughman	Do. ..	Do.	Elder brother of No. 18 ..	His wife Beevi states that he left his house on the 25th February and that she has since learned that he was shot at the Manjéri temple. Married; had two children.
18	Puthen Unni Athen..	25	Do.	Do. ..	Do.	Younger brother of No. 17.	Beevi, wife of No. 17, states that Unni Athen left his house on the 25th February and that she has since learned that he was shot at the Manjéri temple. She also states that he sent away his wife to her house before the Ramazan; had no issue.
19	Vélakkadan Moiduthi.	40	Cultivation	Do. ..	Chéramba	Father of No. 20	The wounded prisoner Mootha states that he was shot at the Manjéri temple. Had two wives and five children.
20	Vélakkadan Kunhi Koya.	15	Do.	Do. ..	Vellayúr	Son of No. 19	The wounded prisoner Mootha states that he was shot at the Manjéri temple. His step-mother Mammacha states that he joined the gang of fanatics. Not married.
21	Kallankunnan Aidru.	32	Do.	Do. ..	Do.	Uncle of No. 20	The fanatic's wife Kunhi Pathu says that she has since heard that he was shot at the Manjéri temple. The wounded prisoner Mootha says that he was a member of the gang and that he was killed at the Manjéri temple. Had two children. Knew how to read Koran.

List of the Fanatics who took part in the Outbreak of February and March 1896—*cont.*

No.	Name.	Age.	Occupation.	Amsam.	Desam.	Relation which one fanatic bore to another.	Evidence of identification, &c.
		YRS.					
22	Alingal Kunhunnian.	17	Cultivation	Chembrasséri ..	Cheramba	Nephew of No. 19	Mother Palliyalithodi Mithumma states that her son disappeared on the 26th February and that she has since learned that he was shot at the Manjéri temple. Not married.
23	Pampukadian *alias* Mundayil Moidin.	30	Labourer	Do. ..	Do.	*Nil*	His wives Aleema and Meriyam state that he disappeared on the 26th February and that they have since learned that he was shot at the Manjéri temple; was a convert; had a child.
24	Puzhuthini Kunbáyu.	20	Molla	Do. ..	Do.	....	Son of Puzhuthini Saidali. The fanatic was wounded at Parampazil on the 13th March and is still alive—*vide* the list of persons wounded and arrested.
25	Paravetti Kunhyoi ..	20	Cultivation	Túvúr	Túvúr	Son of the younger brother of the father of No. 26.	His father Paravetti Monadin states that his son disappeared on the 27th February and that he believes that he was shot at the Manjéri temple. Married; sent away his wife to her house in the month preceding the Ramazan; no issue.
26	ParavettiAyammunni.	15	Do.	Do.	Do.	Son of the elder brother of the father of No. 25.	His father Saidali states that he disappeared on the 27th February and that he was not to be found since. His corpse was identified at the Manjéri temple by P. Sankaran, brother of Túvúr adhigari. Not married.
27	Puthen Peetika Moidin.	30	Do.	Chembrasséri ..	Chembrasséri ..	Husband of the sister of No. 25.	A pauper. His wife Paravetti Pathu states that he joined the gang on the 25th February and that she has since learned that he was shot at the Manjéri temple. Had two children.
28	Amanath Saidali ..	25	Do.	Túvúr	Túvúr	Husband of the niece of the father of No. 25.	His wife's brother Paravetti Unni states that he joined the gang on the 26th February and that he has not been seen or heard of since.
29	Amanath Moyi ..	20	Petty Bazaarman ..	Do.	Do.	Younger brother of No. 28.	His father-in-law Okkarammal Unnian says that he joined the gang on the 25th February and that he has since heard that he was shot at the Manjéri temple. Was living in a house belonging to Trikkadiri Nayar.
30	Karayil Unnian Molla.	32	Cultivation	Do.	Do.	....	Puvaneheri Sankaran, brother of Túvúr adhigari, states that he disappeared on the 26th February and that he has not been seen or heard of since. The fanatic's wife Kunhami states that he disappeared on the 26th February and that she has since learnt that he was shot at the Manjéri temple.
31	Vattiparambath Veeran Kutti Gurikkal.	25	Do.	Do.	Do.	Elder brother of No. 32 ..	Vattiparambath Mammad Gurikkal, the fanatic's father's brother, states that he joined the gang on the 25th February and that he believes that he was shot at the Manjéri temple. His corpse was identified at the temple by P. Sankaran, brother of Túvúr adhigari. Tenant of Túvúr adhigari.

List of the Fanatics who took part in the Outbreak of February and March 1896—*cont.*

No.	Name.	Age.	Occupation.	Amsam.	Desam.	Relation which one fanatic bore to another.	Evidence of identification, &c.
		YRS.					
32	Vattiparambath Abdulla Gurikkal.	20	Cultivation	Túvúr	Túvúr	Younger brother of No. 31.	V. Mammad Gurikkal, the fanatic's father's brother, says that he joined the gang on the 26th February, and that he believes that he was shot at the Manjéri temple. P. Sankaran, brother of Túvúr adhigari, also states that he believes that the fanatic was shot at the temple. Tenant of Túvúr adhigari.
33	Thankayathil Moidin Kutti.	30	Cooly	Do.	Do.	....	The fanatic stated at the temple before his death that his name was such. He died subsequently of gun-shot wounds. His younger brother Soliman states that he disappeared on the 25th February. His corpse was identified at the temple by P. Sankaran, brother of Túvúr adhigari. Married; no issue. Often hard-pressed for food.
34	Natungottil Párkum Patinharakaren Valiyora Athen.	22	Labourer	Do.	Do.	....	P. Sankaran, brother of Túvúr adhigari, states that Athen disappeared on the 26th February, that he has not been seen or heard of since, and that people say that he joined the gang of fanatics. Cooly and neighbour of Nos. 31 and 32.
35	Pulikkala Kunhi Ahmed.	25	Cooly	Do.	Do.	....	His younger brother Kunhi Koya states that he joined the fanatics on the Saturday previous to 1st March and that he has not been seen or heard of since.
36	Paramál Pokker ..	40	Do.	Do.	Do.	....	His wife Kaniyantodi Kadiya states that he joined the gang on the 25th February and that she was told that he was shot at the Manjéri temple. His corpse was identified at the temple by P. Sankaran, brother of Túvúr adhigari. Next door neighbour of Kochu Kayyan Moidin Kutti Mussaliar (under arrest).
37	Madathil Mussaliar Unni Koya.	45	Porter	Do.	Do.	....	His wife Puparamban Pattu states that he joined the gang on the 25th February and that she was told that he was shot at the Manjéri temple. Next door neighbour of Kochu Kayyan Moidin Kutti Mussaliar (under arrest).
38	Kottengodan Moidin.	25	Cultivation	Do.	Do.	....	His father K. Moidin states that his son joined the gang on the 25th February and that he was shot at the Manjéri temple. Tenant of Trikkadiri Nayar.
39	Cherathodi Kunhalu.	25	Cooly	Do.	Do.	....	His elder brother Kunhi Ahmed states that he joined the gang on the 27th February and that he has not been seen or heard of since.
40	Poonthurithi Moidin Kutti Haji.	35	Cultivation	Chembrasséri ..	Poongode	Uncle of No. 41	One of the leaders of the gang. His corpse was identified at the Manjéri temple by K. Mussa Kutti, adhigari of Wandúr amsam, and by N. Krishnan Nayar, constable No. 325 of Wandúr Police station. Knew how to read Koran.

List of the Fanatics who took part in the Outbreak of February and March 1896—*cont.*

No.	Name.	Age.	Occupation.	Amsam.	Desam.	Relation which one fanatic bore to another.	Evidence of identification, &c.
41	Poonthurithi Unni Moyi.	YRS. 20	Cooly	Chembrasséri ..	Poongode	Nephew of No. 40	Nephew-in-law of prisoner No. 29, Kundur Ahmed Kutti. Achchamma, wife of No. 40, states that Unni Moyi joined the gang with No. 40, and that she has since learnt that he was also shot at the Manjéri temple.
42	Mannisheri Aidros ..	25	Do.	Do. ..	Do.	....	His mother Viyyatti Amma states that he joined the gang on the 25th February and that she has since learnt that he was shot at the Manjéri temple. Neighbour and cooly of No. 40.
43	Keeri Ahmed Unni ..	30	Coolyand Cultivation.	Túvúr	Túvúr	Elder brother of No. 44. ..	The leader of the second gang. Shot at Parampoil on the 13th March. Married; had two children.
44	Keeri Abdulla ..	20	Cooly	Do.	Do.	Younger brother of No. 43.	A member of the second gang; committed suicide in a jungle close to his house. Married; no issue. His wife left his house for her's on the third day he disappeared.
45	Chullikolation Athen.	17	Cultivation	Do.	Do.	....	His father Unni Ali states that his son disappeared and that he had received information that he had gone with the fanatics. He also says that a Tiyya female called Tala told him that the fanatics took him away by force. Tala confirms this statement. The father further states that he has since learnt that he was shot at the Manjeri temple. The corpse was identified at the temple by Pativatt Achyutan Nayar of Payyanad amsam. Married; no issue.
46	Ambat Tharia Kutti..	14	Do.	Chembrasséri ..	Chéramba	....	His father Moidin Kutti states that he disappeared on the 26th February and that he has not been seen or heard of since. P. Sankaran, brother of Túvúr adhigari, states that Tharia Kutti was said to have joined the gang at Túvúr amsam.
47	Thondiyil Athen ..	20	Do.	Do. ..	Do.	....	His father Kunhi Koya states that his son Ahmed told him that Athen was missing from the 26th February. Ahmed, brother of the fanatic, states that several persons told him that he was shot at the Manjeri temple.
48	Koottapulan Mammad Kutti.	21	Cooly	Do. ..	Poongode	....	His sister Mammiriya amma states that he joined the gang on the 26th February and that she has since learnt that he was shot at the Manjéri temple.
49	Ossán Unnien ..	20	Barber	Pándikád (Ernad taluk).	Valluvangád ..	....	Brother of Ossán Kunhólan shot at Pallikurup temple in 1894. A member of the second gang. Was killed at Parampoyil. Married a year ago. Has getting livelihood by shaving.
50	Palakkathundi Kunhamutti.	16	Ploughman	Chembrasséri ..	Panavigad	....	His father Mammad states that he was missing from the 29th February and that people told him that they saw his corpse at the Manjéri temple. Payyanad adhigari identified his corpse at the temple.

List of the Fanatics who took part in the Outbreak of February and March 1896—*cont.*

No.	Name.	Age.	Occupation.	Amsam.	Desam.	Relation which one fanatic bore to another.	Evidence of identification, &c.
51	Tachangodan Mammad.	YRS. 14	Cultivation	Manjéri (Ernad taluk).	Pandalúr	....	His father Uni Koya states that he disappeared on the 29th February. His corpse was identified at the Manjéri temple by Vadakkumpadath Nainan Kutti. Not married.
52	Veluthedath Ahmed.	16	Cooly	Manjéri	Anakayam	....	Son of Moidin, prisoner No. 12 (under arrest). The father says that his son was shot at the Manjéri temple. His step-mother Tachdangolan Titti states that he left her house on the 5th or 6th May of the Ramazan and that she has since heard that he was shot at the temple. Had no fixed abode. Not married.
53	Páppadathil Kunhokker.	30	Do.	Do.	Do.	....	His brother Mamma states that he was shot at the Manjéri temple.
54	Páppadathil Koya ..	19	Cultivation	Do.	Pandaúr	Cousin of No. 55	His corpse was identified at the Manjéri temple by Manjéri adhigari. Udumbatt Raman Nayar states that he was a guard in his house when the fanatics passed by and that he joined them. Divorced his wife in November last. Cultivates under Udumbatt people. No issue.
55	Páppadathil Pokker..	15	Cooly	Do.	Do.	Cousin of No. 54	His elder brother Athen states that he disappeared on the 29th February, that he has not been seen or heard of since, and that he has heard people say that his brother joined the gang of fanatics. Not married.
56	Mattumál Ahmed ..	16	Do.	Do.	Pandalúr (Mudikode).	Younger brother of No. 57.	His brother Viran, prisoner No. 10 (under arrest), states that Ahmed lost his life at the Manjéri temple. His brother Moidu, prisoner No. 23, confirms this statement. His corpse was identified at the temple by Vadakkumpadath Nainan Kutti. Not married.
57	Mattumál Kunhorum.	20	Do.	Do.	Pandalúr	Elder brother of No. 56 ..	His brother Viran, prisoner No. 10, states that Kunhoram lost his life at the Manjéri temple. His brother Moidu, prisoner No. 23, confirms this statement. His corpse was identified at the temple by Vadakkumpadath Nainan Kuttu. Married; no issue.
58	Manchapally Ahmed Kutti.	32	A professional thief.	Do.	Anakayam	....	Leader of the Pandalúr gang. His corpse was identified at the Manjéri temple by Manjéri adhigari, amsam peon Chatta Kutti Nayar, Ernad taluk dufterbund Krishnan Nayar, and Veluthedath Chekk and also by Pattiyil Chekk. Was a "K.D." Had three wives and seven children.
59	Vatakkumpadath Mootha.	17	Cultivation	Do.	Pandalúr	....	Son of Pokker. His corpse was identified at the Manjéri temple by his brother Nainan Kutti, Manjéri adhigari, and Ernad taluk dufterbund Krishnan Nayar. Not married.
60	Melevittil Kunhiyan.	18	Cooly	Do.	Do.	Elder brother of No. 61 ..	Son of Unnien Kutti. His corpse was identified at the Manjéri temple by Manjéri adhigari, Ernad taluk dufterbund Krishnan Nayar, and Vadakkumpadath Nainan Kutti. Not married.

List of the Fanatics who took part in the Outbreak of February and March 1896—*cont.*

No.	Name.	Age.	Occupation.	Amsam.	Desam.	Relation which one fanatic bore to another.	Evidence of identification, &c.
61	Melevittil Kunhi Moidin.	YRS. 14	Cooly	Manjéri	Pandalúr	Younger brother of No. 60.	His corpse was identified at the Manjéri temple by Manjéri adhigari and Ernad taluk dufterbund Krishnan Nayar. Not married.
62	Vadasseri Kunhólan.	22	Cultivation	Do.	Do.	....	Son of Mammad. His corpse was identified at the Manjéri temple by Manjéri adhigari and by Vadakkampadath Nainan Kutti. Married; no issue.
63	Ossán Ahmed ..	20	Barber	Do.	Do.	....	Son of Kumbi Koya. His corpse was identified at the Manjéri temple by Manjéri adhigari. Udembatt Raman Nayar of Pandalúr desam states that the fanatic was a guard in his house on the date in which the fanatics passed by it. Not married. Got his livelihood by shaving.
64	Chakkalakannan *alias* Matai Kunhavaru.	15	*Nil*	Do.	Anakayam	....	Son of Marakkar. His corpse was identified at the Manjéri temple by Manjéri adhigari. Mangada pallipuram also states that he was shot at the temple. Not married.
65	Talappil Mayan ..	30	Cooly	Do.	Vákkéthodi ..	....	Son of Issup. His corpse was identified at the Manjéri temple by Manjéri adhigari, Irimbuzhi adhigari and menon, and Ernad taluk dufterbund Krishnan Nayar.
66	Olikkal Mathari ..	23	Cultivation	Do.	Pandalúr	....	Son of Mammad. His corpse was identified at the Manjéri temple by Manjéri amsam peon Chattu Kutti Nayar and Vadakkumpadath Nainan Kutti. Cultivates under Cholakkala Kunhamutti Haji. Married; no issue.
67	Chathanchira Aidru..	30	Cooly and Stone-cutter.	Do.	Do.	Elder brother of Nos. 68 and 69.	Son of Kunholan His corpse was identified at the Manjéri temple by Manjéri amsam peon Chattu Kutti Nayar. He disappeared on the 29th February. Divorced his wife two years ago.
68	Chathanchiru Kunhi Koya.	33	Cooly and Cultivation.	Do	Do.	Younger brother of No. 67.	Son of Kunholan. His corpse was identified at the Manjéri temple by amsam peon Chattu Kutti Nayar and by Vadakkumpadath Nainan Kutti, and also by P. Ahmed Mussaliar, schoolmaster, Payyanad. Disappeared on the 29th February.
69	Chathanchiru Kunhi Koya.	25	Cooly	Do.	Do.	Younger brother of Nos. 67 and 68.	Son of Kunholan. His corpse was identified at the Manjéri temple by amsam peon, Chattu Kutti Nayar and also by Vaddakkumpadath, Nainan Kutti. Disappeared on the 29th February.
70	Chakkunamthodi *alias* Pattukundil Ahmed.	25	Do.	Do.	Anakayam (Cheppur).	Elder brother of Nos. 71 and 72.	Son of Mootha Kutti. His corpse was identified at the Manjéri temple by Veluthedath Chekk and Vadakkumpadath Nainan Kutti. Asaritodugil Chekk Kutti states that he saw the fanatic at the temple on the 1st March before he was shot down. Married; had two children.

List of the Fanatics who took part in the Outbreak of February and March 1896—*cont.*

No.	Name.	Age.	Occupation.	Amsam.	Desam.	Relation which one fanatic bore to another.	Evidence of identification, &c.
71	Chakkanamthodi *alias* Pattukundil Mammad.	YRS. 20	Cooly	Manjéri	Anakayam (Cheppur)	Younger brother of No. 70.	His corpse was identified at the Manjéri temple by Veluthedath Chekk. Asaritodugil Chekk states that he saw the fanatic at the temple before he was shot down. Married; had a child.
72	Chakkunamthodi *alias* Pattukundil Chekk.	18	Do.	Do.	Do. ..	Younger brother of No. 71.	Asaritodugil Chek states that he saw him at the Manjéri temple on the 1st March before he was shot down, and that he has subsequently heard that he was shot down at the temple. Married; no issue.
73	Kalakappara Kunhi Pari.	28	Do.	Do.	Pandalúr	A brother of the brother-in-law of No. 82.	Son of Kunhólan. His corpse was identified at the Manjéri temple by Pattiyil Chekk and Veluthedath Nainan Kutti. Married; no issue.
74	Karuvanthodika Kunhi Ahmed.	25	Do.	Do.	Pandalúr (Mudikodi).	Cousin of No. 80 ..	His father Unni Koya states that he disappeared on the 29th February. His corpse was identified at the Manjéri temple by Vadakkumpadath Nainan Kutti. Married; had a child.
75	Chakkithodi Mazan Kutti.	14	Porter	Do.	Do. ..	A distant relation of Nos. 60 and 61.	His father Moidin Kutti states that he disappeared on the 29th February, that he has not been seen or heard of since, and that he is said to have been shot at the Manjéri temple. Not married.
76	Karangadan Ahmed.	18	Cooly	Do.	Pandalúr ..	Elder brother of No. 77 ..	His father Komu says that Ahmed joined the gang on the 29th February, that he has not been seen or heard of since, and that he believes that he was shot at the Manjéri temple. Udampatt Raman Nayar, in whose house the fanatic was a guard when the fanatics passed by it, states that he believes that he was shot at the temple.
77	Karangadan Mammad.	16	Do.	Do.	Do.	Younger brother of No. 76.	His father Komu says that he joined the gang on the 29th February and that he believes that he was shot at the Manjéri temple.
78	Karangadan Komu ..	16	Do.	Do.	Anakayam (Cheppur)	A distant relation of Nos. 76 and 77.	Manjéri amsam peon Chattu Kutti Nayar states that the fanatic was a dependent on Manjippalli Ahmed Kutti No. 58, and that he believes that he was shot at the Manjéri temple.
79	Palaparath Abdulla ..	17	Cultivation	Do.	Do. ..	....	His elder brother Thenu says that Abdulla disappeared on the 29th February and that therefore he concludes that he joined the gang of fanatics.
80	Nettithodi Kunhalivi	18	Cooly	Do.	Pandalúr (Mudikodi).	....	His elder brother Alivi states that he disappeared on the 29th February, and that he believes that he was shot at the Manjéri temple. Married; no issue; divorced his wife six months ago.

List of the Fanatics who took part in the Outbreak of February and March 1896—*cont.*

No.	Name.	Age.	Occupation.	Amsam.	Desam.	Relation which one fanatic bore to another.	Evidence of identification, &c.
		YRS.					
81	Chirakkal *alias* Muchiriyan Kunhizan.	40	Cultivation and Cooly.	Manjéri	Anakayam (Cheppur)	....	His wives Thayu and Ami state that he disappeared on the 29th February and that they have since learnt that he was shot at the Manjéri temple. Had two wives and four children.
82	Puthen Kalathil Kunhi Mammad.	12	Cooly	Do.	Pandalúr Mudikodi.	A brother-in-law of younger brother of No. 73.	His brother Mootha states that he joined the gang on the 29th February and that he has since learned that he was shot at the Manjéri temple. Not married.
83	Palakkaparambil Mootha.	40	*Nil*	Irimfuzhi	Pappinipura	Elder brother of No. 84 ..	His corpse was identified at the Manjéri temple by Irimbuzh amsam adhigari and menon and by Ernad taluk dufterbund Krishnan Nayar.
84	Palakkaparambil Ahmed.	22	Cultivation	Do. (Ernad taluk).	Do.	Younger brother of No. 83.	His corpse was identified at the Manjéri temple by Irimbuzhi amsam adhigari and menon.
85	Puttemannil *alias* Chempilampatta Unni Ahmed.	35	Cultivation and Cooly work.	Payyanad (Ernad taluk).	Payyanad	Elder brother of No. 86 ..	Son of Moyan Kutti. His corpse was identified at the Manjéri temple by Payyanad adhigari and P. Ahmed Mussaliar, schoolmaster, Payyanad. Married and had six children.
86	Puttemannil Unni Mammad.	21	Do. ..	Elankúr (Ernad taluk).	Elankúr (Cherukulam).	Younger brother of No. 85.	Son of Moyan Kutti. His corpse was identified at the Manjéri temple by Payyanad adhigari and P. Ahmed Mussaliar, schoolmaster, Payyanad.
87	Neeran Unni Ahmed.	25	Do. ..	Payyanad	Payyanad	..	Son of Mammad. His corpse was identified at the Manjéri temple by Payyanad adhigari and P. Ahmed Mussaliar, schoolmaster, Payyanad. Married ; had a child.
88	Chundanpotta Athen Moyi.	26	Cooly	Do.	Do.	Uncle of No. 91	Son of Athen Moyi. His corpse was identified at the Manjéri temple by Payyanad adhigari. Married ; had a child.
89	Tenath Enadi ..	28	Cultivation and Cooly work.	Do.	Do.	Elder brother of No. 90 ..	Son of Moidin. His corpse was identified at the Manjéri temple by Payyanad adhigari. Had two wives and two children.
90	Do. Rayan ..	24	Do. ..	Do.	Do.	Younger brother of No. 89.	Son of Moidin. His corpse was identified at the Manjéri temple by Payyanad adhigari. Married ; no issue.
91	Pulakkátan Unni Ahmed.	20	Do. ..	Do.	Do.	Nephew of No. 88	Son of P. Avaran. His corpse was identified at the Manjéri temple by Payyanad adhigari. Married ; no issue. His wife left his house four or five days before the Ramazan.
92	Kottakutti Kunhi Ahmed.	25	Do. ..	Do.	Nellikutti	A distant relation of Nos. 93 and 94.	Son of K. Unni Ahmed. His corpse was identified at the Manjéri temple by Payyanad adhigari and P. Ahmed Mussaliar, schoolmaster, Payyanad. Married ; had a child.
93	Kottakutti Kunhi Mootha.	25	Do. ..	Do.	Do.	Elder brother of No. 94 ..	Son of P. Ahmed. His corpse was identified at the Manjéri temple by Payyanad adhigari and P. Ahmed Mussaliar, schoolmaster, Payyanad. Married ; had an issue.

List of the Fanatics who took part in the Outbreak of February and March 1896—*cont.*

No.	Name.	Age.	Occupation.	Amsam.	Desam.	Relation which one fanatic bore to another.	Evidence of identification, &c.
		YRS.					
94	Kottakutti Kunhi Abdulla.	21	Cultivation and Cooly work.	Payyanad	Payyanad	Younger brother of No. 93.	Son of P. Ahmed. His corpse was identified at the Manjéri temple by Payyanad adhigari and Pudiyédate Ahmed Mussaliar, schoolmaster, Payyanad. Not married.
95	Kottakutti Kunhi Unni Koya.	14	Do. ..	Do.	Do.	A distant relation of Nos. 93 and 94.	Son of Mattayi Moidin Kutti. His corpse was identified at the Manjéri temple by Payyanad adhigari. Not married.
96	Ramamparambath *alias* Puttemannil *alias* Chempilampatta Ismalu.	28	Do. ..	Elankúr	Elamkúr (Cherukulam).	Cousin of Nos. 85 and 86 ..	His corpse was identified at the Manjéri temple by Payyanad adhigari and P. Ahmed Mussaliar, schoolmaster, Payyanad. Married ; no issue.
97	Manayangadan Koya Kutti.	24	Cooly	Mangadapallipuram (Walavanad taluk).	Vallikapatta ..	....	Son of Ismalu. The adhigari of the amsam states that Koya Kutti was shot at the Manjéri temple. His corpse was identified at the temple by Pattiyil Chekk and Puvatoodi Govindan Nayar. Married ; no issue.
98	Cheruman Raman ..	30	Do.	Manjéri	Pandalur (Mudikodi).	....	Wounded at the Manjéri temple ; still alive—*vide* list of persons wounded and arrested.
99	Ambat Aidros ..	52	Cultivation	Vettathúr	Karkitakamkunnu.	....	A member of the second gang. He makes a confessional statement implicating himself—*vide* list of persons arrested and wounded.

LIST B.

List of Persons wounded and arrested in the Outbreak of February and March 1896.

Name.	Father's Name.	Age.	Occupation.	Amsam.	Desam.	Remarks.
1. Kochu Kayyan Moidin Kutti Mussaliar.	Unknown (convert)	YRS. 40	Preacher	Túvúr (Walavanad)	Túvúr.	
2 Kappa Kunnan Mootha	Khader	30	Cultivation	Chembrasséri (Ernad taluk) ..	Trikunnasséri.	
3. Pottemmal Unni Mammad (uncle's son of No. 2).	Kunholi	25	Do.	Pórúr (Ernád)	Thodiapulam.	
4. Alingal Aidru	Kunhammad	30	Iron-worker	Chembrasséri	Periyangód.	
5. Aruviralan Mootha (brother of No. 25).	Mootha	18	Cultivation and labourer ..	Do.	Vellayúr	Wounded.
6. Cheruman Ráman	Not known	30	Cooly	Manjéri (Ernad)	Pandalúr	Do.
7. Puzhuthini Kunhayu	Syed Ali	20	Molla	Chembrasséri	Vellayúr	Do.
8. Kuttipuliyan Moidin Kutti	K. Komu	27	Cultivation	Manjéri	Pandalúr.	
9. Kuttipuliyan Ahmed	Do.	29	Do.	Do.	Do.	
10. Mattummal Veeran (brother of No. 23).	M. Mammad Kutti	30	Cooly	Do.	Do.	
11. Karangádan Ayamed	K. Kunhóli	28	Trade	Do.	Do.	
12. Veluthedath Moidin (convert)	Kannakkan Kunháttan	40	Wood-cutter	Do.	Anakayam.	
13. Nairiramparambath Ossán Moidin Kutti (barber).	Kunhamed	17	Barber	Kuruva (Walavanad)	Vattalúr.	
14. Chittirámpalli Mootha	C. Soopi	38	Trade and cultivation	Manjéri	Anakayam.	
15. Konnath Pari	K. Kunhólan Kutti	35	Cooly	Do.	Pandalúr.	
16. Talakkolath Ahmed	Máttummal Unni Koya ..	33	Cultivation and timber cooly ..	Do.	Do.	
17. Páppádathil Mammu	P. Marakkár	35	Cultivation	Do.	Do.	
18. Kazhu Kunnumél Chek Kutti	K. Kóyámu	30	Do.	Do.	Do.	
19. Parakkadan Ahmed Háji	P. Mootha	25	Do.	Irimbuzhi (Ernad)	Pappinipura.	
20. Arakkuparamban Avulla (convert) ..	Unknown	44	Cooly	Arakkuparamba (Walavanad) ..	Alavallúr.	
21. Chakkála Kunnan Kunhiyan	Kunhi Kóya	16	Do.	Chembrasséri	Chembrasséri.	
22. Ossán Unnien	Moidin Kutti	32	Barber	Túvúr	Túvúr.	
23. Máttummal Moidin	Mammad Kutti	12	Cooly	Manjéri	Pandalúr.	
24. Kaithavalappan Kunhólan	Avarán Kutti	20	Cultivation	Chembrasséri	Vellayúr.	
25. Aruviralan Athoyi	Mootha	20	Cultivation and cooly	Do.	Do.	
26. Naipádath Kunhunmán	Kómu	27	Cultivation	Manjéri	Pandalúr.	
27. Ambát Aidros	Veeran Kutti	52	Do.	Vettathúr (Walavanad) ..	Karkitakámkunnu.	
28. Tayyil Alivi	T. Marakkár	48	Trade and cultivation	Málattúr (Walavanád)	Edappatta.	
29. Kundúr Ayammad Kutti Mulla ..	Ali Kutti	35	Cultivation	Pórúr	Thodiyapulam.	
30. Máliyakkal Moyan Kutti	Kunhammad	25	Cooly	Do.	Do.	
31. Kattápádan Mammi	Kóya	..	Do.	Chembrasséri	Poongótt.	
32. Pottayil Mammad Mussaliar	Kammu Mussaliar	25	Cultivation	Pórúr	Edappalam.	
33. Peedikaparamban Marakkarutti ..	Unni Ali	42	Trade	Chembrasséri	Trikunnasséri.	
34. Thechiyólan Unni Ayamed	T. Koya	17	Cultivation	Do.	Do.	
35. Kunnummal Ahmed	Eni	20	Do	Payyanád (Ernad)	Vettikáthri	Only arrested on the 21st April 1896.

STATEMENT showing the amsams and desams from which the fanatics joined the Outbreak of 1896.

Amsam.	Desam.	Area.	Occupied houses.	Population.	Mussalmans.	Percentage of Mussalmans.	Number of persons who joined in outbreak.
1. Manjéri ..	Anakayam	..	335	1,664	1,079	64·84	10
	Aruvizhdya	..	178	1,058	241	22·77	..
	Kóttuvetta	..	180	876	413	47·14	..
	Manjéri	..	430	2,483	1,015	40·87	..
	Pandalúr	..	677	2,786	1,649	59·18	22
	Vázhéthodi	..	85	447	292	65·32	1
	Vengálúr	..	102	526	359	68·25	..
	Total ..	..	1,887	9,840	5,048	51·30	33
2. Panjanád ..	Nellikuth	..	192	936	713	76·17	4
	Panjanád	..	407	2,124	1,246	58·66	6
	Vettikatthiri	..	121	647	384	59·35	..
	Veetanasséri	..	115	612	248	40·52	..
	Total ..	..	835	4,319	2,591	55·99	10
3. Elankúr ..	Elankúr	..	747	3,872	1,082	27·94	2
4. Irimbuzhi ..	Irimbuzhi	..	306	1,671	851	50·92	..
	Karuvampuram ..	..	118	734	111	16·12	..
	Kibangazhi	..	100	645	366	67·15	..
	Mélákkam	..	179	1,012	261	25·79	..
	Narukara	..	106	610	109	17·86	..
	Puppinipura	..	192	734	427	58·17	2
	Perumpalam	..	124	703	543	77·24	..
	Total ..	..	1,065	6,009	2,668	44·40	2
5. Chembrasséri ..	Chembrasséri	..	335	1,790	1,142	63·79	1
	Chéramba	..	367	1,911	816	42·07	6
	Motapilásséri	..	100	539	169	31·35	..
	Paruvangád	..	210	1,300	733	56·38	1
	Pazhavgádam	..	281	1,157	801	69·23	..
	Perukkód	..	55	303	71	23·43	..
	Pookuth	..	105	614	237	38·59	..
	Pólamanna	..	78	451	141	31·26	..
	Poongott	..	130	705	236	33·47	4
	Trikunnasséri	..	630	2,676	1,152	43·6	..
	Velayúr	..	200	1,059	674	63·64	19
	Total ..	..	2,441	12,504	6,172	49·36	31
6. Túvúr ..	Túvúr	..	900	4,287	1,855	43·27	18
7. Pandikád ..	Kárávya	..	62	398	208	52·26	..
	Kotasséri	..	235	1,237	599	32·25	..
	Pándikád	..	408	2,216	1,442	65·07	..
	Teeyampádikuth	..	57	351	8	2·27	..
	Válaród	..	100	582	194	33·33	..
	Valuvangád	..	393	2,215	1,228	55·44	1
	Total ..	..	1,255	6,999	3,479	49·70	1
8. Vettathúr ..	Edathanáthukara	..	501	2,479	1,066	43·00	..
	Karkitagámkunnu	..	331	1,788	853	47·70	1
	Pálakkazhi	..	210	1,270	481	37·87	..
	Vettathúr	..	482	2,699	1,728	64·02	..
	Total ..	..	1,524	8,236	4,128	50·12	1
9. Mangodapalliparam.	Kadukkúr	..	210	1,145	877	76·59	..
	Kónáthummuri	..	17	124	31	25·00	..
	Kozhinnal	..	31	195	112	57·43	..
	Palipuram	..	187	1,024	488	47·46	..
	Patinyáttummuri	..	198	1,080	495	45·83	..
	Perintatthiri	..	27	157	134	85·35	..
	Vallikapetta	..	167	964	843	35·58	..
	Total ..	..	837	4,689	2,561	54·60	1

From H. M. WINTERBOTHAM, Esq., Member, Board of Revenue, to the Chief Secretary to Government, dated Madras, 5th May 1896.

With reference to G.O., No. 502, dated 11th March 1896, Judicial, and in continuation of my report, dated 10th April 1896, I have the honour to submit herewith (Appendix I) a list of the ninety-nine persons immediately concerned in the Moplah outbreak of February and March last, with an abstract of the information which has been gathered regarding each. Some of the persons in the list, who certainly disappeared from their homes at the time of the outbreak and have not since been heard of, may possibly turn out to have absconded and to be still alive; but such cases, if any, will be very few. At the recent survey the boundaries of the Désams have undergone alteration, and for this reason, and where the fanatic happens to have lived near a doubtful boundary, there may be some differences of Désam between my list and those which the Police Superintendent and Special Assistant Magistrate have prepared. Further enquiry will rectify differences and the matter is of little importance.

Mr. Fawcett, Superintendent of Police, has, with much pains and perseverance, visited the houses or huts of all the Tûvûr and Chembrasséri men; and the greater part of my information regarding this portion of the gang has been obtained from him. He is following up his house-to-house enquiry through the other amsams, and will doubtless be able to supplement such particulars as I have given, with additional details; but I think it improbable that further enquiry will reveal any pretext for the outbreak other than such as have been already ascertained and investigated.

2. The frontispiece of the report is a map of the locality prepared by the Superintendent of Revenue Survey, which shows the wanderings of the gang, and in which nearly all the places mentioned in the report and appendices will be found.

3. *First intimation of the outbreak.*—The first intimation that an outbreak was imminent was received by Mussa Kutti, the Moplah Adhigâri of Wandur amsam, in the early morning of February 25th, 1896.

The Adhigâri received his information from a Moplah, who had received it from his son, who had been told by some one else that an outbreak was planned, and that one Kochukaiyan (withered armed) Mussaliar, and three others named, were at the bottom of it. All four men are under arrest and the evidence against them will be investigated and reported on to Government by the District Magistrate. It is useless to push enquiry as to the person by whom the plot was revealed, and the sources of his information. Though the Adhigâri had received his information at third or fourth hand, he and the Moplah Sub-Magistrate, to whom he at once sent a report, both acted on the belief that it was true.

4. *Action taken by Police and Moplah Sub-Magistrate.*—The Sub-Magistrate received the report at Manjéri, about 10 A.M. on February, 25th. He proceeded *viâ* Pandikad to Wandur (16 miles), and thence eastwards three miles to Todiyapulam, where he arrived after night-fall.

He there found that the Adhigâri and the Nair Police Inspector had effected the arrest of three of the four suspected Moplahs, and that two constables and two Moplah guides had been sent to fetch the withered-armed Mussaliar and one Pâlôli Mammu from Tûvûr, eight miles away to the south.

Early next morning (February 26th), as the Sub-Magistrate, Police Inspector, and Adhigâri were starting southwards for Vellayur, where the Chembrasséri Adhigâri lives, they met the constables returning with the withered-armed Mussaliar, and he and the other three prisoners were forthwith sent to Manjéri.

The Sub-Magistrate and Police Inspector went on to Vellayur, where they learnt that a number of Moplahs had already started for some rendezvous in the jungle with the avowed intention (as they phrase it) of becoming saints.

5. *Arrest of the suspected prime-mover of the outbreak.*—There is, I think, no doubt that the arrest of the withered-armed Mussaliar precipitated the designs of those in the plot, and plunged them into action before their plans were matured.

The circumstances attending his arrest are, therefore, of sufficient importance and interest to be given in full. The deposition of the constable is printed as Appendix III.

No fault whatever can be found with the constable's procedure.

The withered-armed Mussaliar lived in a hut adjoining the grave-yard of the Tûvûr mosque. His neighbour on one side was a Moplah named Mussaliar Unhi Koya, and on the other another Moplah named Pâramêl Poker. Both these men were among the fanatics afterwards killed at Manjéri.

It was near sunset when the constable arrived, and he found the withered-armed Mussaliar reading a book in his verandah.

The constable said that he had come as a messenger to fetch him to the Wandûr Adhigâri and Police Inspector, who wanted to speak to him.

Mussaliar Unhi Koya then interposed stating that a Moulhud (*vide* paragraph 11, *infra*) was to be performed in his house that evening, and that the withered-armed Mussaliar was to officiate.

About 10 or 15 Moplahs had assembled for this Moulhud. The Moulhud was held, and afterwards the party adjourned to the mosque to pray. An old Tangal, called the Kottakuth Tangal, who formerly belonged to Pándikâd and now lives close to the Tûvûr mosque, was present at the service.

After the service the party had their supper at Mussaliar Unhi Koya's, and then after some persuasion the withered-armed Mussaliar voluntarily accompanied the constable to the house of the Chembrasséri Adhigâri at Vellayur.

On the way he two or three times ejaculated "The mischief of the good-for-nothing lads!"

Almost simultaneously with their arrival at the Chembrasséri Adhigâri's house came the news that eight or nine Moplahs had left their houses and started for an outbreak.

6. *His history.*—The withered-armed Mussaliar was a Cheruman (Hindu prædial slave) by birth, and is 44 years old. At about the age of 14, he had an abscess on the knee; made a vow that he would embrace Islâm if he became whole; became whole, and kept his vow.

He lived as a cow-boy in various amsams round Malappuram, and was still young when he met with an accident while chasing a bullock, which smashed one of his arms. From this accident he acquired the name of 'withered-arm' by which he is commonly known. His Moplah name is Kalathingal Moidin Kutti. Sundry of his employers gave him an opportunity, which he embraced, not only of learning 'ôtthu,' *i.e.*, to read the Koran parrotwise, but of studying 'kittâb,' *i.e.*, divers commentaries.

He went to Tanur and continued his studies there for two years supported by charity; returned to Malappuram, lived here and there for some years, and then went to Ponnáni intending to obtain the degree of Mussaliar; but after a stay of six months, a long attack of fever and itch made him abandon his reading and return inland, where he has since got his living as a wandering priest and preacher. For the last twelve years he has had his abode close to the Tûvûr mosque, and has preached in that neighbourhood. Usage accorded him the title of Mussaliar, although he had not been invested therewith by the Ponnáni Mahadun Tangal in the usual way. General report attributes to him a leading part in promoting the outbreak. His individual grievance was that a younger brother of the Tûvûr Hindu Adhigâri had kicked him, or threatened to kick him, for not getting out of his path, as a Cheruman would be bound to do.

The District Magistrate is collecting the evidence against him, and for the purposes of my report it will not be necessary for me to allude to the man further.

7. *Explanation of the terms Tangal, Mussaliar, Mullah and Moulhud.*—A digression appears here desirable to explain certain terms which are continually occurring in all correspondence regarding Moplah outbreaks, and regarding which there has been, I think, much misapprehension.

MAP OF PART OF THE MALABAR DISTRICT

TO ILLUSTRATE REPORT ON THE

MOPLAH OUT BREAK

1896

76 | 76 30 | OOTACAMUND

11 | 11°

CALICUT | CALICUT TALUK | Karnapparamba | CHALIYAR R. | CHALIYAR | Trikalliyur | Parappanangadi Road | Kallayi R. | Kallayi

Feroke | Kadalundi R. | KUNDOTTI | Edavanna | Areakod | Amarambalam | WANDUR | NILAMBUR | To Gudalur

MANJERI | Paiyanad | Prayer-shed | Nellikuth | Irimbuzhi | Udayapath House | Cang halted night 27 Feb. | Pandalur | Pandalur Hill | Place where Subsmith murdered

MALAPURAM | Old Malapuram | New Malapuram | PARAPPANANGADI | KADALUNDI R.

Perambayil | Cang Cooked Meal Morn. 28 Feb. | where 2nd gaur was shot | Panikod | Cang ate here night 27 Feb. | Old Sispara Ghauts (abandoned) | Kalikavu | Residence of Fanatic leader Moideen Kutti Haji | Pungod | Manjeri Hindu Temple burnt by Cang

VELLAYUR | (Low Hills and Forest) | Nair murdered 2 Feb. | Mosque | KUVUR | Karai | Cang Cooked meal Morn 29 Feb. | House burnt by Cang | Kuruvara Hindu Mosque | Proposed Railway | Proposed Road | CHEMBRASSERI | CHEMBRASSERI | Crest of Ghauts | SILENT VALLEY (Uninhabited) | (Heavy Forest) | ATTAPADI VALLEY

KANDIKAD | MELATUR | Vettatur | Mannarghat | Pallikurpa | Karimba | KUNDAH MOUNTAINS | Crest of Ghauts (Uninhabited) | (Heavy Forest) | NILGIRIS

TANUR | Kottakal | ANGADIPURAM | Kolatur | Ananghat | Aliparamba | CHERPALCHERI | Waniankulam | Ottappalam | Shoranur | Lakkur | Kanjirapuzha | Pudi | Orakkam | PALGHAT

PONNANI | Edakkalam | Fudiangadi | Kuttippuram | Pallipuram | MADRAS RAILWAY | S. W. LINE | PONNANI RIVER | PONNANI TALUK | PALGHAT TALUK

The Roads x and x' are not passable for carts
Bridges broken.

MADRAS PRESIDENCY | MADRAS | Calicut | Cape Comorin | CEYLON

Scale 1 Inch = 4 Miles

0 1 2 3 4 8 Miles

REFERENCE

Metalled Road

Course taken by Gang of Fanatics

Reg: No. 3216
Copies 50 +118

Photo.-Print Survey Office, Madras
1896.

Note. Roads marked in yellow, as ordered in G.O. No. 1567 Judicial, dated 30-9-96.
— do. — do. — in green, further proposals since ordered, vide G.O. No. 272 and No. 335 Judicial, dated 10-3-97 and 10-3-97

8. A *Tangal* (*a* short, as in America, *ng* as in singing) is a direct descendant from the Prophet. Many affect the title in Malabar, who cannot trace their descent. All are regarded with veneration. A few are large landholders.

The Tangals seldom officiate at mosque services. Many practise the cure or prevention of disease by writing selections from the Koran on a plate with ink, or on a coating of ashes. The ink or ashes are then mixed with water and swallowed. They also dispense scrolls for lockets, and small flags, inscribed with sacred verses, which are relied on to avert pestilence and misfortune. The flags are sometimes placed on the sea-shore to check encroachment by the sea.

9. A *Mussaliar* is an 'elder,' who has studied 'kittâb' (the commentaries) at Ponnáni and received the title from the Chief Tangal of that place. A Mussaliar is supposed to be able to understand the Koran and the commentaries in the original Arabic.

10. A *Mullah* performs the service at the mosque. He must be able to read the Koran and Moulhuds fluently; but does not understand what he reads, *i.e.*, he does not know Arabic. The appointment of a Mullah vests in the congregation, and the Kâzi nominates.

Besides the Mullah attached to every mosque, any Moplah who can read the Koran and Moulhuds well, and who devotes himself to this occupation, is called a Nâttu (country) Mullah. Every Moplah family, which can afford it, has a Nâttu Mullah, who attends the house daily, and reads one of the thirty sections into which the Koran is divided, so that the whole book may be read through every month. On Thursday and Sunday evenings the Mullah is called in to read the chapter from the Koran entitled 'Yâ-Sîn.' He is also employed to officiate at Moulhuds, of which every well-to-do family has one or two every month, and he reads the Koran over corpses between death and burial, and over new graves for as many days as he is paid to do so. He receives periodical fees of grain and money for his services.

Of the fanatics in appendix I, No. 37 was a mosque Mullah, and Nos. 29, 35 and 54 were Nâttu Mullahs.

11. A *Moulhud*, in the correspondence on Moplah outrages, seems often to have been understood to be a ceremony, the performance of which was invariably symptomatic of an approaching outbreak. At page 801 of Gundert's *Malayalam Dictionary* the word is defined as 'chanting before the bier of a deceased person.'

It is certainly not in this sense that the word is used by the Moplahs of Ernâd and Walluvanad.

A Moulhud is a tract, or short treatise, in book form, celebrating the birth, life, works and sayings of the Prophet, or some Saint. There are many Moulhuds in praise of the Prophet: several concerning Shekh Mohi-ud-dîn, eleventh descendant of the Prophet, expounder of the Koran, and great performer of miracles: several concerning Bîrâm Sahib, Saint of Nagore near Negapatam: several concerning the Mampuram Tangal, father of Said Fasl.

To perform a Moulhud is to call in a Mullah to read one of these treatises. Portions are in verse, and a congregation is required to make the responses and join in the singing. Thus friends are invited, and the service is preceded or followed by a supper. A Moulhud should be performed by those who can afford it on the eleventh of each Mussulman month in praise of Shekh Mohi-ud-dîn, and on the twelfth in praise of the Prophet. A Moulhud should be performed on the third day after a death. Moplahs often vow that they will celebrate a Moulhud if such and such an event happens. Some perform a Moulhud at stated anniversaries, and in general a Moulhud is performed as a prelude to important undertakings on which it is desired to invoke a blessing. The Moulhuds are all written in Arabic character, and I am assured by every Moplah I have asked, that not a sentence is understood either by the officiating Mullah, or by the assembled listeners. To get a few translated into English would be a work of some difficulty; but for curiosity's sake I regret that I have not had time to undertake the task. What I desire to call attention to is the fact that the performance of a

Moulhud is an every-day, and usually quite innocent, religious observance. No doubt it may often be made the pretext for conspirators to meet together.

Thus the Moulhud at which the withered-armed Mussaliar officiated on the evening of February 2th, in the house of fanatic No. 42, may have been (as the former asserts) quite unconnected with the outbreak, or it may have been celebrated as a prelude to that undertaking.

In favour of the former supposition is the Musaliar's conduct in voluntarily accompanying the constable, which he would hardly have done if the Moulhud had been specially performed to invoke a blessing on men devoting themselves to death.

12. *Arrests were effected in praiseworthy manner.*—Returning now to the history of the outbreak, I think it clear that in arresting the four accused men, the Police acted with commendable promptitude and discretion, in a manner which could not possibly have provoked or precipitated an outbreak, unless one had been already fully determined upon.

13. *Exaggerated rumours from Wandúr market.*—It may be noted that there is a large weekly market at Wandúr every Tuesday, at which Moplahs from all the country side congregate.

Many of the fanatics killed at Manjéri attended the fair on Tuesday, February 25th, and the news that the plot was blown upon, and that the Adhigâri and Police Inspector had gone eastwards to make enquiries, spread like wild-fire, until the despatch of two constables to fetch two Moplahs to be questioned, became magnified into a rumour (to use the words of one of the wounded fanatics) that "all Moplahs were to be arrested."

14. *Moplah tenantry hasten to houses of their landlords.*—Then followed the curious symptoms which always attend an outbreak. To the house of every large Hindu landlord hasten numbers of his Moplah tenantry to put themselves in evidence, and show their loyalty by offering themselves as guards. When one or more members of a family cast in their lot with the fanatics, the remaining male members hurry off to their landlord's house, and stay there 'on guard' until the disturbance is over.

They are thus enabled to give an account of themselves, and at the same time to obtain their meals and whatever else they can get from the mortal terror of the Hindu, who however much he distrusts his 'guards' has no alternative but to accept their services and to keep them in good humour, if he can, with high feeding and presents.

15. *Doings of the fanatics.*—The frontispiece map will show the movements of the gang. The fanatics predestinate commenced operations on the evening of February 26th by plundering and burning the farm-house of one Kunyunni Panikkar in Tûvûr amsam. That same night Paniankuth Raru Nair was murdered by another section of the gang in Chembrasséri amsam.

A relative of his (Vattaparambatha Karappan Nair) was met by the gang, who cut off his top-knot, made him tie his cloth Moplah fashion, gave him the name of Ali, and let him go as a convert. A Tiyan (E. Parangodan) was served in the same way immediately afterwards.

16. During February 27th the gang visited and looted seven Hindu houses, obtaining one or two guns and spears, a number of choppers, some cloths, axes, ornaments, cooking vessels, jaggery and food.

In the evening at Chakki Kuzhi, at a farm-house belonging to Pâlakkal Vélu Nair, they slew a cow and had a square meal of rice and beef.

17. During February 28th they continued their search for arms, looting six Hindu houses, whence they obtained two guns, two swords, a number of choppers and axes, some cloths and ornaments.

Near Parambayil they desecrated a small temple by breaking open the door and easing themselves in the interior. Near this place they met one Cheminikaré Krishnan Nair and cut off his top-knot.

They set to work to cook their evening meal at a farm-house called Ânakot, and while thus engaged news was brought to them that the white troops had reached Wandúr. Hastily swallowing some half-cooked rice the gang turned southwards, and travelled by night through Vellayur, Tûvûr and Pandikad.

18. Shortly before dawn on February 29th they passed a Hindu temple at Kârâi, sacred to Dûrga, and set fire to it. The temple had a thatched roof. It belonged to a Nair family in Wandúr amsam, with whom, so far as I could ascertain, none of the gang had any cause of enmity.

A few miles further west in Vettikâtiri they entered a Nair house and obtained materials for a meal which they there cooked. The owner who had hidden himself alleges that the gang also took about Rs. 400 in money, but this assertion, which is still under investigation, is considered doubtful.

It was here that the gang was joined by two men, Nos. 51 and 52 on the list. Passing on through Elémbra, a sub-division of Paiyanâd amsam, they picked up six recruits (Nos. 53 to 58) and at Nellikuth, about 3 miles further south, were joined by four more (Nos. 59 to 62).

19. One of these (No. 62) was a boy of 12 whose mother belongs to the Vârian Kunnan family, conspicuous in the outbreak of 1894.

The woman has eight children, has some Kânam property, and is comfortably off. The boy was drying gingelly pods in the field, and followed the gang on the impulse of the moment.

He is believed to be one of the boys amongst the killed at Manjéri, upon whom no bullet wound was found, and who had had his throat cut by some ruffianly fanatic to prevent his being captured.

20. From Nellikuth the gang crossed the river, entered Manjéri amsam, and proceeded through Mudikôd, where they were joined by eleven recruits (Nos. 64 to 74), to the Pandalur temple.

Their subsequent course is sufficiently described in paragraphs 21 to 23 of my report, dated April 10th.

During the afternoon of Saturday, February 29th, the strength of the gang was increased by the joining of Nos. 63 and 75 to 96, all of them recruits from around the north-western base of Pandalur Hill.

Finally, on Sunday morning two men from Irimbuzhi joined, after the gang had occupied the Manjéri temple.

21. *No proof of pre-arrangement between Chembrasséri-Tûvûr fanatics, and later recruits.*—No doubt, all who joined must have been long accustomed to talk about, and contemplate the glory of dying in battle, and the promised delights of Paradise; but I have been able to find no evidence pointing to any preconcerted plan, or understanding, between the fanatics of Chembrasséri and Tûvûr, where the outbreak originated, and those of Manjéri and Paiyanâd.

It remains to be seen whether the enquiries, which Mr. Fawcett is still pursuing, will bring to light the existence of a pre-arrangement between the different sections of the gang, but my belief is that the Tûvûr and Chembrasséri men were following more or less blindly the course pursued by the fanatics of 1894, and were attracted to the Pandalur hills, because they are in the midst of the scenes of former exploits, and offer both a secure hiding place, and a convenient base for plundering Hindus and for attracting recruits.

22. *Number of gang unprecedented, but not a matter for surprise.*—Appendix II exhibits the statistics of the population of the nine amsams to which the fanatics belonged.

The Moplah population of these amsams is nearly 30,000, and the number of persons who took part in the outbreak was 99, or about one in every 300. Although the number of the last gang was large beyond precedent, the wonder really is that more did not join. In most cases there is absolutely nothing in the life, history and circumstances of any one of the ninety-nine fanatics to distinguish him from his brethren and kindred by blood and marriage, any one of whom was, and is, just as fit and likely to go out to war.

23. *Causes of the outbreak.*—I now come to the special object of my enquiry, viz., the ascertainment of the causes—ultimate and immediate—which led to the outbreak. I must warn Government at the outset that the only discovery I have made is that there is very little to discover.

24. *Statements of the survivors made independently.*—The persons who should be best able to explain the outbreak are obviously the survivors of the gang (five in number) whose statements to me are printed as enclosures I to V of my report, dated April 10th, 1896. Fortunately the individuals in question had no possible opportunity after the outbreak of conferring with one another before their several statements were recorded. Aruviralan Mûtha (Statement No. I) was wounded at Manjéri on March 1st, and was kept under treatment in the hospital at the Malapuram barracks, under a Military guard. Puzhutini Kunyâyu (Statement No. II) was shot at Parambayil at sun-set on April 13th: was carried in to Wandúr next morning, and was examined by me on April 14th as soon as he arrived. Ambât Aidrôs (Statement No. III) was arrested in Vettatur, was brought to Wandúr under a Police guard, and was examined by me at once on April 16th. Kaidhavalappan Kunyâlan (Statement No. IV) was arrested by some Moplahs at Vellayur on the morning of April 14th, and made his statement before me, without having any possible means of communicating with the others aforesaid.

Aruviralan Atthóyi (Statement No. V) denied before me that he was a member of the second gang, but has since made a long statement before the Special Assistant Magistrate closely agreeing with that of Kaidhavalappan Kunyâlan, in whose company he was arrested.

So far as these survivors of the gang, who had no communication with each other, assign the same reasons for the outbreak, we have in their statements the best possible proof that the said reasons were in fact put forward by the fanatics as their justification for going out to war.

25. Aruviralan Mûtha (No. 5 in Appendix I, wounded at Manjéri) lives close to the Chembrasséri Adhigâri's house in Vellayur Désam. He was with the first gang from start to finish. He states that the fanatics who persuaded him to join told him (1) that the white folk had offered insult to The Way, by taking beyond reach a Tiyya female living in Chembrasséri amsam, who had become an apostate from Islâm: (2) that the white folk had caused to be pulled down a prayer-mosque at Paiyanâd. He declares that he himself knows nothing whatever as to whether the alleged grievances are fact or fiction.

26. Puzhutini Kunyâyu (No. 30 in Appendix I, wounded at Parambayil) lives about five miles due east from Wandúr, and got his living as a peripatetic Mullah. He states that as the month of Ramullân drew near, a talk arose amongst the Moplahs of his neighbourhood that there was no room for Mussulmâns in the country and that they should get up a 'lahala' (ലഹള). This is the technical term locally used to denote the special form of Moplah outbreak, the parties to which pledge themselves to win Paradise by dying in battle against the infidel.

He asked these discontented spirits what justification there was for an outbreak, and they assigned three grounds, to wit:—

(1) That a converted Tiyya woman had taken off her jacket (become an apostate) and thus disgraced Islâm. (*Note.*—The women of the Tiyya caste wear no dress above the waist. The Moplah women all wear jackets.)
(2) That after the outbreak of 1894 the mothers and sisters of the fanatics were insulted by being struck and beaten.
(3) That poor folk are ejected and put to trouble by the grant of mélcharths (second mortgages) over their heads.

It may be noted here that this fanatic professes to have no personal knowledge of any one of the three aforesaid grievances. I have since spent several hours in conversation with him at the Manjéri hospital, on several occasions, and am convinced that he personally knows nothing either about the female apostate, or the alleged ill-treatment of the Moplah women, or of any hard cases of eviction.

He has resolutely avoided stating the names of the persons with whom he says he had the conversations which he relates.

One of his casual remarks deserves to be recorded. He said, with a silent laugh, "A dozen of us Moplahs can't meet any where but we are at once suspected to be plotting an outbreak!"

27. Ambât Aidrôs (No. 99 on the list) states that the grievances which led to the outbreak were—

(1) That the mothers and sisters of the fanatics killed in 1894, had their jackets torn, and were tortured 'by rubbing chillies', to make them surrender the loot which the fanatics had given them; and that therefore it was necessary to find and kill the Head Constable who was at the bottom of it.

(2) That the fanatics wanted to kill the apostate Tiyya woman if they got her. Personally he knows nothing about the torture, or the apostate woman.

28. Kaidhavalappan Kunyâlan (No. 29 on the list, a member of the second gang) gives four reasons for the outbreak:—

(1) Because apostates from The Way are walking about (in freedom), and he mentions the apostate Tiyya woman as an instance.

(2) Because a prayer-mosque had been pulled down.

(3) Because Moplah women were tortured after the outbreak two years ago.

(4) Because Janmis (landlords) raise money by granting mélcharths (second mortgages) over the heads of poor tenants.

This lad also has no personal knowledge of the apostate woman, the prayer-mosque, or of the alleged ill-treatment of certain Moplah women, nor does he know a single instance of hardship caused by grant of second mortgage.

29. *The four causes mentioned by the survivors.*—It will be seen that the four above-mentioned survivors all concur in mentioning the case of the apostate Tiyya woman as one of the pretexts for the outbreak. Three of them mention the ill-treatment of certain Moplah women in 1894. Two of them mention the pulling down of a certain prayer-mosque in Paiyanâd. Two of them mention the old standing grievance of second mortgages.

I will now briefly state what information I have collected regarding each of the four matters which are thus cited as provoking the outbreak.

30. *The case of the apostate Tiyya woman.*—On January 25th, 1896, the Moplah Sub-Magistrate, stationed at Manjéri, reported to the Special Assistant that some strange Moplahs had been frightening an old Tiyya woman, named Chakki, who lived in Chembrasséri amsam, with a daughter and grandson, supporting themselves by cooly work. The Special Assistant Magistrate sent for the old woman, and she appeared before him at Malappuram on January 27th, 1896. From her statement it appears that about forty years ago, when she was a girl of 10 or 12, she was abducted by a Moplah of Tirurangadi and donned the dress of a Moplah woman. After a few days she was found and brought back by her father, and was taken in to Calicut where, after some enquiry before a Sahib, she was given back to her father's custody. Her father is long since dead, and she had been living in Chembrasséri unmolested for a long while. Recently she had been alarmed by some strange Moplahs, who spoke to her in the jungle and told her she had better return to Islâm. She could not clearly explain what had frightened her, but, as she *was* frightened, and was also suffering from fever and rheumatism, the Special Assistant Magistrate thought it as well to send her in to the Calicut hospital, so that she might remain there under treatment until the Mussulmân Month of Fast should be over. She was sent in to Calicut accordingly and was there at the time of the outbreak. Regarding this incident it seems only necessary to remark that there is nothing in it which can be admitted as affording the smallest ground of offence to any rational human being. In any place outside the Moplah taluks the precaution taken by the Divisional Magistrate might seem ridiculous; but in view of past history and of what the survivors of the gang have said, there is little doubt that the old woman, if she had remained in Chembrasséri, would have gone in peril and terror of her life, until either murdered, or terrorised into rejoining The Way.

The fanaticism which finds in the removal of the old woman, with her consent, a sufficient ground for an outbreak, cannot be reasoned with or conciliated.

31. *The alleged torture or ill-treatment of the female relatives of the fanatics after the outbreak of* 1894.—Government will remember that the outbreak of 1894 began by the robbery on the highway of a remittance of Rs. 2,296, which was being taken from Chembrasséri to the Manjéri Taluk Treasury. Rs. 1,275 of this amount was recovered from the female relatives of the fanatics (*vide* paragraph 14 of District Magistrate's letter, page 36 of G.O., No. 2186, Judicial, dated 8th September 1894). I have examined the record and find that fourteen women in all gave-up various sums of money. They were produced without delay before the Stationary Magistrate at Manjéri, one after another as the property was discovered, and in most cases on the day following the surrender of the property. Each woman was formally examined, and not one of them said a word about having been ill-treated. Mr. Bradley, then District Magistrate, was on the spot; and he and the Special Assistant Magistrate, Mr. Knapp, saw the women. Mr. Bradley states that the women had full opportunity of telling him and Mr. Knapp if they had been in any way ill-treated, and that none of them made any complaint. That their privacy should be invaded and their houses searched, and that they should be hauled up before a Magistrate, and compelled to disgorge the stolen property which they had received and hidden, was no doubt very grievous to the women and their male relations; but this procedure was inevitable, and affords no legitimate ground of complaint. The story that the women, or any of them, were ill-treated is based on nothing but vague, unfounded rumour. Government dealt most forbearingly with them in deciding that they should not be criminally prosecuted.

Under the above circumstances, and considering that two years have elapsed since the stolen property was recovered, I deemed it inexpedient to give wings to idle rumours by hunting-up the fourteen women, with a view to ascertain whether any one of them now says that she was badly treated. The fact that no complaint was made at the time would make worthless any assertion of ill-treatment which might now be put forward.

No complaint has been put forward: all circumstances indicate that there is no ground of complaint; and any action tending to stir up and encourage complaint seems, therefore, to be uncalled for.

If Moplah fanaticism takes offence at lawful means being used to recover stolen property from Moplah females this cannot be helped, and those who go out to war on such a frivolous pretext are beyond conciliation, and must be shot down.

32. *The removal of a prayer-mosque from the road-side between Paiyanâd and Manjéri.*—Two miles from Manjéri the road to Paiyanâd passes through a gorge; and between the raised road-way and the foot of a precipitous wooded bluff on the south, there is a spring of water, about one yard from the berme of the road. There are no dwellings near, and the side of the bluff is too steep to be cultivated. The spring affords a grateful resting place to the wayfarer. In March 1895, when the Inspector-General of Police was riding past the spring, in company with the Superintendent and Assistant Superintendent, they noticed that a shed, raised from the ground on four corner posts, was being erected at the spring so as to have the spring at its door. The shed was of the sort used throughout the Moplah taluks as a place for prayer, such as is often the forerunner of a permanent mosque. The effect would be to restrict the use of the spring to Mussulmâns, and on arrival at Manjéri the officers aforesaid requested the Tahsildar to enquire whether, in the interests of the public, the building of the prayer-shed ought not to be stopped. The Tahsildar wrote an order to the Adhigâri to report who was erecting the prayer-shed over the spring, and by what right he was doing so without asking permission.

The Adhigâri is a Moplah, son-in-law of pensioned Police Inspector, Ahamed Gurikkal, Khan Bahadur. He reported that the shed was being built by Abdullah Gurikkal, son of the pensioned Inspector, and that the former, on learning that the shed was considered objectionable, had undertaken at once to remove it. The shed was removed without more to do, except the corner posts which were left standing. These were not removed until after I had begun my enquiry, and were then cut off level with the ground, leaving the foundations undisturbed.

Four useful posts were thus spoilt, and it requires no deep knowledge of the Moplahs to lead one *primâ facie* to the inference that the posts were sacrificed to avoid the sin of disturbing the foundations of a mosque. I examined Abdullah Gurikkal and the Adhigâri, and their statements are printed as Appendix IV. To avoid making a mountain of a mole-hill, I deemed it inexpedient to push enquiry as to the ownership of the spring. Abdullah Gurikkal at first stated that it was included within the limits of certain escheat land purchased by his father from the Government and not yet fully paid for. This is what his brother-in-law the Adhigâri also states.

Abdullah protests that the shed was intended to be a rest-house for the use of travellers of all castes, that he removed it without compulsion as soon as he learnt that it was objected to, and that he cannot conceive who can have put it into the heads of the Chembrasséri and Tûvûr fanatics to treat its removal as an insult to Islâm.

Abdullah Gurikkal, in consideration of his father's services, was given employment in the Police, and was made a probationary Inspector. He could not pass his examinations, was found, after prolonged trial, to be perfectly useless, and was permitted to resign in 1891. That his breast is filled with sentiments of loyalty and gratitude to Government it would be rash to assert, and as he has reclaimed lands in Chembrasséri amsam and was often there, it is difficult to avoid the suspicion that the magnifying of the removal of the shed into an insult to Islâm must be due to versions of the transaction emanating from himself. Of this, however, there is no direct evidence. Since informing him of the inference which I drew from his leaving the stumps of the corner posts in the ground, he has removed the stumps of his own accord.

My opinion is that further enquiry regarding the building and removal of this shed will only serve to spread false and mischievous rumours, and that the best course is to accept the assurance of the builder that the shed was not intended to serve any religious purpose, and that there was nothing whatever in the circumstances of its removal at which any rational being could take offence.

33. *Rack-renting, and evictions by landlords and second mortgagees.*—It is probably under the head of this alleged cause of the outbreak that Government will look for useful information, and it is under this head that I fear my report will be found most disappointing.

The two chief leaders in the outbreak, Nos. 1 and 63, had no agrarian grievance whatever. No. 7 borrowed from a Nambudri, to whom he chose to attorn, about Rs. 300 on the security of about 16 acres of wet land which he had reclaimed from the jungle; and being unable to repay the money he was in a fair way to lose the fruits of his labour; but no fraud or oppression is apparent.

No. 9, nephew of No. 7, had reclaimed about 3 acres of land adjoining his uncle's clearing; and a Nair, to whom the uncle had transferred his wet land in consideration of the Nair paying off the debt of Rs. 300, claimed that the land of No. 9 was included in the transfer.

Possibly No. 7 had cheated his nephew, or the transferee, or possibly the latter had made a false claim, but the claim had not been enforced, and was not such as need drive a man desperate.

Nos. 38 and 39 appear to have had a genuine grievance. Their Nair landlord sued to evict their father from some kânam property. The suit was compromised on the father undertaking to pay a renewal fee of Rs. 350, and in this compromise the improvements were valued at a little over Rs. 100. The father alleges that this valuation was entered without his knowledge or consent, and the Moplah Sub-Magistrate, who saw the gardens, pronounces the valuation to be scandalously inadequate. The renewal fee was not paid, and the decree for eviction was accordingly executed. The family, however, was suffered to remain in possession on their undertaking to execute a simple lease, the terms of which had not been arranged.

It would be probably impossible to prove that the father was (as he alleges) deceived as to the terms of the compromise.

The father of No. 74 told me that he had been evicted five years ago from about one acre of wet land by a second mortgagee (a Hindu), but he did not profess that this afforded any explanation of his son going out to die.

No. 99, the oldest member of the gang, is typical of the stuff of which some of the fanatics are made (*vide* Statement III appended to my first report).

After cultivating certain fields on simple lease for 20 years, they pass into the hands of a new landlord, who gives him notice to quit, because he cannot furnish security for the rent.

He seeks and finds fresh fields, but an indifferent harvest leaves him in arrears with his rent.

The husband of one wife for 30 years, he is devoted to her and to the eight children whom they have reared.

In despair he throws in his lot with the saints predestinate: takes an opportunity to rob his comrades in their sleep, returns and gives the plunder to his children. Then, after his arrest, he snatches up a police rifle and tries to do for his captors. He is a very respectable old ruffian—a victim of hard times, 'the rent,' and a great charge of children; but hard cases like his will occur in the best regulated society.

In addition to the above cases I ought to mention a suit, which has not been brought forward before me as a grievance by any of the Tûvûr Moplahs, but which appears to have been probably the cause of the murder of Paniyankunnath Râru Nair (*vide* paragraph 20 of my report, dated April 10th, 1895).

About 20 years ago a Moplah named Pézhungaltodiyil Moidutti (now deceased) built the Tûvûr mosque on certain land, the janmam of which he had purchased from a member of the Naduvakâtt Aríkkaré Tarawad in Mélatur. About 16 years ago another representative of the tarawad (now Adhigâri of Mélatur) sued to recover possession of the land on the ground that the conveyance to the Moplah was invalid.

The site of the mosque and the graveyard were discreetly excluded from the suit. For the rest of the land the plaintiff obtained a decree, and a number of Moplahs who had formed homesteads as tenants of Moidutti have since had to come to terms with their new Hindu landlord.

The only person evicted appears to have been Moidutti, since deceased, some of whose land has since been leased to the murdered Raru Nair. It also appears that Raru Nair acted as one of the plaintiff's agents throughout the legal proceedings.

I tried at Angadipuram to obtain authentic particulars of the suit; but the District Munsif's court was closed, and I was unsuccessful.

Considering the many years which have elapsed since the suit was decided, and the fact that none of the local Moplahs spoke of it as a grievance, I deemed it inexpedient to pursue the enquiry; for the mosque site was not interfered with, and there is no allegation that any injustice was done.

34. *No general agrarian grievance.*—With the above exceptions none of the fanatics in the recent outbreak appear to have been evicted, or to have any just ground of complaint against their landlords. Personal enquiry of the Moplah tenantry in the disturbed tract entirely failed to reveal any general oppression, or extravagant rack-renting on the part of the Hindu landlords and kánamdars. Nearly all the wet land is cultivated by tenants on verum-pâttam (simple annual lease). In Chembrasséri and Tûvûr the usual rent for two-crop land appears to be about ten times the seed. The gross produce for two crops should be quite twenty times the seed, and the tenant in such case gets half the grain and nearly all the straw. In the eastern districts there are few tenants who enjoy so large a share.

In anticipation of the objection that the first crop rarely yields more than ten-fold, and that the second crop is not usually as heavy as the first, it may be remarked that the rainfall at the foot of the mountains is much above the district average, and that the supply of leaf manure and ashes is plentiful.

The fertility of the land is thus above the ordinary.

Speaking still of Chembrasséri and Tûvûr, six paras are reckoned as equivalent to an acre, and three paras of paddy sell for a rupee. The rent for an acre of two-crop land would thus be 60 paras, or Rs. 20.

Both Adhigâris, in each other's presence, agreed in stating that there is little or no wet land in their amsams assessed at more than Rs. 2 per acre! The assessment is paid by the lessor. For their kudiyiruppus, or homesteads, the tenants generally pay only a nominal rent of one pudhia panam (new fanam=Rs. 0–4–7) a year.

For modan (hill-rice grown on bare hills) and punam (hill-rice grown in forest clearings), the rent paid is generally only one in ten of the produce. The actual cultivator pays the Government assessment.

35. *Explanation why rents generally easy in Chembrasséri.*—Up to within the last few years, the forests at the foot of the mountains, west of the Silent Valley, have been a no-man's land, where the janmam title is in dispute and doubt. Numbers of Moplah adventurers, crowded out from their native places, have squatted in the jungle, and without asking by-your-leave of any one, have set to work to fell and burn the forest, and reclaim the swamps, unobstructed except by fever and ague. Within the last twenty years it has become settled doctrine that in Malabar every foot of land must have its janmi proprietor. Gradually, as opportunity offers, divers great Hindu families have been coming to terms with the squatters, and, by advances of grain and money, threats of legal proceedings, and promises of liberal treatment, have won from them a recognition of the janmam title to the land. The registration of janmam titles, recently undertaken, must lead to a scramble for all disputed land, and the rival claimants are using the utmost diligence to fortify their claims by bringing the squatters to terms. A squatter has now no chance of peaceable occupation until he has secured a powerful landlord to fight his civil battles for him, and the general result of the situation is that every squatter has attorned, or is attorning, to some landlord, who for the time grants him sufficiently easy terms.

Thus, up to the present time, excessive rents are the exception, and most of the few evictions result from suits between rival claimants for the janmam title.

36. *Available statistics as to second mortgages, and eviction suits throw no light on alleged agrarian grievance.*—From the records of the Registration offices and of the Ernâd and Walluvanâd District Munsiffs, I have endeavoured to collect (for the disturbed amsams) information regarding second mortgages and eviction suits. I have not succeeded in procuring statistics of which I can make any use.

The registration registers do not indicate whether or not a document is a mélcharth (second mortgage). To ascertain this, every document has to be read. In the Manjéri amsam, for the five years ending 1895, seventeen second mortgages have been registered, and in ten of these cases the original kânakâran (first mortgagee) was a Hindu. In the Irimbuzhi amsam only three second mortgages have been registered in five years; in Paiyanâd, six; in Pândikâd, seven. It cannot be gleaned from the documents whether in any case the transaction was oppressive.

The District Munsifs' records of suits are forwarded to the District Court once a quarter, and the registers do not give the required information regarding evictions. Unless the entire record of an eviction suit be studied, it is impossible to say whether the tenant (defendant) has any ground of complaint, and everything depends upon whether the award of compensation for improvements is just and liberal, and this the record does not disclose. A search of the judicial records for hard cases is therefore unprofitable, and I must content myself with affirming that so far as the fanatics in the recent outbreak are concerned, neither they nor their relatives (with the exceptions above noted) had any substantial grievance. I have purposely avoided (what some of my native friends would have drawn me into) an enquiry into grievances between landlord and tenant outside the disturbed area, between which grievances and the recent outbreak no connection can be traced.

37. *All four pretexts manufactured for the occasion.*—So far the only conclusion arrived at is that the four pretexts put forward as the cause of the outbreak are not real grievances, but frivolous, and specially manufactured for the occasion by men bent on discovering some plausible excuse for earning the delights of Paradise in the locally-approved fashion.

I must not be misunderstood as suggesting that the landlord-and-tenant difficulty in Malabar is not still a burning question. I confine myself to reluctantly expressing the opinion that outbreaks like this last spring from a fanaticism which landlord-and-tenant legislation cannot hope to cure. No doubt, if life could be made worth living, we should have no more fanatics; but poverty is ever with us everywhere, and so long as pauper Moplahs abound within the outbreak-zone, some pretext for an outbreak will always be forthcoming when wanted.

This is, of course, no reason why the masses of tenants should not be protected from rack-renting as soon and as far as may be found possible. One likely pretext at least will be thus removed.

38. *Similarity of last Outbreak and that of* 1849.—Writing of the gang who repulsed the sepoys at Manjéri in 1849, Mr. Strange says (*Correspondence on Moplah Outrages*, Vol. I, page 424): "For the junction of (more than half the "gang of sixty-six) no discernible motive appears, but that of sheer fanaticism. "The whole were people in low circumstances, living mostly by day labour. They "were also chiefly very young in years. For but four out of the whole gang can "any motives for murder be found, and these were of themselves wholly insuffi-"cient to lead to such a crime. The many others, who were uninvolved in crime, "and yet sought in this desperate manner to sacrifice their lives, can only have "joined in under the stimulus of fanaticism." This might have been written regarding the last outbreak.

Two of the gang destroyed at Manjéri on 1st March 1896 were boys of 12: sixteen were between 14 and 16: twelve were between 16 and 20: fifty-two were between 20 and 30: ten between 30 and 40, five between 40: and 45: two were about 50.

Mr. Conolly mentions (page 35, Vol. I) that a boy of 12, in the gang of 1849, fought like a tiger-cat and nearly killed a European by throwing a knife at his head. He also mentions that nearly 20 of the gang were, like this lad, of very tender age. Deplorable though it be that these children in a fanatic gang should have to be shot down along with the rest, there appears no possible help for it.

From the inanity, even from their own point of view, of their proceedings throughout, it is plain that the gang had no leader deserving the name; and the sole survivor of the Tûvûr-Chembrassêri fanatics can only say that all the bearded men were leaders.

It is notable however that No. 1 on my list, Moidin Kutti Hâji was nephew, on the mother's side, of Athan Gurikkal, the hero of the victory of 1849, and here we have another clue explaining why the Manjêri temple was again selected for the final stand in 1896. Moidin Kutti Hâji was also the only one of the gang who had performed the pilgrimage to Mecca. We find from the survivor that Moidin Kûtti Hâji was one of the men responsible for cutting the throats of the wounded, and there is no doubt that he was one of the principal actors. He and his two elder brothers occupied three comfortable houses, close to the Illam (mansion) of their Nambûdri landlord, in a large orchard held from the Nambûdri on Kânam by their family for three generations. Their landlord, for prudential reasons easily surmised, had refrained from demanding the renewal fees to which he was legally entitled; and Moidin Kûtti Hâji is said by his brothers to have had no grievance other than a load of debt incurred chiefly to obtain funds for the pilgrimage to Mecca.

They pointed out to me, amongst his paddy-fields, one which he had been ploughing on the day before the outbreak. His brothers and neighbours were (as usual in such cases) very uncommunicative, and I could elicit nothing of interest regarding Moidin Kûtti Hâji's early life, nor any evidence of any special preparation for his desperate end. He had not divorced his wife, nor paid off his debts.

39. *Circumstances indicate last Outbreak purely fanatical.*—It appears to me that no previous outbreak has been more purely fanatical than this last. The burning and desecration of Hindu temples, the breaking of idols, the forcible conversion of infidels, the selection of a famous Hindu temple as the appropriate place for challenging the troops to combat, the provocation alleged to have been felt at the succour of the apostate woman and the removal of a supposed prayer-shed, and finally the absence of any definite agrarian grievance, and the surprising abstinence from the murder of Hindu landlords, all indicate the resolve of the gang to regard themselves as embarking on a holy war against the infidel, with a view to win a martyr's death and crown.

40. *Strange that all Outbreaks occur within fifteen miles radius from Pandalur Hill—Power of tradition—Preaching of Church militant.*—With one or two exceptions (notably one outbreak in North Malabar in 1852) every fanatical outbreak of this sort has occurred within a radius of about 15 miles from the Pandalur Hill; and why the spirit of fanaticism should continue to blaze out at intervals in this small area is as profound a mystery now as when Mr. Strange penned paragraph 27 of his report. I have thought over it for a quarter of a century and cannot profess to solve it. No doubt from Tippu's time the region has been famed for the turbulence of its Moplah inhabitants. The insurgents of today are, after all, only the grand children of the Moplah free-booters, and robber chieftains, whose time is still remembered by aged Hindus of Ernâd and Walluwanâd as a reign of terror.

Tradition has handed down their deeds of prowess, and keeps alive the desire to emulate their fame.

The Moplah church militant, in a different spirit from our own, is ever singing—

"Hear the victors who o'ercame,
Still they mark each warrior's way,"

exhorting the disciple that he should—

"From strength to strength go on,
Wrestle, and fight and pray,
Tread all the powers of darkness down,
And win the well-fought day."

And accepting the exhortation in a brutally literal sense the would-be saint takes up his chopper and goes forth against what he esteems to be the powers of darkness to win his crown.

41. *Songs of the Saints—Mostly harmless—Cannot be suppressed.*—Songs in praise of the saints are said to do much mischief in stirring the blood of the jungle Moplah and inciting him to religious frenzy.

On the bodies of two of the fanatics, killed at Manjéri, were found two song-books. Mr. Fawcett has one of them, which I have not had time to examine; but I have made it my painful duty to try and master the contents of the other.

Both books were lithographed in the Arabic character, and were published at Tellicherry.

Mr. Fawcett's book describes the battle of Beder, the first battle in which the Prophet, with 313 followers, defeated the Koreish.

This battle was fought on 17th Ramullân, which fell this year on March 2nd, 1896.

The fanatics are said to have intended to fight on this auspicious anniversary, but their career was cut short on the previous day. It was noticed that several of the widows of the fanatics spoke of their husbands having fallen on the 17th Ramullân, thus indicating that that was the date on which they had planned to die.

The second song book, which alone I have partially examined, contains three songs. The first is entitled "Selikath, to wit a song describing the fierce battle with the very powerful, wise and terrible queen Selikath. By the Physician, Ottupârakkal Moyankutti of Kundôtti."

The second song is entitled "The Hejira," describing the flight of the Prophet's disciples to Abyssinia, the oppression to which he was subjected by the tribe of Koreish, and the flight to Medina.

The third song is entitled "The History of the Martyrs of Malappuram, composed in very poetical language by Physician, Ottupârakkal Alingalkandi Moyankutti." As it is interesting to know something of the contents of a book which the fanatics actually carried with them to battle, I have printed a short abstract of the song as appendix V.

The language of this, and of all other like songs which I have seen, is a vile hodgepodge of Arabic, Sanskrit, Tamil and Malayalam, quite unintelligible to any Malayali, whether Moplah or Hindu, unless he has made a special study of this peculiar dialect. There are probably not half-a-dozen consecutive lines in the poem, of which an educated Malayali Hindu could gather even the drift.

I imagine that the listeners must be less moved by the sense than by the sound.

The song seems harmless enough, and in any case it would be futile and impolitic to attempt to exercise a stricter censorship than at present over such publications.

To the illiterate Moplah they are sealed books. Scores of Mullahs know the songs by rote, and to attempt to suppress any song would probably add to its popularity and use a hundredfold.

42. *Inflammatory preaching—Cannot be controlled.*—For the same reason no sort of interference with, or censorship over, the religious teaching and preaching of the Mullahs, whether in the mosques, or at the fairs, or from house to house, can be thought of.

Any real attempt to control religious teaching and preaching would be viewed as persecution, and we should have sedition preached on the hill-tops, in the depths of the jungle, and in dens and holes of the earth, and the fanatic spirit would no longer be half-starved as it now is for want of the nutriment of a real religious grievance.

43. *One reason why Outbreak popular in Fast Month.*—It is instructive to note what trivial circumstances may induce a Moplah to go out as a saint militant. A quarrel between a father and his sons, a brawl between husband and wife, despondency due to epilepsy, have sufficed in the past to engender a resolve to die as a martyr.

Probably one reason why the Month of Fast is so often chosen as the time for an outbreak, is that a dispensation from fasting is claimable when on the war-path. For thirty days, so long as there is day-light enough to distinguish a white thread from a black one, the devout Moplah must not only abstain from food and water, but commits a sin if he voluntarily swallows his spittle. The Fast is usually observed in all its rigour, and the discomfort and suffering which it entails call for extraordinary endurance. We find the fanatics making the most of their dispensation, drinking tender cocoanuts, and jaggery water wherever they could be got, and eating all that came to hand. To the boys in the gang, especially, visions of unlimited cocoanuts and jaggery, cow-beef and boiled rice, must be very attractive. Then there is the delightful getting rid of the guilty sense of undischarged religious obligations. The young fanatic has sinned by not keeping the Fast; he has stayed away from mosque on Friday; he has habitually failed to recite his prayers five times a day; and he has no hope of being able to expiate his short-comings by a pilgrimage to Mecca.

Then comes the wandering priest, who points out an easy and direct road to Paradise with its black-eyed girls. "Why continue toiling and moiling with such bliss within your reach? Come along! What is the use of remaining? The white folk are oppressing us. We shall get plenty of sugar and beef before the fight and Paradise after it." Puerile as these arguments may seem, such are in fact the very inducements by which many scores of lads have been tempted to throw away their lives.

44. *Circumstances rendering Chembrasséri the resort of discontented spirits.*—If it be asked why Chembrasséri and Tûvûr, of all places, should be the present nest of fanaticism, the reason is not far to seek, and has been already partly indicated in paragraph 35 *supra*. The great expanse of virgin forest at the foot of the Koondahs has tempted numbers of Moplahs, who (in their own phrase) can find no standing room in their native amsams, to emigrate thither for the purpose of converting the swamps into paddy-fields, and of clearing and cultivating the jungle. These adventurers are many of them worthy, enterprising and prosperous squatters, but mixed with these are naturally many bitter, discontented, unsettled, unsuccessful men, the froth and scum of the Moplah population, without any certain means of livelihood, and ready to lead, or join, in any forlorn hope.

Considering the universal Moplah belief in the merit of seeking a martyr's death on any sufficient provocation, it is hardly surprising that fifty malcontents should be found ready to seek it without any provocation at all.

45. *Delay in collecting fines imposed in respect of Outbreak of* 1894—*Explained.*—One of the matters which I was directed to investigate was the cause of the delay in completing the assessment, and commencing the collection, of the fines imposed under the Moplah Outrages Act in connection with the outbreak of 1894.

During my enquiry I have not found a single Moplah who alleges that the fines in question, or rather the knowledge that fines were about to be levied, had anything to do with the outbreak. In so far as the delay has thus eliminated what might otherwise have been asserted as a potent cause of the outbreak, its occurrence may be regarded as rather a fortunate circumstance.

The G.O. on the outbreak of 1894 was communicated to the Tahsildars of Ernâd and Walluvanâd on September 25th, 1894. About the third week in October the Tahsildars submitted their proposals for the extra establishment required to make a nominal list of the Moplahs and to ascertain their property. The District Magistrate submitted the proposals to Government on 3rd November, and the proposals were sanctioned in G.O., No. 2797, Judicial, dated 19th November 1894.

The sanction reached the Tahsildars on 28th November, and the extra establishments began work in the beginning of December 1894.

Elaborate instructions were then drawn up by the Divisional Officer (M.R.Ry. Chappan Menon) for the guidance of the special establishment in valuing the property, and these were approved by the District Magistrate on December 25th, 1894. In January 1895 the District Magistrate (Mr. Moberly) went round the amsams to be fined, and a large number of petitions were presented to him praying for exemption from fine for various reasons.

These had all to be enquired into. On Mr. Moberly's recommendation, Government in G.O., No. 1683, Judicial, dated 10th August 1895, exempted certain amsams and désams.

Further orders from Government in September 1895 exempted two désams in Vettatur and two désams in Kumaramputtur.

In September 1895 the Tahsildars submitted their nominal lists and statements of property, through the Divisional Magistrate, to the District Magistrate.

The statements were approved in due course, and on December 2nd, 1895 the Tahsildars received orders to proceed with the collection. The fines on the different désams varied from five to one per cent., and the amounts payable by each individual had then to be calculated. Finally warrants had to be prepared, as the Moplahs showed no disposition to pay except on coercion. Such, in brief, is the Tahsildars' explanation of the delay. In Ernâd 13 désams were fined; the number of households fined was 1,946; the total demand on account of the fines was Rs. 12,844. In Walluvanâd 17 désams were fined; the number of households was 1,710; the total demand on account of the fines was Rs. 5,464.

The inordinate delay in preparing the individual lists of property was entirely due to the minute and laborious detail in which the statements were prepared. First comes a list of the fields; then a statement of the assessee's claim over each, and of the incumbrances; then a valuation of the improvements; every tree,—

cocoanut, areca, jack, mango, tamarind, bamboo, &c.,—was counted, and the fruit trees were classed in half-a-dozen different classes according to local usage.

The labour involved is immense, and I found cases in which the account of the property of one assessee filled 50 pages of foolscap. Then all sorts of delay was occasioned by the attempt to obtain an accurate and trustworthy statement of debts. The assessees were often unable, and their creditors often unwilling, to produce the documents and vouchers.

46. *How to be hereafter avoided.*—If fines under the Moplah Outrages Act are to be assessed and collected without inordinate delay, it is clear that the attempt to prepare lists of property in such elaborate detail should not be repeated.

The Magistrates are daily engaged in punishing petty offences by fine without any detailed enquiry as to the means of the offenders, and when the offenders belong to the lower classes we find them paying up fines of a few rupees without delay or difficulty. In like manner, I take it that fines under the Moplah Act should be roughly assessed according to the Magistrate's judgment of the means of the head of each household. A list of the households must of necessity be prepared, and in jungly parts this must needs take some time.

As soon as the list is ready, the Divisional Magistrate should, with the assistance of the village officers and a few of the chief men, summarily assess each household on the assumption that the fine will be five per cent. of the assets, with a minimum of one rupee. The percentage can be afterwards altered as may be thought proper. If pauper households without any able-bodied member be exempted, there is no household so poor that it cannot pay one rupee.

All the cooly class with assets estimated at under Rs. 20 will then pay Re. 1 per house, and households better off can be roughly and rapidly assessed without any detailed enumeration of the assets, with sufficient nearness to prevent any injustice.

I think it should be proclaimed that in future the amount of the fine on the Moplahs liable to it under the Act, will be assessed in proportion to the damage done by the offenders, and to the number and atrocity of any outrages which they may commit.

47. *Suggestion as to which Désams should be fined.*—The District Magistrate will make his recommendations on the question as to what fines should be imposed in respect of the outbreak under report; but if the above principle be accepted, a fine of one per cent. with a minimum of one rupee per household for the marginally-noted désams would probably raise a sufficient fund to compensate for the mischief done.

Amsam.	Désam.
Chembrasséri.	Chembrasséri.
	Chéramba.
	Pûngôtt.
	Vellayur.
Tûvûr ...	Tûvûr.

Amsam.	Désam.
Manjéri ...	Anakâyam
	Pandalur.
Paiyanad.	Nellikuth.
	Paiyanad.

48. *Fining Policy in no way responsible for last Out break—Should be persevered in.*—As already stated, the fining policy cannot be shown to have contributed, directly or indirectly, to the last outbreak. The plot originated in Tûvûr, and in the désams of Pungôtt and Vellayur in Chembrasséri. Tûvûr, and the said désams, though liable to fine in respect of the outbreak of 1894, had been, as an act of grace, altogether exempted. Not one of the 49 fanatics from these places had to pay any fine, and from the statement of the survivors it would appear that the subject of fining had not even been talked of. The fines elsewhere were so moderate that even if they had been collected (which they had not), it would be idle to pretend that any person could be driven thereby to desperation. In the localities in which the severest fines have been imposed in the past, it will be found that there have since been no disturbances. I state this not as an assertion of cause and effect, but as a patent fact, which should be noted. With regard to the policy, there is no doubt that it punishes indiscriminately a whole community, many members of which may be, nay are, loyal and innocent of abetting such outbreaks even by admiration and sympathy; but this fining is the only means by which the whole community can be made to regard the occurrence of an outbreak as a calamity.

It unfortunately is only too plain that the tendency of an outbreak is to benefit the Moplahs as a class. It keeps their name up; deters their landlords from enforcing their legal rights; and supplies temporary employment on easy terms to many hundreds of Moplah 'guards.'

Except by persevering in the policy of fining, I can think of no other way in which the Moplahs, as a body, can be taught to regard these outbreaks as a misfortune, entailing inevitable and inconvenient pecuniary loss; and until outbreaks become unpopular with the Moplahs as a body, they will not cease.

49. *No novel remedial measures can be suggested.*—Turning now to the future, and a consideration of remedial measures, I regret that I have nothing novel to suggest.

50. *Education—Difficulties obstructing spread of.*—The 'Jungle Moplahs' do not live in villages, but their huts are scattered throughout the forest along the foot of the hills and mountains, where there is a tremendous rainfall for five months in the year, and where fever reigns supreme in the hot season.

If schools could be made accessible few children would attend except on compulsion; but the difficulty of placing schools within reach of any considerable proportion of the jungle population is practically insuperable. Wherever a school be located, surrounding hills and jungle would cut it off from all huts except such as happened to be close by. The rains and fever would prevent the regular attendance of even willing scholars.

Then, most families live from hand to mouth, and even if the parents desired the education of their children (they are in fact dead against it), the services of the children are too valuable to be spared. The boys, if too young to labour, are wanted to look after the cattle and to guard the crops. The girls are wanted to mind the babies, and to help their mothers.

Education should, of course, be pushed, but I cannot understand how any person acquainted with the locality can put education forward as a hopeful cure for Moplah fanaticism.

51. *Opening up the country by roads—Roads too costly for maintenance—Bridle-paths should be opened.*—The constant destruction of bridges and culverts by heavy floods in the monsoon makes the upkeep of roads so costly that there are few of the existing lines of communication along which wheeled traffic is not impeded, or altogether stopped, by unbridged rivers and nullahs. Until funds admit of the existing roads being properly maintained, the construction of new roads, which would similarly fall into disrepair, would be mere waste of money.

It is to be noted further that the absence of bandy roads enables great numbers of Moplahs to earn a living as carriers and hawkers. Strings of Moplahs may be met on every foot-path grunting and sweating under their weary fardels; carrying loads of paddy and other produce to market, and returning with pots and pans, oil, salt, tobacco, dried fish and curry-stuffs, which they hawk about for sale.

In so far as new bandy roads led to this traffic being carried by cart, the improvement in communications would compel great numbers of porters to seek some other means of living.

My advice is that communications should be improved, not so much by constructing new bandy roads, as by mending and improving some of the more important of the existing foot-paths by which the country is now traversed in all directions. A journey along any of these paths necessitates the constant climbing and descending of low laterite hills, and the crossing of intervening paddy flats.

A horse has to scramble up and down precipitous, rocky paths, deeply rutted by the tread of cattle and by heavy rain, and to flounder through the mud of the paddy-fields, because the old raised pathways have been gradually encroached upon and cut away.

In many cases the pathways are shown on the old maps, and it would be perfectly legitimate to enforce the withdrawal of encroachments by the charge of prohibitory assessment. An initial allotment of Rs. 100 per mile, and a yearly

grant of Rs. 25 per mile, would probably suffice to convert these difficult routes into good bridle-paths. A commencement might be made with the following paths:—

(1) Wandur to Vellayur.
(2) Vellayur to Tûvûr.
(3) Tûvûr to Karuvârakundu.
(4) Tûvûr to Pandikad.
(5) Tûvûr to Melatur.
(6) Karuvârakundu *viâ* Kannath to Kâlikâvu.
(7) Vellayur *viâ* Porur and Elangûr to Paiyanâd.
(8) Anakayam to Pandalur.
(9) Pandalur to Nemmini.
(10) Pandalur to Pandikad.

I would also urge that funds should be at once found to restore the fallen bridges on roads 57 (Tirur-Malappuram) and 55 (Manjéri *viâ* Pandikad and Melatur to Manarghaut). I must say that in the matter of bridges the Ernâd and Walluwanâd taluks are now far worse off than they were twenty years ago.

52. *Emigration—Desirable—Difficulties in the way of.*—It is devoutly to be wished that some plan of State-aided emigration could be devised, which would tempt a few thousands of the Ernâd Jungle Moplahs to emigrate. A good many of the Coast Moplahs have found their way to Ceylon and Rangoon; but few, if any, of the inland Moplahs look further afield than to seek a temporary job at the Kolar gold-mines, or on the coffee estates in the Wynaad.

Their notions of emigration are limited to pushing eastwards the margin of cultivation in the heavy forest along the foot of the ghauts, and this opening for the surplus population must soon be exhausted.

The Moplah makes a tough, hard-working, sober, useful cooly, whose advent would probably be welcomed in the Straits Settlements, Penang and Burmah; but amongst his virtues is one which militates against emigration, viz., a warm love of his native country, home and family.

I regret that I have not been able to think out any scheme by which Moplah emigration may be practically set in motion, and I can only commend the subject for consideration.

53. *Landlord-and-Tenant question not within scope of the report—Collector should be re-invested with power to grant permanent leases for forming homesteads on waste land.*—For the purposes of this report it is, as already stated, unnecessary to go into the vexed land-tenure question; but I would express a hope that legislation may be undertaken, at an early date, in the direction of re-investing the Collector with power to grant permanent leases of small plots of waste land, either with a view to its reclamation for growing paddy, or to enable actual cultivators to acquire a homestead in which they may dwell, and grow fruit-trees, without fear of eviction. The proposal was made by Mr. Logan in paragraphs 438 to 452 of his Report on Malabar Land Tenures, 1881–82, and was strongly supported by the first committee of 1884—*vide* paragraphs 54 and 55 of their report, and Chapter VI of their Draft Act. In the no-man's-land along the foot of the ghauts the power might have been, and may still be, exercised without hardship to any janmi, and with the greatest benefit to the squatters and adventurers, who are investing their labour there in bringing the jungle under cultivation.

I also venture to hope that, as a further preliminary step, it may be found practicable to give the Malabar tenant-cultivators occupancy rights over their homesteads, *i.e.*, dwelling houses and surrounding garden, at a rent not exceeding the Government assessment.

54. *Remarks on suppression of Outbreak.*—Before closing my report I must bear testimony to the able manner in which the outbreak was suppressed. That a gang of over ninety fanatics, so desperate that they slew their own wounded rather than suffer them to be captured, should be disposed of without a single soldier being killed or wounded, and without a casualty or accident of any sort to any innocent person, would, I am sure, have been pronounced by any one acquainted with the history of past outbreaks, to be utterly impossible. Had another gang to be

met under similar circumstances, the most consummate generalship could not hope to bring the outbreak to a happier conclusion. True that of the main gang only two were captured alive; but to avoid at least twenty prisoners being taken, some of the gang had to resort to the execrable crime of killing those of their comrades who were not mortally wounded. The Moplahs as a body, if they can be brought to believe the truth that this really occurred, would not hesitate to own their belief that such conduct could merit no other doom than everlasting fire.

No greater blow could have been dealt to the fanatical spirit which prompts these outbreaks than the two-fold mortification, *first*, that the criminals did not succeed in showing their prowess upon the bodies of those whom they choose to regard as 'the enemy,' and, *second*, that more than a score of them perished, not by the hand of the infidel, but by the hands of their own friends and co-religionists. Captain Chads and Captain Layton may well be proud, not only of the fine marching power of their detachments, but of their splendid shooting at long range.

It was not the fault of the men that they were providentially deprived of the excitement of a hand-to-hand encounter. In the interests of future peace and quiet it is, I think, a matter for unqualified congratulation that so alarming an outbreak should have been so promptly quelled without blood-shed on the Government side.

55. *Compensation to Troops for damage to uniform recommended.*—The only reward which the British troops appear likely to get for three days' extreme toil is the ruin of the men's uniforms from sleeping on the ground. It would be a graceful act if Government could see its way to compensate the men for this loss.

56. *Dark Lanterns should be provided for Night-marching.*—I would urge that for night-marching the detachments should be furnished with a supply of dark lanterns, so that the men may be in the dark while the road-sides are illumined. I made the suggestion in 1873, but it was not attended to. Twelve dark lanterns, which would cost but a trifle, would add greatly to the safety and comfort of night-marching.

It cannot be predicted that the Moplah fanatic will always adhere to what have hitherto been his invariable tactics, and the song (appendix V) shows that he is acquainted with surer methods of doing mischief.

57. *The Special Police Force—Some transport requisite.*—From a report by Mr. Fawcett Government has, I believe, been placed sufficiently in possession of the career of the second gang, and has acknowledged the good service done by Mr. Fawcett, District Superintendent of Police, his Assistant Mr. Wilkinson, and the Special Police Force, in pursuing and capturing, or putting an end to, the remnant of the fanatics. The statements appended to my report of April 10th show how the survivors became detached from the main body. There are few officers who could have endured the continued marching and exposure to fever, for which Mr. Fawcett and Mr. Wilkinson happily appear none the worse.

The Special Police Force has shown remarkable marching power, and the cheerful way in which the men have borne long marches, short commons, and exposure by day and night, deserve warm praise. I think I ought to bring to notice that the Force has no sort of transport. The men are absolutely dependent on what each can carry with him, and on such food as they may be able to get at the end of a march. In the Chembrasséri jungles it was often difficult to provide them with one indifferent meal a day. The Force should be supplied with light metal-cooking vessels and eating-bowls, fitting one inside another, telescopewise. When out in camp they should be allowed biscuit and coffee in the early morning.

To carry this moderate amount of kit, and some spare ammunition, the Force should be provided either with six or eight mules, or with an equivalent number of permanent porters.

Given officers whom the men know and trust, the Force is, in my opinion, quite competent and fit to deal with small outbreaks, and is invaluable for following fanatics and driving them to bay. It is not right that the Force should be left to the risk of being crippled for want of transport to carry a few indispensable necessaries.

58. *Apology.*—I am conscious that what I have written above is pessimistic in tone, barren of useful suggestions, and disappointing in bringing nothing new to light; but I have had to take facts as I found them, and shall cordially rejoice if wiser heads than mine can devise any novel measures whereby Moplah outbreaks may be made to cease out of the land.

Postscript.—Since sending the above report to the Press I have received (on May 11th) G.O., No. 791, Judicial, dated 30th April 1896.

2. With reference to paragraph 2, I can only suggest that, under the special circumstances, the Local Boards should be assisted by a grant from Provincial Funds.

3. Paragraphs 3 and 4 render portions of my report superfluous, but I have not thought it necessary to recast what I have written.

H. M. W.

Letter from the District Magistrate of Malabar, No. C-Camp, dated 6th May 1895.

Abstract.—Reporting death of prisoner No. 21, Chakkala Kunnan Kunhiyan.

From J. HEWETSON, Esq., Acting District Magistrate of Malabar, to the Chief Secretary to Government, dated Camp, Perintalmanna, 7th May 1896, No. D—Camp.

In continuation of my report, dated the 2nd instant, No. A—Camp, I have the honour to forward a list of enclosures accompanying my report and copies and translations of statements therein referred to, as also a list showing my recommendation in the case of persons under arrest. To facilitate reference, the numbers of statements bearing on each man's case are noted against each.

Enclosures.

List of Enclosures to Malabar District Magistrate's letter, No. A—Camp, dated 2nd May 1896.

1. Copy of Special Assistant Magistrate's report, dated 6th April 1896, with three enclosures	4 (already despatched).
2. List of persons about whom recommendations have been made	1
3. Copies of statements and translations, Nos. 11, 13, 20, 31, 66, 72, 78, 79, 83, 87, 100, 103, 105, 106, 112, 113, 118, 122, 126, 131, 135, 137, 138, 139, 140, 170, 208, 209, 268, 269, 276, 296, 298, 308, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 328, 330, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 390.	51 in number.
Total ..	56

List of persons under arrest in connection with the recent Mappila outbreak regarding whom recommendations have been made to Government in Malabar District Magistrates' letters, No. A.—Camp, dated 2nd May 1896.

No. in List.	Name.	Residence.		Nature of the recommendation.	No. of the statement having a bearing on each man's case.
		Amsam.	Desam.		
1	Kocha Kayan Moidin Kutti Mussaliar ..	Túvúr	Túvúr	Recommended to be deported	Nos. 308, 170, 298, 135, 139, 390.
2	Kappa Kunnan Mootha	Chembrasséri ..	Trikunnasséri ..	Do.	„ 209, 296, 112, 136, 137, also 298.
3	Pottemmal Unni Mammad ..	Porúr	Todiyapulam ..	Do.	„ 131, 140, 276, 209, also 298.
4	Alingal Aidru	Chembrasséri ..	Pariyangád ..	Do.	„ 268, 269, 122.
5	Aruviralan Mootha	Do.	Vellayúr	Do.	„ 13, 377.
6	Cheruman Raman	Manjéri	Pandalúr	Do.	„ 11, 79, 87.
7	Puzhuthini Kunháyu ..	Chembrassári ..	Vellayúr	Do.	„ 378.
10	Mattummal Veeran	Manjéri	Pandalúr	Do.	„ 319, 318, 317, 320, 321, 323, 87, 383, 126, 31, 138.
12	Veluthedath Moidin	Do.	Anakayam	Do.	„ 330, 20, 328.
20	Arakkaparamban Ayulla ..	Arakaparamba ..	Alanallúr	Released for want of evidence.	
21	Chakkala Kunnan Kunhiyan ..	Chembrasséri ..	Chembrasséri ..	Recommended to be released on discharge from hospital.	No. 100, since dead.
23	Mattummal Moidu or Moidin ..	Manjéri	Pandalúr	Recommended to be sent to the Reformatory.	No. 87.
24	Kaithavalappan Kunholan ..	Chembrasséri ..	Vellayúr	Recommended to be deported	Nos. 103, 330, 208, 83, 105.
25	Aruviralan Áthoyi	Do.	Do.	Do.	„ 78, 381, 278.
26	Naipadath Kunhunnien ..	Manjéri	Pandalúr	Do.	„ 60, 322, 106, 113.
27	Ambat Aidrose	Yettattúr	Karkitakam Kunnu ..	Do.	No. 379.
29	Kundur Ayammad Kutti Malla	Porúr	Todiyapulam	Released for want of evidence.	
30	Maliyakkal Moyan Kutti	Do.	Do.	Do.	

From J. HEWETSON, Esq , I.C.S., Acting District Magistrate, Malabar, to the Chief Secretary to Government, dated Camp, Perintalmanna, 8th May 1896, No. E-Camp.

In continuation of my report, No. A-Camp, dated 2nd instant, I have the honour to report on the cases of the men in custody not dealt with in that report.

2. *No.* 8, *Kuttipaliyan Moidin Kutti.*—Three witnesses (321, 324 and 326) saw this man with the gang on the afternoon of the 29th February; he (129) alleges that he went to Manjéri to pay his kist to the adhigari, but the adhigari (398) denies having seen him that day, and that on his return he watched Arimbra Nair's house and stayed there until Tuesday, the 3rd March. Arimbra Nair (399) supports him to a certain extent, but as he (Arimbra Nair) was absent from his house on Saturday afternoon there was time for the prisoner to join the gang and return before Arimbra Nair returned to his house. The boy Moidu denies having seen prisoner with the gang, but as there were about 100 men in the gang this does not help the prisoner much. There seems to be no doubt that the prisoner was with the gang on Saturday afternoon, for no reason is assigned for the three witnesses giving false evidence. I recommend that he be deported.

3. *No.* 9, *Kuttipaliyan Ahmed.*— This prisoner is a brother of No. 8. Five witnesses (318, 321, 324, 326 and 87) saw this man with the gang on the Saturday afternoon. The prisoner (95 and 132) says he was on guard at Udambath house on the Saturday and that he only left it to give information to the authorities and to gather further information under Inspector Chekkutti's orders. The Inspector (401) does not recognise the prisoner, but says that he sent some Mappillas to get information. K. Ali Ammu (320), principal guard at the Udambath house, says he saw the prisoner when the fanatics passed and that immediately afterwards he (the prisoner) went away to give information. The prisoner seems to have played a double part and to have been really spying on the troops when he was pretending to give information. Moidu (87) saw him eating with the fanatics on the Ottupara rock. I think that he should be deported.

4. *No.* 11, *Karangadan Ayamed.*—Five witnesses (318, 321, 323, 324 and 87) saw this man with the gang and he was one of the men who ate with the gang at the Ottupara rock Prisoner (125) pleads *alibi* and says he was on duty at the Udambath house and went with information to Inspector Chekkutti, who (401) admits seeing the prisoner and sending him for information but says he did not see the prisoner after 5 P.M. There can be no doubt that this man played the same double game as No. 9, and I recommend that he be deported.

5. *No.* 13, *Nairianiparambath Ossan Moidin Kutti.*—This boy had carried a basket from Pándikád to Pandalúr temple and was arrested by Inspector Chekkutti because he left the temple twice and looked a little excited when he came back (statement 403). His leaving the temple for a short time can be accounted for naturally, and as there is no other evidence against him I have released him from custody.

6. *No.* 14, *Chithrampalli Mootha.*—Three witnesses (318, 325 and 326) saw this man with the gang on Saturday, the 29th February. He pleads an *alibi*, but calls no witnesses to prove it. He also says that Govinda Variar is on bad terms with him and has induced two men to complain against him, but neither Govinda Variar nor the two men named are among the witnesses against the prisoner. The alleged enmity is rather fanciful, for the prisoner was only summoned as a witness against Govinda Variar in an assault case and as the case was compromised he was probably never examined. The boy Moidu (414) did not see the prisoner with the gang, but his failure to see him is not of much value. I recommend that this prisoner be deported.

7. *No.* 15, *Kannath Pari.*—Two witnesses (323 and 326) saw this man with the gang. He says he was laid up with a boil on his leg and was unable to go out at the time in question. He tells a story of enmity between himself and one Unni Mammu, but the enmity, even if true, seems to have no bearing on the case, as Unni Mammu is not one of the witnesses against him. Moidu (414) did not see this man with the gang. There is no reason to doubt the evidence of the two men who speak against him, and I recommend that he be deported.

8. *No.* 16, *Talakkolath Ahmed.*—The same two witnesses (323 and 326) give evidence against this man. He says that his father died only four days before the outbreak and therefore he is not likely to have gone out, but this argument does not seem to be worth much. He also sets up a plea of enmity which seems to have nothing to do with the case. As there is no reason to disbelieve the evidence of the two witnesses, I recommend that he be deported.

9. *No.* 17, *Pappadathil Mammu.*—Four witnesses (318, 321, 322 and 324) saw this man with the gang; 318 saw him carrying a chopper and 324 saw him speaking to other members of the gang. Arimbra Nair (396), called as a defence witness, says that the prisoner came to him that day to pay his rent but left him to join the gang at the Udambath house, which is about a quarter of a mile from Arimbra Nair's. Accused's statement is No. 124. The defence witness confirms the prosecution witnesses and I therefore recommend that this man be deported.

10. *No.* 18, *Kazhukunnummal Chekkutti.*—This is one of the men proved to have had supper on the Ottupara rock by Moidu (87). Moidin Kutti Mulla (318) also saw him with the gang carrying a gun. Prisoner (123 and 412) says he was on guard at the Manjéri palace on the 29th February and went with Narayanan Nair to Vettikode and thence returned home. Narayanan Nair (395) to a certain extent confirms this and says Chekkutti left him at 4 P.M. when they were quite close to the Udambath house. The chief guard at the Manjéri temple (328) also gives evidence and proves that Chekkutti came without orders to the temple. A song book bearing this accused's name was picked up in the Manjéri temple on the 1st of March: the prisoner can only account for this by supposing that his enemies wrote his name in the book. It appears that a half-brother of Inspector Chekkutti has bought some land on which this prisoner holds a mortgage of Rs. 100, but this is no reason for the Inspector or his brother to concoct a case, and as a matter of fact the evidence is quite independent of Inspector Chekkutti. I recommend that this man be deported.

11. *No.* 19, *Parakkadan Ahmed Haji.*—Three of this man's friends were killed at the Manjéri temple and there is evidence that the prisoner went after them to the temple, but as he arrived after the firing had begun he went quietly home again. There is also evidence that he had "broken his fast" during the day time, and in Ramazan this must mean that he had determined to die. The prisoner's *alibi* is disproved by his own mother, who admits that he left his house on the morning of the 1st March and she thought he had gone to see the battle. The prisoner alleges that the adhigari is his enemy, but it was the Menon who first set the authorities in motion. The prisoner's statement is 408 and the witnesses' 406, 407, 409, 411 and 415. I recommend that this prisoner be deported.

12. *No.* 22, *Ossan Unnien.*—Mr. Sheehan (97), European head constable, arrested this man as his movements suggested that he was a spy. No evidence has been obtained against him and it appears that he is subject to fits and rather weak-minded. I have released him.

13. *No.* 28, *Tayyil Alivi.*—The Melattur adhigari (116) says that this prisoner is a respectable man and announced that he was going to see his landlord at Palghat and then to Mecca He was arrested at Pattambi railway station with Rs. 220 in his possession and it was supposed that he might have been sent to procure arms for the fanatics. As there is no evidence against him, I have released him.

14. *No.* 31, *Kottapadan Mammi.*—This prisoner (286) tried to get a knife made by several blacksmiths, but they all refused to make it, evidently because the description given resembled a war-knife. One of the blacksmiths (281) has given evidence and drawn a sketch of the sort of knife the prisoner wanted him to make. Three beggar-women (291, 292, 293) say that they actually saw this man with the second or smaller gang, but the wounded man Kunhayu (400) denies that Mammi was ever with his gang. His denial is not worth much, for he has undoubtedly told lies on other points. Putting aside the women's evidence, I think that prisoner should be deported for his attempt to get a war-knife made.

15. *No.* 32, *Pottayil Mammad Mussaliar.*—This man was visited by Kochu Kayan Mussaliar (Prisoner No. 1) and used to visit K. Mootha (Prisoner No. 2). K. Kunhappa (282) saw four of the fanatics go into this man's house on the 27th February, but there seems to be no evidence that the prisoner was in the house at the

time, and he himself says he was in his cowshed. Prisoner No. 3, Unni Mammad, mentioned this prisoner as having agreed to join in an outbreak (276). C. Mammad (297), a cousin of the prisoner, found him hiding in his house and afraid of the information that Mootha might give against him. After this the prisoner went away to Kundotti and can give no better reason for doing so than that he wished to tell the Kundotti Tangal that the fanatics had passed his house. He pretends to belong to the Kundotti faction, but his friendship with Kochu Kayan Mussaliar and Mootha disprove this. This prisoner fully intended to go out, and I recommend that he be deported.

16. *No.* 33, *Peedikaparamban Marakkarutti.*—Two witnesses (217 and 218) say that this prisoner gave the rioters information of the movements of the troops, but the evidence of another man (303) shows that one of these witnesses did not at first know the name of the man who gave information. The prisoner himself (289) says that he was not in his house at the time, but was two miles away burning a clearing that adjoins a forest reserve. Kunju Nambiar (302), a forest guard, proves that the prisoner was at the clearing from 9-30 A.M. to 1-30 P.M. and so could not have been at his house at noon. Witness No. 301 saw the prisoner going out with a chopper in the morning and says the prisoner did not return until the evening. The witness also says that the name of the man who shouted out about the troops was not known at the time. Witness No. 299 also says that the man's name was not known at the time and further says that Ramunni Nair (217) is on bad terms with the prisoner. There is thus no satisfactory evidence against this man, but as there is some evidence I leave the case for the orders of Government and have not released him myself.

17. *No.* 34, *Thechiyodan Unni Ayamed.*—K. Sankaran Nair (299) says he saw this man with the fanatics and that he remonstrated with them for stealing gold and silver, and that then the leaders of the Mappillas took the jewels from the prisoner and returned them. It can hardly be believed that a Nair would have had the courage to act in this way. Chayicha Panikkar (No. 300) says that the fanatics met him and threatened to kill him and that he was released on the intercession of the prisoner, who was with the gang. This witness mentioned the fact to no one for five or six days and then told a man with whom the prisoner (117) says he is on bad terms. It seems probable that the evidence against this man is due to enmity and I recommend that he be released.

18. *No.* 35, *Kunnummal Ahmed.*—This man is alleged by Achutan Nair (312) to have talked to the fanatics at the house of his father, Koman Nair, on the morning of February 29th. Velu Nair (391), brother of Achutan Nair, says that his brother Achutan was not at the place at the time, but it is quite possible that there is no real contradiction between the two, for Achutan says he left the house on Friday night to watch a field and went away to Manjéri to give information without returning to the house. However, from Velu's evidence it would appear that Achutan has been exaggerating, and that if the prisoner was near the place at all he went merely to look on. The prisoner (405) says that he went away to Chembrasséri two days before the Ramazan began (February 13th) and only returned home on the last day of that month (March 15th). He also alleges a quarrel with Koman Nair, father of the witness, over a boundary. I recommend that this prisoner be released.

19. The last recommendation relates to a man who has not been arrested—the Túvúr Tangal, Kottakuth Imbichi Koya Tangal. This Tangal lives on the mosque land as did Kochu Kayan Mussaliar (prisoner No. 1) and Matathil Mussaliar Unni Koya (No. 37 in Enclosure A) who was killed at Manjéri. The police constable (390) who went to arrest Kochu Kayan Mussaliar proves that the Tangal went with the Mussaliar to the Moulhud and the mosque that evening and there can be no doubt that he was fully cognisant of the designs of the fanatics. The Assistant Superintendent, Mr. Wilkinson (No. 416), gives evidence that the Tangal was twice sent out to get information and that on both occasions he did nothing. The evidence of Chettiarammal Kammu (No. 8) also gives further details of what happened on the first of these occasions, but it hardly seems to bear out the remarks of the Special Assistant Magistrate. There can, I think, be no doubt that this Tangal was cognisant of and abetted the outbreak and if he is not deported there will probably be further trouble. I therefore recommend that be be arrested and deported.

From J. HEWETSON, Esq., Acting District Magistrate, Malabar, to the Chief Secretary to Government, dated Calicut, 18th May 1896, Ref. on Cur. No. 1211—M-96.

In continuation of my report, dated the 8th instant, No. E—Camp, I have the honour to forward a list of enclosures accompanying my report and copies and translations of statements therein referred to, as also a list showing my recommendation in the case of persons under arrest. To facilitate reference the numbers of statements bearing on each man's case are noted against each.

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Enclosures.

From J. T. GILLESPIE, Esq., Acting Special Assistant Magistrate, to the District Magistrate of Malabar, dated Calicut, 5th May 1896, No. 49—M-96.

In continuation of my report, No. 47, dated 26th April 1896, I have the honour to report, for the orders of Government, the result of my inquiries in the cases of prisoners Nos. 8, 9, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 22, 28, 31, 32, 33, 34 and 35 in the List B which formed an enclosure to the former report.

2. Three witnesses have deposed to having seen No. 8 with the gang of fanatics at different places. E. Govinda Variar states (statement No. 321) that he saw him with them on the way from the Arimbra Nair's house to Pandalúr. Udambath Ráru Nair says (statement No. 324) that he saw him with them at Udambath house and Kilea Mannil Ahmed that he saw him with them at Nârâs mana. The prisoner's plea is *alibi*. He states (statement No. 129) that on the forenoon of the 29th February he went to Manjéri to pay his kist-money—three annas and one pie—for a little modan cultivation; that the Manjéri adhigari was in such a state of collapse from terror that he refused to take the money and asked the prisoner to come another day; that on his way back he was called by Kunhunni Arimbra Nair and asked to guard the latter's house and that he did so from 2 naligas to sunset (about 5-30 P.M.), on the 29th February till the following Tuesday (the 3rd March): *vide* statement No. 129. This *alibi* is full of loopholes. The Manjéri adhigari denies having seen the prisoner at all on the day in question (*vide* statement No. 398), and it is moreover incredible that the prisoner should have gone to Manjéri to pay his kist during such a reign of excitement and terror as prevailed on the 29th February. Kunhunni Arimbra Nair says (statement No. 399) that he left the prisoner on guard at his house at about noon on the 29th February and that when he came back there at sunset he found him there. This statement does not clash with those of the witnesses who maintain that they saw the prisoner in the gang. He was seen with the gang early on the afternoon of the 29th February after the visit to Arimbra Nair's house and after Kunhunni Arimbra Nair had gone to join the troops at Pandalúr; and he could easily have deserted the gang again and been back at Arimbra Nair's house before sunset. The boy Máttummal Moidu (prisoner No. 23), who, I believe, has spoken nothing but the truth throughout, denies having seen the prisoner, with whom he was already acquainted, in the company of the fanatics; but this is easily explained by the fact that the gang numbered over 100 when the prisoner joined it and the prisoner was only in it for a short time, and therefore it would be quite possible—nay, highly probable—that he should have escaped the lad Moidu's notice. I do not think that there can be any reasonable doubt that the prisoner, like his brother No. 9 (*vide* the succeeding paragraph), accompanied the gang for a part of its course on the afternoon of the 29th February. If you concur with my finding, the prisoner must be removed from the district.

3. It is clearly established that No. 9 went with the fanatics as they passed through Pandalúr on the afternoon of Saturday, the 29th February. Moidin Kutti Mulla saw the prisoner in the gang at Veluthédath para (rock). Govinda Variar saw him with the gang on the march from the Arimbra Nair's house to Pandalúr temple. Ráru Nair saw him in the gang at Udambath house. K. Ahmed saw him in the gang at Nârâs mana where he (Ahmed) was doing duty as a guard. Last, not least, the boy Máttummal Moidu (prisoner No. 23), whose word is open to no shadow of suspicion, names

No. 9 as one of the three Mappillas who took meals with the gang at Ottupara rock on the night of the 29th February and who went away immediately after supper promising to rejoin a little later on. The prisoner himself, pleading *alibi*, says that he was on guard at Udambath house on the 29th February and only left it under the orders of Udambath Kutti Kunhan Nair to go and inform the authorities at Pandalúr temple that the fanatics had visited Udambath house. Ráru Nair, one of the inmates of Udambath house, swears that the prisoner was not a guard at the house that day, but that he went there in the company of the fanatics. K. Ali Ammu, the principal guard at Udambath house, states (statement No. 320) that he saw the prisoner at Udambath house when the fanatics passed and that he (the prisoner) went immediately afterwards to give information to Inspector Chekkutti at Pandalúr temple. Inspector Chekkutti does not know the prisoner. He says (statement No. 401) that several Mappillas whom he did not know brought him information while the troops were at Pandalúr and that he sent some of them (among them prisoner No. 11) out to gather further information. The prisoner may, as he contends, have been one of these; but, granting that he was, this in no way rebuts the evidence on record against him. He was not, as he avers, on guard at Udambath house, but went there in the wake of the fanatics. Thence, to save his own skin, he may have accompanied Udambath Raman Nair when the latter went to inform the Police Inspector of the visit paid by the fanatics to Udambath house and may have followed up the gang at Inspector Chekkutti's request to get more information of their movements. But instead of giving the information at once after again coming up with the gang he went some way in their midst as one of their number and behaved really more as a spy for the gang on the movements of the troops than as a spy for the authorities on the movements of the fanatics. The boy Moidu's statement—which I implicity believe—leaves no doubt whatever that the prisoner fed with the fanatics at Ottupara on the night of the 29th February, and therefore, even if he did leave the gang, as he says, three times to visit the authorities at Pandalúr, this can only be regarded as a stroke of policy intended to provide materials for his subsequent defence; and it is to be presumed that the information which he gave the fanatics of the whereabouts and intentions of the troops was more useful to them than any which he may have given us concerning them. The prisoner thus actively assisted the fanatics and possibly received something from them in return in addition to the food of which he partook with them. Though there is no evidence to support the latter supposition, it is reasonable to infer from the tactics adopted by the prisoner that he was not at heart a fanatic—not an intending "*sahid*"—but that he went with the gang for the sake of what he might gain thereby. Be this as it may, the prisoner certainly figured as one of the gang and deserves deportation. I am of opinion that he should be permanently removed from the district.

4. The case of prisoner No. 11 is in all respects on a parallel with that of prisoner No. 9 which has been dealt with in the preceding paragraph. He was seen in the company of the fanatics on the 29th February by Moidin Kutti Mulla, E. Govinda Variar, P. Athan Moyan and Udambath Ráru Nair. The boy Máttummal Moidu (prisoner No. 23) states that the prisoner had supper with the gang at Ottupara on the night of the 29th February and that immediately afterwards he went away with prisoners Nos. 9 and 18 saying that he would rejoin later on. The prisoner's plea is *alibi*. He maintains that he was doing guard duty at Udambath house when the fanatics went there and that he only left that place to put himself at Police Inspector Chekkutti's service and to render assistance to the authorities by reporting the movements of the fanatics. Udambath Ráru Nair denies that the prisoner was a guard at his house on the 29th February and maintains that he went to the house in the company of the fanatics. Police Inspector Chekkutti supports the prisoner's statement to a certain extent. He says that he sent the prisoner and two or three other Mappillas out from Pandalúr to act as spies on the gang; that they brought back information of its whereabouts twice; that again at about 5 P.M., he sent them out a third time, but that they did not return. All that has been said about prisoner No. 9 applies with equal force to this prisoner also. That the two men acted in concert on the 29th February is pretty certain and is borne out by the statement of the boy Moidu that after having had food with the "offenders" at Ottupara rock they left the gang again together, promising to rejoin later on. There can be no

doubt that the two prisoners Nos. 9 and 11 played a double game on the evening of the 29th February and that, while pretending to assist the authorities, they were actually in friendly communication with the fanatics. It may be that the prisoner never intended to take up his stand with the fanatics and die with them, but it is none the less certain that he actively sympathised with them, joined on friendly terms with them and received hospitality at their hands. It would not be at all safe to set him at liberty. I recommend that he be deported.

5. I am inclined to think that all these Mappillas who joined the fanatics on the afternoon of the 29th February and deserted them the same night did so more in the hope of obtaining from them some of the stolen property from the looted houses which they must have carried with them than with any intention of dying as *sahids*. Otherwise, where did all the money stolen by the fanatics go to? They did not make any purchases with it and yet no money was found in their possession after their fall at Manjéri temple on the 1st March. I can only explain the disappearance of all this loot by supposing that the deserters carried it off with them on the night of Saturday, the 29th February. However, no evidence that such was the case is up to now forthcoming.

6. No. 13 is a barber boy belonging to Kuruva amsam of Walavanad taluk. He was present with the district officials and the troops at Pandalúr temple on the afternoon of the 29th February and was observed to leave the temple in a rather suspicious manner once or twice, taking the direction of the fanatics' position and returning again after a short interval. When questioned, he spoke rather incoherently and seemed to be labouring under a suppressed excitement. His conduct and bearing were so suspicious that he was put under arrest at once. Inquiries have, however, failed to elicit anything to indicate that the prisoner in any way assisted the fanatics or ever joined them. Had he done either, the chances are that some evidence to prove it would be forthcoming, and as there is none it must be assumed that the prisoner, if his feelings were excited by the proximity of the *sahids*, was arrested before he was completely carried away by them. The prisoner denies having ever left Pandalúr temple on the afternoon in question. Even suppose that he did leave it for a short interval, this could be easily explained in a more natural way than by inferring that he went to visit the fanatics' camp. Inquiry has failed to elicit any evidence to prove that he approached the gang, and it would be a rather far-fetched belief to hold that he did so. I recommend that he be released.

7. No. 14 was seen and identified as one of the gang on the afternoon of the 29th February by (*a*) Moidin Kutti Mulla at Veluthédath para where the fanatics halted to bathe; (*b*) by K. Abdulla at the same place; (*c*) K. Ahmed at Nârâs mana. Like all his fellow-prisoners he pleads *alibi*. He states that he left Manjéri amsam at dawn on the 29th February to go to Kottakkal shandy; that he returned home at sunset and spent all that night and the Sunday following (1st March) in his own house. The *alibi* is weak in that the prisoner cannot give the name of the other Mappilla who is said to have accompanied him to the shandy nor of the man at Kottakkal to whom he sold skins. Moreover, it is incredible that he should have remained quiet in his house on Saturday night and Sunday—a time when excitement was running very high and every one was anxious to learn the latest tidings. The prisoner says (statement No. 127) that he has been falsely implicated by Govinda Variar, because he once gave evidence against the latter in a criminal case before the Manjéri Sub-Magistrate. The truth of this appears to be that Govinda Variar prosecuted a Mappilla called V. Athan Moyan for assault four or five years ago; that the prisoner was called as a witness for the defence by Athan Moyan; but that in all probability he was never examined as a witness since the case eventually ended in a compromise. At all events, Govinda Variar (statement No. 397), though he did identify several Mappillas in the gang of fanatics, makes no mention of this prisoner whatever. I consider that the plea of enmity has not been established and I see not the least reason to mistrust the statements of Moidin Kutti Mulla, K. Abdulla and K. Ahmed (statements Nos. 318, 325, 326). True the boy Moidu (prisoner No. 23) says (statement No. 414) that he does not remember having seen the prisoner with the fanatics; but considering that the gang numbered more than 100 when the prisoner joined and that the majority of its members were entire strangers to Moidu, it is scarcely to be expected that he

should be able to recollect all of them after an interval of two months, even assuming that he had an opportunity of actually setting eyes on all. I think that this prisoner, too, must be removed from the district. He is said to have been one of the associates of Manjipalli Ahmed Kutti who was killed at Manjéri temple (*vide* No. 58 in Enclosure A to former report) and who used to terrorise the people of Pandalúr and the surrounding tracts and to make a comfortable livelihood by levying black-mail from them. This makes it all the more probable that he should go with the fanatics, thus following in the footsteps of his leader for the last time.

8. Two witnesses have spoken to having seen prisoner No. 15 in company with the fanatics. P. Athan Moyan saw him in the gang just outside Pandalúr temple; and K. Ahmed, the guard of Nârâs mana, which was visited by the fanatics, saw the prisoner with them there. The prisoner maintains (statement No. 133) that he was lying in bed incapable of movement by reason of a boil at the time that he is said to have been with the fanatics. He was arrested by Police Inspectors Chekkutti, Cholayil Ahmed Kutti and Cholayil Unni Mammu on the 1st March. He explains his arrest by a cock-and-bull story of enmity between him and Cholayil Unni Mammu which I do not believe. Like the majority of such concoctions the story, if true, would afford him a motive for trying to bring his alleged enemy into trouble rather than the reverse. The boy Moidu (statement No. 414, prisoner No. 23) does not recollect having seen the prisoner with the fanatics; but since Moidu and he are strangers this circumstance is susceptible of explanation as in the case of prisoner No. 14 (*vide* paragraph 7 *supra*). I am quite satisfied that this prisoner, too, joined the fanatics in their march through Pandalúr on the afternoon of the 29th February. He, too, is said to have been a hanger-on of Manjipalli Ahmed Kutti, the ring-leader of those who joined the gang from Pandalúr. I am of opinion that he should be permanently removed from the district.

9. The evidence against No. 16 is precisely the same as that against No. 15 (*vide* the preceding paragraph). He was seen with the fanatics by P. Athan Moyan and K. Ahmed, whose statements I see no reason to doubt. The only defence which the prisoner sets up is that, as his father died only four days before the 29th February, it is not probable that he should join in an outbreak so soon after his affliction; but seeing that Manjipalli Ahmed Kutti, the leader of the Pandalúr section of the fanatics, was not restrained from joining the gang by the consideration that he had married a wife ten days previously, I do not think that the prisoner's plea is entitled to much weight. The prisoner, too, is said to have been one of Manjipalli Ahmed Kutti's associates in his career of high-handed oppression in and around Pandalúr, and this makes it all the more probable that the two should be found linked together in such an enterprise as the recent outbreak. The prisoner has no reasonable defence to offer. He tells a rambling and incoherent story of some enmity which exists between him and some one else—who the enemy is is not clear. The story is a transparent concoction got up expressly for the occasion. Of the prisoner's complicity in the outbreak there is very little room for doubt. I strongly recommend that he be deported.

10. No. 17 was identified as one of the gang by four different witnesses. Moidin Kutti Mulla saw him in the gang at Veluthédath para. E. Govinda Variar and C. Krishnan Nair saw him in the gang at Pandalúr temple, whilst Udambath Ráru Nair saw him in the gang at Udambath house. The prisoner pleads *alibi*. He says (statement No. 124) that on the 29th February he went early in the morning to the Arimbra Nair's house and that he remained there all day settling his accounts with his landlord, Govinda Arimbra Nair. The latter states that the prisoner did actually go to his house for a settlement of accounts on the day in question; that he was there when the fanatics passed by at noon and that he immediately went after them, saying that he, too, was going to Udambath house whither the gang had gone (*vide* statement No. 396). The *alibi* set up by the prisoner therefore falls to the ground. In addition to the plea of *alibi* the prisoner lays claim to enmity with several persons. Amongst these enemies he tries to include all whom he supposed likely to have given evidence incriminating him and he has succeeded in naming one out of the four. The stories told by the prisoner to explain the cause of enmity plainly bear the stamp of myths. However, it suffices that Govinda Arimbra Nair,

to whom the prisoner himself can attribute no hostile motives, completely upsets the plea of *alibi* by stating that the prisoner left his house with the avowed intention of joining the fanatics at Udambath house (*vide* statement No. 396). A very significant fact is that prisoner's younger brother Pokkoo and his nephews Kunhokker and Koya (Nos. 55, 53 and 54) in List A were shot at Manjéri temple on the 1st March. The evidence that the prisoner joined in the march with the fanatics on the 29th February is overwhelming. He certainly must be removed from the district. To set him at liberty would be to create a standing menace to the public peace in these taluks.

11. Against prisoner No. 18 there is the clearest proof of guilt. He is one of the three whom the boy Moidu (prisoner No. 23) saw leaving the gang after having had meals at Ottupara (rock) with a promise to rejoin before morning. This statement of Moidu's I regard as quite sufficient to convict the prisoner of having joined the fanatics for a time. In addition there is the evidence of Moidin Kutti Mulla who swears to having identified the prisoner as one of the gang when it halted for a space at Veluthédath para. This prisoner, too, pleads *alibi* which though not entirely true is based on fact. He says that he was doing guard duty at Manjéri temple on the 29th February and that in the afternoon he left the temple at the request of Kochuda or Ochadi Narayanan Nair to escort him to his wife's house in Vettikode, that after doing so Narayanan Nair returned to the temple, whilst he the prisoner went home and threw open his doors as a refuge to the terrified Hindus of the neighbourhood (*vide* statement No. 128). Narayanan Nair says that the prisoner was not a guard at Manjéri temple at all, but that he went there unasked at about 10 A.M. on the 29th February (*vide* statement No. 395). This is corroborated by the statement of Veluthedath Chekk, who was the chief guard at the Manjéri temple. Narayana Nair further says that when he heard about noon that day, that the fanatics had gone to Pandalúr, he set out for his cultivation in Vettikode in order to get some one to guard it; that the prisoner went after him uninvited and accompanied him as far as a place called Manathipara close to Udambath house; that there they learned that the fanatics had left Udambath house and gone southward, and that Chekkutti, the prisoner, then left him saying that he was going home. This appears to be the truth of the case and there is nothing in it incompatible with the prisoner's having joined the fanatics at Veluthédath para and having gone on with them to the supper at Ottupara that night. There is also a strong piece of circumstantial evidence which goes to show that the prisoner had friendly intercourse with the fanatics. When we entered the Manjéri temple on the 1st of March a Mappilla song book was found there smeared with blood. On the fly-leaf of the book was the following inscription:—"എനഃടതുലൂക്ക കഞ്ചെരി അംശം പത്തൂരടെത്ത കഴിക്കുന്നിവൻ ചെയിക്കടി ബൊധിപ്പിക്കുന്ന സങ്കടം ഹരജി. ഉടനെ ഒരു മർപടി ഉണ്ടാകുഞ്ഞാൽ എനിക്കവളരെ സങ്കടം ഉണ്ട (The petition of complaint of Kazhu Kunnamal Chekkutti of Pandalúr desam of Manjéri amsam, Ernad taluk. It is a great grievance to me if an answer is not given at once"). There was besides this writing a lot of unintelligible characters and a Mappilla hieroglyphic of a signature scrawled over and over again as though the owner of the book had been practising hand-writing upon it. The only explanation which the prisoner can offer is that an enemy of his must have written his name in the book in order to get him into trouble. This does not explain how the book came to be found in the temple, but, accepting Moidu's statement that the prisoner joined the fanatics and was present at their final banquet at Ottupara on the night of 29th February, the circumstance is readily accounted for. The prisoner further alleges enmity as the reason for the charge against him. He states that a brother of Police Inspector Chekkutti owes him Rs. 100 and that the Police Inspector offered to get him out of trouble if he agreed to surrender the document without payment of the Rs. 100. It turns out on inquiry that the prisoner has merely a mortgage with possession for Rs. 100 on a piece of land now owned by Inspector Chekkutti's half-brother Chek (*vide* statements Nos. 401 and 412). This can in no way weaken the evidence of the prisoner's guilt with which neither Police Inspector Chekkutti nor his half-brother Chek is in any way connected. The evidence is unimpeachable. The prisoner must be removed from the district or else he is likely to prove a scourge to it at some future time. He is one who, having put his hand to the plough, turned back; and in Pandalúr he would know no peace until he completed what on this occasion he only began; and vindicated Islam by dying as a martyr for the faith.

12. No. 19 is an Irimbuzhi man who was arrested under your own orders on the 2nd March. On the morning of the 1st March at dawn two men from Irimbuzhi amsam, Pálakkaparambil Ahmed and Mootha, and a neighbour of theirs from Manjéri amsam, Taláppil Máyan (Nos. 82, 83 and 65 in Enclosure A to former report), ran up to the Manjéri temple and entered it and joined the fanatics after the cessation of the first fire from the treasury and finally perished there with the other fanatics, when the firing was resumed on the arrival of our forces under Captain Chads. This prisoner is a neighbour of the three Mappillas mentioned above and he is said to have followed them with the intention of joining the fanatics, but to have arrived at the temple just too late and to have perforce returned home again. On the morning of Sunday, the 1st March, K. Mammu was standing on a hill with some Hindus watching the temple where the fanatics were. He saw the three Mappillas mentioned above running towards the temple. Shortly afterwards the prisoner came up and asked if Mammu had seen Ahmed, Mootha and Moyan. Mammu said that they had left them shortly before. The prisoner, saying that they had joined the gang, ran towards the temple. Shortly afterwards after the fire on the temple had been re-opened Mammu saw the prisoner returning home hurriedly (*vide* statement No. 409). K. Mammad saw the prisoner in his shop conversing with the aforesaid Ahmed, Mootha and Moyan at 4 P.M. on Saturday, the 29th February, and again at dawn on the following Sunday (*vide* statement No. 410). It seems possible to draw but one conclusion from this evidence, namely, that the prisoner had arranged with Ahmed, Mootha and Moyan to go and join the fanatics at Manjéri temple, but that he arrived too late, though his fellow-conspirators were more successful in accomplishing their end. The prisoner pleads *alibi*. He maintains that he went to his house about dawn on the 1st March after having spent the preceding night elsewhere; and that he spent the whole of that day with the exception of a few minutes at noon in the house (*vide* statement No. 408). The prisoner's mother, however, completely overturns this defence; and not only so, but her statement goes far towards increasing the suspicion that the prisoner attempted to join the fanatics. She says that he left his house at dawn on the 1st March after having spent the previous night there and that she thought he was "going to see the battle." She ascertained afterwards (from the prisoner himself) that he had only been to teach children as usual (*vide* statement No. 415). (The prisoner is a Mulla by profession and earns a livelihood by teaching children Koran). Although the woman does her best to screen her son her statement is very damaging to the prisoner's case. The prisoner further pleads that the adhigari is his enemy and has implicated him falsely to satisfy his own private grudge. The story given to account for this enmity may be true or false (it would be difficult to ascertain the truth of it now); but granting that it is true it would scarcely furnish the adhigari with a sufficient motive for wishing to get the prisoner deported. But in any case the adhigari was not the prime mover in the arrest of the prisoner. The amsam Menon it was who first put the authorities on the prisoner's track; and the adhigari simply passed on the information given him by the Menon to the Tahsildar who communicated it to you, with the result that you sent the adhigari to arrest the prisoner (*vide* statements Nos. 406 and 407). E. Aidros, who first gave information of the prisoner's suspicious conduct to the Menon, was aware of the prisoner's conspiracy with Mootha, Ahmed and Moyan to join the fanatics and of his having started for Manjéri on the morning of the 1st March to fulfil his design; but Aidros has now retracted and refuses to give evidence against the prisoner (*vide* statement No. 411). We have here an instance of the great sympathy which exists between the Mappilla community and all intending *sahids* and of the consequent difficulty of procuring information from Mappillas. Aidros would never have told the Menon what he did concerning the prisoner had he not been certain that the latter had been killed at Manjéri. Now that he finds that the prisoner is still alive, he does his best to screen him from punishment. There can be but little doubt that the prisoner intended to join, and actually set out to join, the fanatics. I recommend that he be removed from the district. He is a Mulla and proportionally a man of influence. It is needless to point out that the teaching which he would disseminate amongst his pupils, were he set at liberty, would be of the most pernicious description and would have the most baneful influence on the Mappilla youth of his neighbourhood.

13. No. 22 is a barber of Túvúr amsam. He was arrested under suspicious circumstances by Mr. Sheehan, one of the European head constables of the special force (*vide* statement No. 97). The man was found prowling about in a manner which suggested that he was a spy sent out by the fanatics to watch the movements of the troops. Enquiry has, however, elicited nothing to show that the prisoner was in communication with the fanatics. He appears to be not quite sound in mind and to be subject to fits. This accounts sufficiently for the strangeness of the man's conduct at the time of his arrest. I recommend that he may be set at liberty.

14. No. 28 is a resident of Mélátttúr amsam in Walavanad taluk. On the 27th February, two days after the outbreak began, he was seen at Pattambi railway station. He was questioned by the police and as his answers were not satisfactory he was taken into custody and produced before the Cherpalcheri Sub-Magistrate. A sum of Rs. 220 and odd was found in his possession. He stated at first that he was going to Palghat and afterwards contradicted this by saying that he was bound for Mecca. It was therefore suspected that he was perhaps one of the fanatics commissioned to go to Native Cochin to purchase ammunition. The prisoner was fined Rs. 34–7–1 for the outbreak of 1894 on his property in Chembrasséri. This fine he had not paid. (His son has however paid it up since his father's arrest.) Enquiries have been made and they show that the prisoner had been talking of going to Mecca for three months before he was arrested; and that at the time of his arrest he had set out on the proposed pilgrimage but that he intended to go to Palghat first to see his landlord Appathura Pattar there. It is not probable that he was in league with the fanatics nor acquainted with their doings, though he must have known that an outbreak was on foot. In all probability his idea was to go to Mecca so as to avoid being fined again for the present outbreak and, if possible, to escape payment of the fine imposed upon him in connection with the outbreak of 1894. I have already recommended his release on bail (*vide* paragraph 87 of my former report). I now think that he may be set at liberty unconditionally.

15. The charge against prisoner No. 31 is that he made preparations to join the fanatics. His own statement (No. 286) seems to me to be sufficient to prove that he intended to join the fanatics and therefore to warrant his removal from the district under Act XX of 1859. The man was a guard at the Maranath Numbudripad's illom during the recent outbreak. For some days he failed for no ostensible reason to go to duty at the illom. During his absence from duty he endeavoured to get a knife made by several blacksmiths; but they all refused to make it on the ground that it was of a prohibited pattern. When the prisoner next put in an appearance at the Nambudri's illom, he was refused admittance on the ground that he had been with the fanatics (*vide* the statement of the guard Karumarote Mammu). Further, after the outbreak was suppressed, the prisoner went and warned the blacksmith Thala Chiriyan not to tell about his having ordered a knife, or that both of them would get into trouble (*vide* statement No. 281). The only other evidence against the prisoner is that of three Mappilla beggarwomen, Kunhirumma, Kunhathumma, and Kunhathu, who say that they saw the prisoner with Puzhuthini Kunhayu, the prisoner who was wounded by the police at Parambayil), and four other Mappillas one day about the 17th of Ramzan (2nd March). These statements I do not consider entitled to much weight, though Kunhayan's contradiction of them cannot count for much, seeing that he has told some most palpable falsehoods when questioned on other particulars (*vide* statement Nos. 378 and 400). I am of opinion that the prisoner's conduct, as described by himself, was sufficiently suspicious to warrant his removal from the district under Act XX of 1859. The knife which he made such strenuous efforts to procure must have been the prescribed *ayudhakatti* or war-knife, since all the blacksmiths whom he approached refused to make it. The blacksmith Thala Chiriyan has drawn an illustration of the sort of knife which the prisoner asked him to make, and it closely resembles the shape of the prohibited war-knife. The prisoner can have wanted this knife for one purpose only, *i.e.*, for the use of the fanatics whom he, in all probability, intended to join.

16. No. 32 did not actually "go out" with the fanatics, but he must have known about the conspiracy and there is the strongest suspicion of his complicity in its organisation. He admits having received visits from the ringleader Kochu Kayan

Mussaliar (prisoner No. 1) about the beginning of Ramzan and to have been on visiting terms with Kappa Kunnan Mootha (prisoner No. 2) up till the date of his arrest. Moreover, on the evening of the 27th February, the fanatics passed the prisoner's house in Trikunnasseri desam of Chembrasséri amsam and four of their number actually visited the house (the prisoner himself being then present). They were seen by K. Kunhappa (*vide* statement No. 282) coming out of the prisoner's prayer shed and going back to the fanatics. The prisoner was mentioned by Unni Mammad (prisoner No. 3) to Unni Kammu as one of the persons who agreed to join in the outbreak (*vide* statement No. 276). The prisoner holds lands on verumpattom, or simple lease, from P. Krishnan Nair of Wandúr, for which he has deposited Rs. 300 as caution money; and before the outbreak he importuned his landlord for the return of the money. This is a suspicious circumstance, denoting a preparation for bidding farewell to this life. A cousin of the prisoner, C. Mammad Kutti, went to the prisoner's house on the 28th February and found him concealing himself there. His explanation was that Mootha (prisoner No. 2) had incriminated him and that he was afraid of being arrested (*vide* statement Nos. 287 and 297). This would indicate a guilty conscience. The same night (the 28th February) the prisoner set out for his native place—Edappalam in Pórúr amsam—and thence the following day to Kundotti. He explains this move by saying that he went to Kundotti to give information to the Kundotti tangal that the fanatics had passed his (prisoner's) house, which is absurd. It is more credible that the prisoner was taken away to Kundotti by his relatives to keep him out of harm's way. At all events, he arrived at Kundotti on the 2nd March and stayed there till the 6th March, and he cannot offer any satisfactory explanation for his journey to, or stay at, Kundotti. He maintains that he is a *Kaikaran*, or disciple of the Kundotti tangal, and therefore above suspicion of having been connected with the outbreak. But his own admission that he was visited by Kochu Kayan Mussaliar and Kappa Kunnan Mootha (prisoners Nos. 1 and 2), who are Ponnani Kaikar, shows that he is a follower of the Ponnani tangal, by inclination at any rate, if not in name as well. There cannot be any doubt that the prisoner was in league with the conspirators and that his heart failed him at the last moment, and so he did not "go out." In all probability, his calculations were upset by the sudden arrest of the ringleaders and hence his indecision. His very terror of what his neighbour Mootha (prisoner No. 2) might disclose concerning his connection with the gang is indicative of his sense of guilt. The man cannot safely be allowed to remain in the district. He would be taunted with his chicken-heartedness, till he would be compelled to vindicate his character by a determination to die as a Sahid, for the faith on which he has now brought disgrace. I recommend that he be removed from the district.

17. No. 33 is suspected of having visited the fanatics when they were taking food at Ravunni Nair's house on the morning of Friday the 28th February, and of having given them information of the movements of the troops. The prisoner must, however, have been mistaken for some one else; for he has successfully established an *alibi*, viz., that he was two miles away at the time, at a place called Veerali Munda from 9–30 A.M. till 1–30 P.M. on the day in question, so that he could not have been at Ramunni Nair's kalam until after 2 o'clock, whereas the fanatics left the kalam at noon. It seems certain that some other man, and not the prisoner, was the friendly visitor of the gang on the occasion in question, and that Ramunni Nair and Krishnan Nair must have been mistaken in their identification of him. I recommend therefore that prisoner be released at once.

18. The evidence against Tachiyodan Unni Ahmed No. 34 is not satisfactory. The first witness is K. Sankaran Nair (*vide* statement No. 299). He states that he was in his house when the first gang of fanatics under the leadership of Punthiruthi Moidin Kutti Haji visited Parambayil house close by; that he saw the fanatics leaving that house carrying with them some jewels; that he went to P. Moidin Kutti Haji, the leader of the gang, and represented to him that *Sahids* had no use for jewels; and that the latter at once took the jewels from the prisoner, who was carrying them, and returned them to the owner of the house. This statement is too ridiculous to be accepted for a moment. Considering the way in which the Nairs of the district always bolt leaving their wives and children and property to the tender mercies of

the fanatics, it is incredible that this deponent should have endangered his life by expostulating with the leader of the fanatics when the jewels of a neighbour were being carried away. It is far more likely that K. Sankaran Nair, if in the neighbourhood at all at the time, was concealing himself in his house or in the surrounding jungle. The only other evidence against the prisoner is the statement of one Chayicha Panikkar, who says that on a Friday in *Kumbham*—February-March (probably the 28th February) he met the fanatics; that they laid hold of him and threatened to kill him; and that they finally let him go uninjured at the intercession of the prisoner who was one of the gang. This Chayicha Panikkar did not come and report the occurrence at the time nor did he give any information about it until the enquiry which followed the suppression of the outbreak had progressed considerably. This lays his statement open to grave suspicion. The prisoner himself says that he was in his house on the day he is said to have been with the fanatics and that he has been falsely implicated in the outbreak through the machinations of Payampadath Sankunni Nair with whom he is at enmity (*vide* statement No. 117). This seems quite probable considering the nature of the evidence in support of the charge against him. I do not think that there is sufficient ground to furnish any presumption that the prisoner is guilty of complicity in the outbreak. I recommend that the man be released.

19. Prisoner No. 35 lives close to the kalam of Palacheri Koman Nair, which the fanatics looted on the morning of the 29th February, just after the burning of the Karayi temple (*vide* paragraph 38 of my former report). Velu Nair, son of Koman Nair, who was in hiding in the compound of the kalam while the fanatics were searching for food in it, states that he saw the prisoner come from the east and stand looking on while the fanatics helped themselves to food. Several other witnesses have spoken to having seen the prisoner close to the gang on the occasion in question and there can be no doubt that he was there, though he stoutly maintains that he was absent in Chembrasséri amsam at the time. Even while admitting, however, that the prisoner was present at and witnessed the looting of Koman Nair's *kalam*, I am not inclined to infer that he sympathised in the least with the fanatics. I rather incline to the opinion that he was a mere curious spectator of the outrage which was being perpetrated. He said to V. Ahmed, one of the guards at the kalam, that it was a blessing that the fanatics had done no injury to Velu Nair while he was in their clutches, and this would go to show that the prisoner's sympathies were on the side of law and order. When one realises the circumstances under which the prisoner was seen near the gang, it seems the most natural thing in the world that he should have been there. A farm-house close to the prisoner's own house was being looted by a band of fanatics. What more natural, then, that the prisoner should leave his house in order to see what was going on? I certainly should have done so had I been in his place. And it cannot be laid to the prisoner's charge that he did not at once go and give information to the authorities, seeing that the authorities were then following closely on the heels of the offenders and were aware of all their misdeeds almost as soon as they were perpetrated. The statement of P. Achutan Nair (statement No. 312), the only witness who says that the prisoner held converse with the fanatics, cannot be relied on for a moment, for his brother Velu Nair, who actually fell into the hands of the fanatics when they visited his father's *madham* (house), stated (*vide* statement No. 391) before Mr. Austin, the Assistant Magistrate, when examined on the 23rd March, that his brother Achutan was not present at the time of the outrage. There is therefore not a scrap of reliable evidence to show that the prisoner said a word to any of the fanatics or did more than indulge in a little idle curiosity. I consider that it was most natural, though it may have been indiscreet, in him to do so. The prisoner pleads that there is enmity between him and Koman Nair over a certain boundary dispute. It seems to me highly probable that there is some truth in this plea, considering the palpable falsehood of which Achutan Nair, Koman Nair's son, has been obviously guilty in order to incriminate the prisoner. I do not think that there is any reasonable ground for further action against the prisoner, and I accordingly recommend that he be set at liberty.

20. For the same reasons as those already adduced in paragraph 91 of my former report, I cannot recommend the prosecution before a criminal court of any one of these prisoners. In the first place there is no evidence available to show that any particular

one of them took an active part in the perpetration of any of the outrages committed by the fanatics. It is true that prisoners Nos. 8, 9, 11, 14, 15, 16, 17 and 18 joined the gang; but they subsequently deserted it, and they cannot therefore be presumed to have had the intention to die in arms against the infidels, which is the only motive approaching a "common object" by which the fanatics were animated. These prisoners cannot therefore be presumed to have had any object in common with the rest of the gang and, *ipso facto*, did not form with it an unlawful assembly as defined in section 141 of the Indian Penal Code. I cannot see then how the prisoners could be dealt with under any section of the Penal Code. In the second place, supposing that the prisoners could be charged with offences under the Penal Code, I fear that the prosecution would fail through the dread which all Hindus and very many Mappillas feel at being required to give evidence against a Mappilla who is charged with having taken part in a fanatical outbreak. I have therefore recommended that all the prisoners should be dealt with under the Mappilla Outrages Act XX of 1859.

21. Before closing this report I have one further recommendation to make and I wish to lay the greatest stress upon it seeing that I believe that the peace of the district will be seriously imperilled if it is not adopted and carried out. The ringleaders in the recent outbreak came from the immediate vicinity of the Túvúr mosque. Some of them lived on the mosque land, *e.g.*, Kochu Kayan Mussaliar whose deportation I have recommended (*vide* my former report, paragraph 69) and Matathil Mussaliar Unni Koya who was shot at Manjéri temple on the 1st March (*vide* No. 37 in enclosure A to my former report). Now the tangal of the Túvúr mosque, by name Kottakuth Imbichi Koya Tangal, also lives on the mosque land and within call of the houses of the men just mentioned. There cannot, therefore, be the slightest doubt that he must have been fully aware of the conspiracy which Kochu Kayan Mussaliar and the others were hatching. It is incredible that the tangal of the mosque should have been kept in the dark. Besides, the statement of constable Krishnan Nair (*vide* statement No. 390) who arrested Kochu Kayan Mussaliar shows that the tangal was present at the *Moulhud*, which was performed at Mussaliar Unni Koya's house on the day when the outbreak began (25th February). Kochu Kayan Mussaliar was also present at this *Moulhud* and Mussaliar Unni Koya and several other Mappillas who attended it were afterwards found amongst the fanatics shot at Manjéri on the 1st March (*vide* paragraph 69 of my former report). This is quite sufficient ground to warrant the assumption that the tangal was aware of the conspiracy and looked on it with a favouring eye, and that he would have blessed the fanatics before going out had their plans not been so precipitated by the sudden arrest of the ringleaders on the 25th February. I shall show later on that there is room to suspect that the tangal actually did give his blessing to the fanatics when he was supposed to have been spying out their movements for our information. Add to this suspicion that the tangal was fully cognisant of the plans of the fanatics, the suspicious conduct of the man while acting under the pretence of assisting the authorities in tracking the fanatics (*vide* the statement of the Assistant Superintendent of Police, No. 416); and I think there is every reason to believe that he was an abettor of the conspiracy. Further, the statement of Chettiarammal Kammu, whom I examined at Wandúr on the 29th February 1896, shows that the tangal had some intercourse with the fanatics and that the latter appeared to have no dread whatever of him as they had of our other Mappilla spies. I am under the impression that on this occasion the tangal bestowed on the fanatics the blessing which he was prevented from giving them before they went out. This is of course pure hypothesis, but it is plausible in the extreme. However, hypothesis apart, there is sufficient circumstantial evidence to implicate the tangal and to warrant his removal from the district by order of Government. He belongs to the class of petty tangals whose pernicious influence has been already reported to Government on more than one occasion (*vide* paragraph 11 of Mr. Bradley's report to Government on the outbreak of 1894, dated 16th May 1894). I am pretty certain that if no notice is taken of this man's conduct this year, he will assuredly be at the bottom of further Mappilla trouble in Chembrasséri and Túvúr and that perhaps at no very distant date. I therefore venture to recommend very strongly that he should be removed from the district. The man is not in custody, but if my recommendation meets with your approval and is sanctioned by Government, there will not be any difficulty in apprehending him.

22. The records connected with my enquiries subsequent to the date of my former report are herewith submitted.

List of persons under arrest in connection with the recent Mappilla outbreak, regarding whom recommendations have been made to Government in Malabar District Magistrate's letter No. E/Camp, dated 8th May 1896.

Number in B list.	Name.	Residence.		Nature of recommendation.	Number of the statement having a bearing on the man's case.
		Amsam.	Desam.		
8	Kuttipuliyan Moidin Kutti.	Manjéri	Pandalúr ..	Recommended to be deported.	321, 324, 326, 129, 398, 399.
9	Kuttipuliyan Ahmed ..	Do.	Do.	Do. do. ..	321, 324, 326, 318, 87, 320, 401, 132, 95.
11	Korangódan Ayamed ..	Do.	Do.	Do. do. ..	321, 323, 318, 324, 401, 87, 125.
13	Nairianiparambath Ossán Moidin Kutti.	Kuruva	....	Released already for want of evidence.	403.
14	Chithrampalli Mootha ..	Manjéri	Ânokayam ..	Recommended to be deported.	318, 325, 326, 397, 414, 127.
15	Konnath Pari	Do.	Pandalúr ..	Do. do. ..	323, 326, 133, 414.
16	Talakkolath Ahmed ..	Do.	Do.	Do. do. ..	323, 326, 134.
17	Páppádathil Mammu ..	Do.	Do.	Do. do. ..	318, 321, 124, 322, 324, 396.
18	Kazhu Kunnummal Chékkutti.	Do.	Do.	Do. do. ..	87, 123, 395, 318, 401, 412, 328.
19	Párakkódan Ahmed Haji..	Irimbuzhi ..	Páppinipara ..	Do. do. ..	409, 408, 415, 406, 407, 411.
22	Ossán Unnien	Túvúr	Túvúr	Released already for want of evidence.	96, 97.
28	Tayyil Alivi	Mélattúr ..	Edapatta ..	Do. do. ..	116.
31	Kottopadan Mammi ..	Chembrasséri ..	Poongott ..	Recommended to be deported	286, 281, 290, 291, 292, 293, 400.
32	Pottayil Mammad Mussaliar.	Pórúr	Edappulam ..	Do. do. ..	404, 282, 276, 287, 297.
33	Pudikaparamban Marakkarutti.	Chembrasséri ..	Trikunnasséri ..	Under custody pending orders.	217, 289, 218, 302, 301, 303.
34	Thechiyodan Unni Ayamed.	Do. ..	Do. ..	Recommended to be released.	299, 117, 300.
35	Kunnummal Ahmed ..	Paiyanád ..	Vettikattiri ..	Do. do. ..	312, 391, 405.
36	Kóttakuth Imbichi Kóya Tangal.	Túvúr	Túvúr	Recommended to be arrested and deported.	390, 416, 8.

(Signed) J. HEWETSON,
Ag. District Magistrate.

List of enclosures to Malabar District Magistrate's letter No. E/Camp, dated 8th May 1896.

(1) Copy of Special Assistant Magistrate's report, dated 5th May 1896 1

(2) List of persons about whom recommendations have been made 1

(3) Copies of statements and translations ... ... (65 in number).
Nos. 8, 87, 95, 96, 97, 116, 117, 121, 123, 124, 125, 127, 129, 132, 133, 134, 217, 218, 276, 281, 282, 286, 287, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 297, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 312, 318, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 328, 390, 391, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 411, 412, 414, 415, 416.

Total enclosures ... 67

Calicut,
18*th May* 1896.

(Signed) J. HEWETSON,
Acting District Magistrate.

From J. HEWETSON, Esq., I.C.S., Acting District Magistrate, Malabar, to the Chief Secretary to Government, dated Calicut, 19th May 1896, Ref. on C. No. 1188-M.

In continuation of my previous reports (Nos. A-Camp and E-Camp, dated 2nd and 8th May 1896, respectively), on the Mappilla outbreak, I have the honour to forward a further report from the Special Assistant Magistrate recommending the deportation of a man called Koyithodi Ahmed. The man belongs to the Nellikuthu desam of Paiyanád amsam and is proved by five witnesses to have been with the gang on the 29th February.

2. Two witnesses (317 * and 319 *) saw the accused armed with a chopper at Arimbra Nair's house; witness No. 318 * saw him at Veluthédathpára, and at Pandalúr temple he was seen leading the gang by witnesses Nos. 321 * and 323. * The prisoner says that he was at Manakât Kunhi Kuttam Nambiar's house on the 29th February, but this man examined as witness No. 419 denies that the prisoner was at his house. The accused admits † that he was a friend of the notorious Manjapalli Ahmed Kutti and gives this as a reason for the Hindus of Pandalúr concocting a case against him, but as only two of the five witnesses are Hindus, the argument falls to the ground.

3. The accused was only arrested on the 8th May and is suspected to have taken part in a dacoity in Elankûr amsam that was committed on the 17th April, but the evidence against him is not strong and he is not likely to be convicted. I recommend that he be deported at once if not convicted for dacoity, and on completion of sentence if he is convicted.

Enclosure.

From J. T. GILLESPIE, Esq., Acting Special Assistant Magistrate, to the District Magistrate, Calicut, dated Tirurangadi, 13th May 1896, No. 51-M.

In continuation of my reports on the recent Mappilla outbreak, Nos. 47 and 49, dated 26th April and 5th May, respectively, I have the honour to submit the following further report.

2. On the 4th and 5th April last Special Magistrate M.R.Ry. K. Sankunni Menon recorded the evidence of five witnesses which showed that a Mappilla called Koyithodi Ahmed of Nellikuthu desam of Paiyanád amsam had taken part with the fanatics on Saturday the 29th February as they passed through his desam.

3. Accordingly on the 8th April I issued a warrant for the arrest of Ahmed. The man, however, managed to evade arrest until the 8th instant, on which date my warrant was executed by Police Inspector Chekkutti.

4. I had the prisoner produced before me on the 9th instant, and have now completed my enquiries concerning him and the result leaves no room for doubt that he took a prominent part in the proceedings of the gang of fanatics on the afternoon of Saturday the 29th February.

5. He was seen armed with a chopper in the midst of the gang at the Arimbra Nair's house by Kunhunni Arimbra Nair himself (*vide* statement No. 319) and by Kakkarathóttingal Madári Moidin who was doing duty as a guard there (*vide* statement No. 317). These two witnesses saw the prisoner actually enter the house with the fanatics to search for the guns which they hoped to find there. He was seen with the gang again at Veluthedatupâra by Karuppan Veettil Moidin Kutti Mulla. He continued with the gang too until its arrival at Pandalúr, for he was seen leading the fanatics on to the temple there by E. Góvinda Váriar and Parapurath Athan Móyan (*vide* statements Nos. 321 and 323).

6. The prisoner sets up an *alibi* as his defence. He maintains that he spent the whole of Saturday, the 29th February, at Manakât Kunhi Kuttan Nambiar's house in Pandalúr to which house he had been summoned as a guard by the Nambiar two days previously. This story appears to be improbable in the extreme. The prisoner

* Submitted as enclosures with letter, No. D-Camp, dated 7th May 1896. † 418.

can give no reason why he should have been chosen as a guard on the occasion in preference to some of the Mappillas of the locality whom the Nambiar might have opportunity to know well or might have reason to trust nor can he offer any explanation of the great friendship which he averse exists between him and the Nambiar except that it is due to his frequent visits to the house in question which visits in their turn according to the prisoner were the outcome of the alleged friendship (*vide* statement No. 418). The prisoner thus argues in a circle. His statement is worth very little. He does not better his case much by attributing the present charge against him to his friendship with Manjapalli Ahmed Kutti. This Manjapalli Ahmed Kutti was a notorious blackmailer, for months the terror of the Hindu population in and around Pandalúr. He had a numerous train of followers amongst the cooly Mappillas of the neighbourhood by whose aid he carried on his high-handed oppression of the Hindus whose misfortune it was to live or have property in his vicinity. He appears to have been several times prosecuted for theft and similar offences but to have been acquitted on each occasion either by the Original or Appellate Court. Petitions complaining of his nefarious practices were recently sent to the Zamorin of Calicut (who owns some lands at Pandalúr) and to myself; and the man appears to have been so exasperated by these complaints that he determined to close his misspent life by throwing in his lot with the fanatics and courting death as a *Sahid* (*vide* statement No. 388). He took with him a numerous following many of whom like himself remained with the gang till the end and perished with it at Manjeri temple on the 1st March. Several of his followers however deserted the gang on the night before the action at Manjeri and of these the prisoner appears to be one. His voluntary admission that he was a boon companion of Manjapalli Ahmed Kutti furnishes an additional reason for suspecting him of having followed the latter when he joined the fanatics at Pandalúr on the 29th February.

7. In order, however, actually to test the prisoner's verocity I have examined Manakât Kunhi Kuttam Nambiar and his evidence completely upsets the prisoner's plea of *alibi*. He denies that the latter ever set foot in his house at any time and declares that he only knows him by having seen him with the notorious free-booter Manjapalli Ahmed Kutti (*vide* statement No. 419).

8. As for the sweeping assertion made by the accused that all the Nairs of Pandalúr are enemies of his by reason of their hatred of Manjapalli Ahmed Kutti whose friend he was it is not worth the paper on which it is written as a defence and can only be regarded as a rather feeble attempt to throw suspicion on some of the evidence on record against him. Considering that of the five witnesses who depose to having seen the prisoner in the gang only two are Hindus, while the other three are his fellow-castemen, the plea of enmity is devoid of force. On the whole then the prisoner's own statement rather tends to increase the weight of evidence of his complicity in the outbreak.

9. The evidence recorded clearly establishes the guilt of the prisoner. That he also joined the fanatics on the 29th February is beyond all reasonable doubt. The question now is how is he to be dealt with. I have already shown (*vide* paragraph 91 of my report No. 47, dated 26th April 1896) that it is scarcely practicable and at all events inadvisable to prosecute him before a Criminal Court for his complicity in the outbreak. He cannot, however, be safely enlarged in this district. The only course open to us is to have him deported like the other prisoners under the Mappilla Outrages Act XX of 1859.

10. The prisoner, however, is suspected by the Police of complicity in another crime. As you are aware a big dacoity was committed in the house of one Mannân Nottan of Elankûr amsam, Ernad taluk, on the night of the 17th April last. This dacoity occurred during the period that the prisoner was in hiding in order to evade the execution of the warrant which was out for his arrest. He is suspected of having been concerned in that dacoity and investigations are being made by the Police with a view to collect evidence against him. So far it appears that little or no evidence is forthcoming and it seems highly probable that there will not be sufficient grounds to charge the man with dacoity. Should sufficient evidence be obtained during the next two or three weeks to procure his committal to the Sessions Court, he had better be allowed to stand his trial for dacoity before that Court. If acquitted, I recommend

that he be re-arrested at once and deported under Act XX of 1859. If convicted, I recommend that he be permanently deported under the latter Act after the expiration of the sentence imposed on him by the Sessions Court. If, on the other hand, the prisoner cannot be committed to the Sessions Court on the charge of dacoity, he should be deported permanently under the Mappilla Act.

11. The statements of the prisoner and of Kunhi Kuttan Nambiar are herewith submitted. The other statements referred to in this report have been sent to you already with my former reports.

From M. HAMMICK, Esq., Inspector-General of Police, to the Chief Secretary to Government, dated Ootacamund, 9th June 1896, No. 2281-A.

I have the honour to forward, for the information and orders of Government, Mr. Fawcett's final report on the recent Mappilla outbreak in Malabar.

2. Government will no doubt not wish me to add to its length. I received it yesterday afternoon and I am sending it to the press to-day, with orders to despatch it to Government from Madras as soon as possible. I have thought it not necessary to have the voluminous appendices printed as the report is complete in itself.

3. I generally concur in Mr. Fawcett's conclusions. I believe with him that we have to deal in the Mappilla difficulty not with simple ignorance, nor with discontent arising from poverty or agrarian oppression, but with a people saturated with a fanatical spirit which manifests itself, apparently from some obscure causes connected with heredity, more specially in some families than in others. This spirit no doubt finds its strength in the ignorance, backwardness and poverty which characterize the populations of the eastern portions of the two taluks of Ernad and Walavanad. I am entirely with Mr. Fawcett in his appeal for more roads, and more and better schools.

4. I agree with Mr. Fawcett's proposals as to new police stations and hope that Government will sanction them.

5. As regards the fines, with some hesitation I support Mr. Fawcett's view. I believe all the good that is intended to be done by these fines is, as a rule, neutralized by the long delay in their levy. I am not without some apprehension that the non-infliction of fines, this time, may produce a feeling that Government is afraid to inflict them, but upon the whole I think a change of policy is desirable. That an enormous amount of injustice is done, when fines are generally levied, is, I am convinced, certain.

6. As to the special rewards offered, I agree with Mr. Fawcett that in view of the work done, and the cheerful way it was done, some tangible mark of the appreciation of Government should be granted, but his recommendation of three months' pay for the Special Force and one-and-a-half month's pay for the Reserve is excessive. The Special Force has recently been granted an allowance, which should make the force popular. I venture to recommend a gratuity of two months' pay to the Special Force and one month's pay to the Reserve. The Police did most excellent work throughout and had more severe marching to do than has ever fallen to the lot of the Special Force hitherto. Mr. Walter, the Reserve Inspector, I will specially promote to the third-grade for the excellent work he turned out. As regards the other men mentioned by Mr. Fawcett I recommend the rewards named by him, viz.:—

	Rs.
No. 325 First-class Constable Krishnan Nair	50
Second-grade Head Constable Krishnan Nair	10
No. 933 First-class Constable Hyderman	5
Fourth-grade Head Constable No. 635 Achutan Nair	10

In the case of Cheykutti, Mr. Fawcett recommends that he be given a title of honour. I support his proposal. This Inspector has done most excellent work from the first. Well led he will do anything. His failing is timidity in dealing with his superiors, where he finds his want of education places him in difficulties. Mr. Fawcett understood how to get the best work from him and succeeded.

7. As to future wants Mr. Fawcett puts very clearly what he requires. As to *boots*, Mr. Cardew is trying now to turn us out a better article in Madras. I don't

think myself very expensive boots form a pressing requirement at present and I would wait and see what the jails can give us. Boots are a necessity on parade and occasionally on the march, but as a rule men won't wear them. As to *water bottles* I will find out if the men can keep those obtained from the Military Department. If not, I will ask Government to sanction the purchase of a sufficient number. They were of the greatest use.

Signalling is already taught in the Special Force and in view of the use made of it during the outbreak I support Mr. Fawcett's proposal to teach it in the Reserve. I consider, however, that signalling is unnecessary in some of the Reserves in the North, where Mr. Fawcett introduced it some years ago and I will ask the Deputy Inspector-General, Northern Range, whether he does not recommend its being given up there and submit definite proposals on hearing from him. For several reasons signalling is of little use in the North; in fact I believe since it was introduced into the Police there it has never been used off the drill ground.

In the matter of *clothing, kaki and serge*, I am entirely of Mr. Fawcett's opinion, and with the sanction of Government will make the changes he suggests.

I also support Mr. Fawcett's proposals as regards the supply of a small morning meal gratis to the men when out on outbreak duty. It will be far more economical to arrange for this than to keep up a permanent commissariat staff on however small a scale. If Government will sanction the permanent entertainment of twelve porters to carry ammunition, &c., when required, the efficiency of the force will be much increased. I do not think the allotment of ammunition need be increased. The men fire quite well enough for our purposes, and I am not in favour of altering the present rules as regards ammunition.

8. In conclusion, I venture again to favourably commend Mr. Fawcetts own work during the outbreak. He was energetically supported by Messrs. Wilkinson, Bidie and Cardozo, who all worked hard and cheerfully. Mr. Fawcett started with a determination to show that the Special Force was a body to be depended upon, and by his example and encouragement he managed to make all the Police under him work in a way that did them the greatest credit. I am under great obligation to Mr. Fawcett for his assistance, and I should be doing him an injustice did I not place this on record.

Enclosure.

From F. FAWCETT, Esq., Superintendent of Police, Malabar district, to the Inspector-General of Police, Madras, dated 5th June 1896, C. No. 1790-Genl.

You have had my reports No. 1-A, dated 16th March, and No. 1073, dated 25th March. I have now the honour to submit my final report as promised in the latter.

2. Since the destruction of the second gang on the 13th March, I have been engaged with the investigations, visiting the houses of the fanatics and scenes of all outrages, &c., until the 30th April. The investigation has been a lengthy one and it was impossible to begin my report before this.

Together with this report I send five appendices.

A.—A list of fanatics of the first gang and particulars of the circumstances of each individual. This has been placed at Mr. Winterbotham's disposal and his printed list differs little or nothing from it.

B.—A similar list, but in different form of the second gang. There being but seven in the gang it was not necessary to tabulate it as in the case of the first gang of 92.

C.—A list of outrages committed by the first gang in their regular order. You have had the course of the gang outlined in my report No. 1073; this is an exact account of each outrage.

D.—A list of outrages committed by the second gang in their regular order.

E.—A list of the fanatics of the first gang, names only, showing my numbers as against Mr. Winterbotham's numbers. My list was made out provisionally at the outset and corrected as the investigations proceeded; it was not until this was nearly concluded that I saw Mr. Winterbotham's list in which the numbers are different.

F.—Two Mappilla war songs.

The Appendices A to D are based on personal investigation. Assisted by Mr. Wilkinson, every house was visited and the house people examined, and I need scarcely say that great pains were taken to elicit truth and fact.

3. It would be satisfactory if that which is related about agrarian troubles could be emphasized by comparison with documentary evidence, as, for instance, in the reason for the murder of Raru Nayar (see Appendix C, page 2) — a matter which demands serious attention. If I am not mistaken, Mr. Winterbotham found it impracticable to effect this comparison. But let it not be assumed that the reason given by me for the murder is, without such comparison, not worthy of credence. Proof for it of another kind is to be had. There is the evidence of Raru Nayar's younger brother Kunjan *alias* Velu Nayar who said: "P. Moyutti and his brother's son, Uni Poker, had some lands adjoining the Tuvur mosque. They were evicted by the Melatur Adikari; *Moyutti's land was given to me, and Uni Poker's land was given to a Tiyan.* The Melatur Adikari had given Moyutti the land on which stands the Tuvur mosque and some land around it, but after some time all the land with the exception of the mosque land was taken back by the Adikari on civil suit. The civil suits were conducted by Raru Nayar who was the agent of the Adikari; and all the houses which now stand on the land about the mosque were built with the permission of Raru Nayar."

4. Then there is the fact that when the two parties which started out simultaneously on the 26th February and afterwards amalgamated and formed "the first gang," one of these parties, the *Tuvur party*, made straight for Raru Nayar's Kalam and killed him. The parties actually crossed each other's path. It would have been much nearer for the Chembrachery party to kill Raru Nayar and for the Tuvur party to go to the Nampezha Kalam; but they did not do this, and they crossed each other, the Tuvur party leaving Nampezha Kalam on the right hand and moving straight on to find Raru Nayar. When they found him they made short work of him. His nephew Krishnan was in the Kalam at the time but managed to escape; he returned to the Kalam soon afterwards and saw another party of twelve men, among them Kui Ahameduni, Musaliar Koya, and Paramil Poker, who lit a torch and looked at the body of Raru Nayar. That his death was in satisfaction of an old grudge there can be no doubt.

5. Eviction anywhere is bad enough, but eviction from land which had been looked on as almost the same as mosque land—which must be absolutely sacred: every Mappilla would die a thousand deaths before that could be taken away and a mosque interfered with—is taken much more to heart. How keenly it can be felt is illustrated in the following episode from which may be seen at the same time the absence of consideration which the wealthy of one creed may have for the poor of another. Ussan, a Mappilla tenant of the Trikaderi Nayar, held a little bit of land just outside the Tuvur mosque land; it was not enough for him and he begged for a bit, a small corner of the mosque land, in which was a small tank or pond used in connection with the mosque and therefore valued. (There must be water near a mosque.) It was given, but after some years the usual thing happened, he owed Rs. 50 to the Nayar and mortgaged the land to him in consideration of the debt and left the place. The Nayar knowing of course how hateful it would be to the Mappilla, put a family of Cherumars on the bit of mosque land mortgaged to him by Ussan. When relating the facts to me the tears came into their eyes while attempting to make me see how utterly abominable it was to them that Cherumans, Serfs, who carry pollution to the Nayar (so they think) from about 100 yards, should not only live on mosque land but command their water. It was felt to be fearful disgrace. It was well for the Trikaderi Nayar, a wealthy landlord, that Mr. Wilkinson with a section of the Special Force was within the Tuvur Adikari's doors where he was on the night of the 26th February, for had he not, most certainly he, rather a harsh landlord, as well as the Tuvur Adikari would have been murdered. In this instance, of course, they had but themselves to blame, for the land was given up by one of themselves; nevertheless it was felt to be a great grievance that anyone but a Mappilla could have anything to do with mosque land: so great that they could not speak of it without becoming almost frenzied.

II.

6. Turning now to the origin of the outbreak, leading up to prevention of its repetition, let me say first of all the matter is so wide that I scarcely dare to tackle it in the ordinary way of official report. However, as it is only by expression of opinions that there can be brought about any amelioration in the condition of the Mappillas, I will venture to give you mine on a few points, hoping thereby to induce adoption of reasonable means for cure of these outbreaks, which from time to time have upset the peace of Malabar, on which the strong steady current of our administration, which carries with it at any rate all that is subversive of law and order, has had no effect at all. They form the one exception in the Presidency. They go in fact against the current. In the last two outbreaks, within the last two years, be it not forgotten, there have been shot almost as many fanatics as in all former outbreaks put together. The only one which is really on the line with these last two is that of 1849 when 66 fanatics were shot. And it is noteworthy that the notorious leader in that, the famous Athen Kurikal, a great hero in song, was the uncle on the mother's side of the leader in this. (See Appendix A for Moidin Kutti Haji. His mother was Athen Kurikal's sister.) It is quite out of the question to put the finger here or there to point out the origin, much less the cause of the outbreak. We know that every cause has not one effect but a multiplicity of effects; and we know that every social phenomenon is the result direct and indirect of very many causes.

III.

7. It will be well to begin with the population question, for consideration of the law of population and fanaticism, to which we will come presently, and the existence of which is only too palpable, will make it clear that the Mappilla difficulty, far from receding in the distance, like the suttee and thugee, is really becoming more and more serious. Let it not be assumed for a moment that because 95 individuals have been shot (of whom but three survive) in March last, the severity of the lesson, for taking up arms against the Government, is such as to put all thoughts of recurrence out of the minds of others for many a long day. It is not so at all. The lesson is the severest that has yet been administered to those who wish to die in glory and fly to eternal bliss, but it would be wrong to say it is a *complete* lesson. We have here to do with people who are capable of assuming easily that condition of mind to which death is of all things most delightful—death under certain terms, that is.

IV.

8. In the decade ending in February 1891 the Hindus and others exclusive of Muhammadans in Malabar increased something under 8 per cent., while the Muhammadans increased something over 15 per cent. In 1881 the Mappillas were 50·8 per cent. of the population of Ernad, while in 1891 they were 53. It matters not how far the increase in the Mappilla population is due to births or conversions. Now there is not at my disposal sufficient data to dispose of the population question with anything like fulness; but I think I have enough to show that my view is not very far wrong.

9. The figures for the census, although no doubt as correct as it is possible to make them even for the remote parts of Ernad, do not suffice to show how that the Mappillas are rapidly overhauling the Hindus and others of the province in mere numbers, and the effect of this. Nor must the Mappillas of Ernad and Walavanad be confounded with their co-religionists on the coast, even with those of Ponnáni—the town and the southern portion of the taluk—and still less so with those of North Malabar. Nor do the figures showing increase of the Mappillas in Ernad give us very much assistance, for a considerable portion of the taluk is littoral; they do not show the changes in that part of Ernad which is most liable to outbreak.

10. We must try otherwise to ascertain something like the rate of multiplication of the Mappillas as compared with Hindus in the dangerous quarter, and what are the checks to population, for these have serious bearing on property and the rate of wages, to say nothing of going out to be a Shahid.

11. Making excerpts from my anthropological notes throughout Malabar I find that in eighteen cases, of all castes excluding Mappillas, including a Nambudri who had two wives and five children (reckoned as one case), including one case in which the

number of children was the exceptionally large number eight, and excluding those under twenty-two and those over that age recently married, the number of children in a family is 2·6. Again, among eight other cases of Nayars, whose average age was thirty-five, the average number of children is precisely the same. Among ten cases of Nambudri Brahmins the number is three; as might be expected, it would be a little higher. I am inclined to think that this number 2·6 for Hindus, is not far wrong. It must be remembered that a large portion of the people of Malabar are really not in any sense of the word, by race or religion, Hindus though classed so and are not governed by any customs which restrict the number of children. We shall see presently that among the Mappillas, or rather that class of Mappillas inhabiting the centre and East of Ernad, that the rate of increase is much more rapid than among Nayars. Something must therefore be said by way of explaining why is there any difference. Whether as in the case of Nayars the positive or preventive checks to population which according to the irrefragable law discovered by Mr. Malthus *must* vary inversely as each other, prevail most, I am unable to say with any certainty. Nor can I say whether the check is through that common custom alluded to by the senior Anandiravan of the Padinjara Kovilagam when examined by the Marriage Commission: "It has been ordained by Parasu Rama that in Kerala, Marumakkattayam women need not be chaste, and that the non-observance of chastity should entail no evil;" and which some people think is equal to worship of the goddess Lubricity. Of course if this obtains commonly, as appears to be the case, it would seem to be a very positive check. But whatever the reason may be I do not think I am wrong in saying the average number of children in a Nayar family is not more than three. One man who had eight children admitted that the number was abnormal; but he had actually heard once of a man who had eleven. Such a number among Mappillas would be by no means abnormal. It is likely that in the case of Nayars the check is an easy and natural one as suggested. It has a natural physical basis. It is not likely that many preventive checks prevail, for after all, among Marumakkattayam people, the more people in the Tarwad the better. A Tarwad is never prosperous unless it is a large one. There is this one however. A Nayar is seldom married until he is twenty-five; an age at which a Mappilla has a growing family. Among the Makkathayam people the case is quite different. Property descends directly from father to son and may be split up easily. While the Marumakkattayam system tends always towards betterment, aggrandizement, the tending of the other is just the reverse unless something is done to counteract it, for primogenitiveness, majorat or minorat do not exist in the Presidency. We shall see now that with the Mappillas it brings about dissipation of property. In North Malabar the Mappillas as well as almost all others follow the Marumakkattayam. There is no such thing as real poverty. Scarcely any portion of the earth's surface and its people is so well favoured. Not much fear of Mappilla troubles there. We will put it out of count.

12. In South Malabar practically all outside the Nayar community follow Makkathayam. It is therefore not surprising that there we find such an arrangement, for retaining property in the family as polyandry—pace the Hon'ble Mr. Sankara Nayar, who in his speech in Council has said "as to polyandry it has died out, and as to polygamy it is acknowledged to prevail but seldom." Neither one nor the other has died out. Polyandry obtains among all the castes below the Nayars, and a marriage with two or three or four brothers is better than a marriage with one. The number of children born to inherit property is restricted by this frugal custom. Another custom of the kind is that which we find amongst the Nambudris, of whom eldest sons only marry and inherit property. Thus family property is not dispersed, and the Nambudris are all *rich*.

13. Now while in South Malabar (excluding Mappillas) population is restricted in one way or another which has no unpleasant effect, among the Mappillas it is checked by that which has most unpleasant effects—poverty, misery—positive checks.

14. Taking the members of the first gang we find that the average number of children in each family in which each one of the fanatics was born is 5·8. That is, each fanatic was born in a family in which the average number of children, including himself and brothers and sisters alive or dead, was 5·8. A large number anywhere, but very large when compared with that of the average for Malabar—say three. With

very rare exceptions every individual Mappilla is married in his teens and by the time he arrives at the age when the Nayar marries, he has several children. Of course in the absence of easy checks to population the large number of children is bound to be reduced by severe checks; it must be, there is no alternative. For instance, in ten families of the fanatics there were born 89 children, the average, nearly 9, is enormous; but of the total number only 46, or 51·7 per cent. are now alive, the others having been swept away, chiefly by poverty and its attendant misery in one form or another.

15. Indeed, the Mappillas in Ernad illustrate most painfully how that men multiply in geometrical progression, while provisions multiply in arithmetical progression. That which increases as 1, 2, 4, 8, 16, 32, 64, 128 is kept back by that which increases only as 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8. Following the dictates of their creed as felt by them they endeavour to bring into the world as many children as ever they can. If a man is well-to-do, he has more than one wife at a time, but no matter how poor he is he always has a wife—if one dies he has another at once—from the age of 18 to his death. The superabundant population is pressed out of existence by some form or another of misery. The law is as certain as gravitation. The mode of destruction is of course uncertain; it is the thing itself which is certain and not to be avoided.

It has been said that "the question whether the condition of a people at any given time be improving or deteriorating * * * depends on whether improvement be increasing faster than population, or population than improvement."

We have seen how that, under the inexorable law of population, the Mappilla is born to more than the ordinary share of trouble. We will now see whether his improvement is *pari passu* with his increase—whether it is sufficient to meet it.

Among the Hindus of Malabar everything in the way of marital arrangements and inheritance makes for maintenance of the Tarwad. It must be preserved at all costs. The Tarwad, and not the individual, is the unit which must be preserved. That it suits Malabaris is obvious if for no other reason than that it is a popular institution, not framed by any cunning law giver, but grown naturally as all customs regulating life grow; and many of the Tarawads are very old indeed. How suited to the people it is seen by the Mappillas of North Malabar retaining the Marummakkatayam law of inheritance, while otherwise remaining strict Muhammadans. Now while among the Hindus everything goes towards retaining property in the family, among the Mappillas it is exactly the other way. Strong in their religion the Mappillas of Ernad will not depart a hair's breadth from the Muhammadan law under which on a man's death his property is divided. Sons get an equal share. A widow if she has sons gets one-eighth of the whole. A widow without sons gets one-sixth of the whole. Girls get half of the boy's share. Say a man was so exceptionally rich as to be worth Rs. 5,000 at his death. He leaves two widows—one with children, one without—, four daughters and six sons. The shares of each would be roughly,

Rs. 833 for one widow,	Rs. 221 for each daughter,
„ 625 for the other,	„ 442 for each son.

16. It is out of the question for any people to prosper while property is divided at this rate. The division may seem far fetched—the number of children too large. But it is not so. There are among the families of the first gang (not 92 families but about 50) 29 in which the number of children averaged 8·9 and of these 29 there are 9 families in which the number of children was *over 10*. In four cases there were 12 children and in one case 13. This is tremendous! Given this enormous increase in population and the sub-division of property the resultant misery is terrible to contemplate. Of course, it is only too often that the father having a large number of children with not a rupee to be divided among them, the children are thrown on the world in complete destitution to aggravate the misery—which is the worst thing of all. It will be seen in appendix A how that in one family the father's hut was put up for sale in order to pay for the funeral. It was worth nothing and none would buy; and the only available way in which it was possible to raise the Rs. 3 was by evacuating the hut and getting the value for two jack trees in the compound. The materials of the hut, worthless in an ordinary way, were carried a mile to erect a small hut in the forest.

17. Of course the property left for division is never in rupees. It is in land, cattle and farm-gear and a house. The land is not jenmam property, but on kânom—seldom, or on simple lease (Virampatom)—as is usual, and may be taken away by the landlord practically at any time. But we will not consider at present the insecurity of tenure, and imagine for the present that it is quite secure, which it is not unfortunately. A man here and there has managed to acquire land and property of one kind or other, but the moment he dies the sub-division is so great that the property is doomed. It *always* happens. We know the bad effect which the sub-division of land into small bits has had on agriculture in Europe and how that Governments in Germany had to interfere again and again to prevent it. Bad effect on States too. But for the sub-division of Saxony among seven sons in the seventeenth century Saxony and not Prussia—which adopted primogeniture in time—would be the head of the German Empire. The same law applies to the Mappillas, and illustrations of its effects are to be found in the appendices. As I went about the country I met every where the same story precisely, wherever the family was not one of hereditary paupers. The father or grandfather had some property; was moderately well off and brought up his family in sufficient comfort. He died, the property was divided. Small sub-divisions of land each too small to support a family could not be made productive to keep pace with the need—and to say nothing of disputes; rent fell in arrears, and if it happened to be on kânom or mortgage, it very soon happened that the mortgage money was kept by the landlord for arrears of rent; and if not evicted they were at last thankful to hold the land on simple lease at an enormously increased rent. This too did not last long, for rent fell in arrears and eviction altogether followed. Then poverty and hand-to-mouth existence. In rare cases where there is jenmam land there is a phase preceding these in which debts accrue rapidly, and the land is soon in the hands of some one else on mortgage; and, of course, its recovery is quite impossible.

18. In other parts of the world, in France and in parts of Germany, sub-division of property obtains; but in these places care is taken to use the preventive checks, so that a family is never—with very rare exceptions—more than three. The average is about two, the population is stationary. They know too well what would happen if they produced numberless children and therefore prevent indiscreet multiplication. But the Mappillas do not do this. They do their best to multiply and spread their creed in population, and then they follow the law of sub-division. The most capable race of the world could never do these and prosper.

19. It may be said, of course, that the misery, which is a check to the Mappilla population through over-production and sub-division of property, does not obtain in other Muhammadan countries or even in India among the people of that faith. The population of Turkey increases at a slower rate than elsewhere in Europe. But it will be of no use to cite other countries or Indian Muhammadans unless the preventive and positive checks to population are examined carefully in each case. Moreover the crossing of races and the effect thereof on prolificness has to be considered. The effect of some crosses produces speedily sterility or something very like it. The Dutch-Javan mestizos are said in the third generation to yield only females and these sterile. But it is not all so among the Mappillas of Ernad who are a very mixed race, and clearly it is a mixed race in which the rate of multiplication is exceptionally rapid. But for the checks through misery they would double their number about every twenty years. Think of it!

20. Nearly every family of the fanatics of Chembrachery and Tuvur amshoms have immigrated recently from the west and south-west owing to the overflow of population; and not only the fanatics but every other family in the locality. If the individual himself did not come from Pandikat or Nenmeni or thereabout his father did; if not, his grandfather. It is this overflow of population which has populated this eastern portion of Ernad with Mappillas; the population is almost exclusively Mappilla. For the same reason that the northern races of Europe overran the south and west, has the forest and the wild beast been driven back towards the hills, the deadly fever fought against and the land made arable. All the valuable wet land within some miles of high hills has been opened out within seventeen years at the most; much of it quite recently. The tract is very feverish and nearly every one in it is very much the worse for the climatic effects. But it is not the Mappillas who possess this land although one would think they should. No. It is all in the

ownership of Hindus. It has been acquired in this way which is still the vogue. A Mappilla driven from his home in the west by force of circumstances wishes to try and open out forest land for paddy. He has no money, so goes to a someone who has and obtains a loan under certain conditions. He opens part of the land: cannot manage to do the whole for the fever is dreadful and one of his two bullocks has been lost or carried off by a tiger. The landlord presses for payment before payment could in reason be made, and presently there is a suit, the Mappilla who has opened the land loses it, and the landlord has secured some valuable property as his own jenmam right *for nothing at all*, except perhaps the interest on his money. I beg you to look at the case of No. 83 in my list, appendix A. It is a typical case. The Maranath Nambudri has had 200 *paras* of wet land (33½ acres) opened out and it has become his own, for no expenditure, purchase or labour on his part. It is in this way that jenmam rights have been acquired in the locality. It may be thought I exaggerate. But I was not satisfied with the Mappilla's account of the usual way in which ownership of property is acquired by the Hindu landlord and how it is lost by the Mappilla who really acquires it, and so tackled the Maranath Nambudripad himself, the richest and most powerful landlord all around. His story was precisely the same. Forest, which to-day has no claimant, is in a very short time parcelled out, the boundaries where this man's boundary and that man's are, being marked and known to a nicety.

21. It will be seen that the overflow of Mappillas from the west to the east of Ernad, although produced under strong pressure, has brought about no amelioration in the condition of the immigrants. And so it must be always. Even where a man has succeeded in opening out land and managed to retain it, and there are a few cases, the property is not retained long in the family. Minute sub-division makes this impossible; the kânom is soon lost, then there is simple lease at a high rent, and then eviction. So long as population increases as at present and property is sub-divided, this must be the story of the race. I may say that for the sake of 83's wretched widows and children, I asked the Maranath Nambudripad to give back the documents referred to in the appendix, and he promised to do so, provided the man who purchased the right from 83 noted in the document, that the money he would pay—repayment of the debt contracted originally by 83—was in satisfaction of the original debt. This purchaser is a creature of the Nambudripad's. Of course, if he does not settle it thus, he will be able to hold the document over the widows and seize every anna they may ever acquire to the end of their life. The law is only free *nominally*. The women could never force the Nambudripad to return the document by law. It is absurd to think of it. Meanwhile, the Nambudripad has had, as if made a present to him, 33½ acres of wet land. A few years ago he never saw or heard of the land. Now he is the absolute owner; and it has cost him *nothing*. He gets the full original loan back from the man who bought the right from 83.

22. It will be *apropos* to introduce here the story of Pattikâdu Srajudîn, who is mentioned by the Special Assistant Magistrate in his report, where he says it is likely the Maranath Nambudri's place would in all probability have been attacked, but that Srajudîn's sons were not in the gang. It illustrates something of the insecurity of tenure and tells of Srajudîn's affairs, and why his sons *might* have joined and murdered the Nambudri which have not, I think, been more than alluded to elsewhere. Srajudîn held 10 *paras* of wet land (nearly 2 acres) about 50 years ago and opened down 20 *paras*. The whole was held on kânom, the value of which was 71 fanams and the annual rent was 66½ *paras* of paddy (about Rs. 22). So Srajudîn held the land for 30 years. The Maranath Nambudri then sprung a suit on him for eviction. Compensation fixed at Rs. 550 by the court was not paid to Srajudîn, but kept by the Nambudripad on security—while letting Srajudîn have the land on simple lease at a rent of 100 *paras* of paddy a year (Rs. 32½). Rent fell in arrears and Srajudîn was evicted receiving (?) the compensation money *minus* the arrears of rent. Whether this was paid is doubtful. Srajudîn said it was never paid to him. The Nambudripad *promised* to pay when he got a receipt, but he got the receipt and never paid; and I am inclined to believe him and not the Nambudripad's people. After this the land was mortgaged to Srajudîn, and he held it for four or five years under arrangement; but rent fell in arrears and he was evicted in 1894, when the land was given to another at a very much higher rate. Srajudîn is now a very old man. He has

three sons. He lives with his wife in a small hut on a bit of the land from which he was evicted, and his sons support him by cooly work. The eviction is felt keenly.

23. The population question cannot be left without saying something on the rate of wages in the eastern portion of Ernad. As Mr. Mill says "Wages depend on the ratio between capital and population." They can depend on nothing else. The rate of wages for a man in the locality under consideration is three *edengalis* of paddy a day, worth now one anna and six pies. Work is not obtainable every day. If it were, the amount is just barely enough to keep body and soul together. What is the result when a man has half-a-dozen children? They must die off. That is all. How is it possible for such people to be otherwise than wretched!

We come to communications by-and-by, but I may say here that, owing to the absence of these, the Mappillas thereabout are almost in the same state as if on an island; for there is no outlet, and meanwhile there is the enormous yearly increment of population. This must be borne in mind before all things, while considering the Mappilla question in a reasonable manner.

24. I will not delay you by saying much on the insecurity of tenure. It is itself a large subject. Any inquiry that is made in the matter—should it be done—will be of no manner of use if done in the usual formal style, examining all the rich landlords, the documents in the registrar's office and in the civil courts. The most careful inquiries might be made thus, and the inquirer as wise at the end as he was at the beginning. The landlords always told me that such a thing as eviction was never heard of. The documents may be of great use for purposes of comparison and check, but alone they will not reveal the truth. It is only by patient inquiry among the people in their homes, as well as using the other means, that the actual facts may be revealed.

25. Increase of population does not tend towards more equal distribution of property; conversely it tends towards aggregation of capital in the hands of the few. Painful examples of this are only too plain in England at the present moment. The pithy saying "To him that hath, it shall be given" is more obvious in its truth to-day than ever it was. Money means power; and a corollary of the tendency is that the poor are more and more at the mercy of the rich.

Writing in 1800, that wonderful observer and collator of facts, Dr. Buchanan says regarding kânom tenure: "Proprietors always have a right of resuming the estate when they pleased by paying up the sum originally advanced * * *. The fact is, however, that this right of redemption was rarely exercised by the Nambudris and from the existing bonds it is known that the same family for many generations has continued to hold estates in mortgage." There have been changes in respect of tenures since this was written. The Melcharth trouble has not affected the outbreak locality very much, but that the courts have been used to bring pressure on tenants by methods scarcely consistent with equity there can be, I think, little doubt. But I cannot digress to consider this side of the question and will leave it with the same remark as that of Dr. Buchanan—the arrangement of tenures is very bad indeed for agriculture; and it is a very bad one indeed where the tenants are overcrowding fanatical Mappillas. If it has not come to your notice I beg to refer you to Sir T. Madhava Row's admirable pamphlet on land tenures in Travancore, under date 11th June 1867. I would like to say something of it here, but must pass on now to *fanaticism*. Before doing so, I may as well note here the following figures:—

First Gang.

Average number of wives that the father of each fanatic had ..	1·5	
Do. age of the fanatics in the gang	24	years.
Do. age of those (there are 43) who are *above* the average: the mean above	30·1	„
Do. age of those (there are 49) who are *below* the average: the mean below	18·7	„
Do. number of children to each fanatic's father	5·8	
Total number of widows owing to fanatics having been shot (does not include divorced: 36 were not married)	60	
Total number of orphan children left by the gang and were entirely dependent on parents	84	

26. The last does not include *all* children, those who are earning their own living in the case of boys or of girls who have been married. It shows merely that so many

small children are thrown on the world with no visible means of support; widows too, with very few exceptions. Nor does it show the number of children, brothers and sisters of fanatics who were dependent on those shot. In the case of 54, for instance, he was the main stay of the family which consisted of a mother-in-law and eight brothers and sisters, all young, the eldest, and the only one, of an age to work unable to do so owing to constitutional feebleness. The figures give some indication of how that the misery has been aggravated through the destruction of the gang.

Average age of the second gang .. .. 27 years.

V.

27. We are now prepared somewhat to understand how it is that the Mappilla community, struggling hard in the Sisyphean labour to live, for ever being thrown back like the ripples on the beach, may well become dangerous if animated by genuine fanaticism. Nearly all our criminals throughout Malabar are Mappillas. Exceptions are few. And I am afraid that some share of crime in other districts too is due to Mappillas of Malabar. The phenomenon is accounted for in the circumstances detailed in the last section—overcrowding of population and sub-division of property. It is not that they indulge in crime for pure love for it, as in the case of the Kallans and Maravans; they are not *born* depredators as these are—as a class, of course, for there are born criminals in every race and class of life.

We cannot put away Professor Lambroso altogether! The inference is that the Mappillas, as a class, do not exactly sit quiet and suffer under the bonds of circumstances which are too strong for them. I am afraid you will deem me tedious and discursive, but I must ask for the favour of your patience yet a while; we must proceed etiologically if we would deal properly with the Mappilla difficulty.

28. When a civilized community such as that in Liverpool adopts Islam as a creed there is no great change brought into the ordinary course of life. The Rev. Dr. Val de Remo told us at the Congress of Orientalists in London, 1891, how that Mahomet's Paradise was no more materialistic than that of the Christians as described in the Book of Revelations; it was purely spiritual, but clothed in language the every-day interpretation of which, and not the poetic inference, was accepted. Montaigne had the same idea. Whether the civilized entering Islam adopt the exalted interpretation and which is said to have been Mahomet's meaning or whether, as is usual, religion has really very little hold on life on the most civilized peoples in the towns, the fact remains that they do not feel bound to go out, become Shahîds and kill all those whose persuasion is not theirs. If the Town Councillors of Liverpool decided to-morrow that such a thing as a mosque should not lift its minarets in their midst, and that it should be destroyed for a temple of Rimmon, there would be no blood-shed. There would be letters in the Mercury, some talk and violent language; but no one would go out and die for it. If their attitude is prosaic, it is sensible. We have come to allowing without demur our oldest and most hallowed churches in the City being knocked down and graveyards of the unhonoured dead being turned into play grounds for making healthier an already over-teeming population. Far more interest is taken in the temples at Philae.

29. Contrasting the attitude of the civilized followers of Islam with those who are more or less uncivilized, if the shrine at Mambram or the Malapuram mosque were to be destroyed to-morrow by order of Government, there is hardly a Mappilla in Malabar who would not give his life to avenge the disgrace to his pearl-like faith. There would be blood and blood and blood. The most insignificant shrine, a way side mosque, even though no better or larger in structure than a hen house, cannot be moved without much blood being shed. Why is this? When a Hindu temple is desecrated and made abominable by a handful of Mappillas no one raises a hand to avenge the insult to the religion. Nor will those of that creed stand up to save their temple. The gods or goddesses, Siva or Bhagavathi, must look after themselves in these ebullitions of excitement. If their shrine is made a place for filth or even for the slaughter of the sacred cow, they must look on with equanimity. All that is looked for is ceremonies which will make it just as sanctified as ever it was and the disgrace is swallowed. Why is this? The people are much the same in blood. Not in Ernad but in other parts of Malabar they are quite the same in blood. If the difference is not to be found in the blood it is to be found in the creed. During the

Soudan war we had unmistakeable evidence of the extraordinary influence which Islamism has on the lower and uncivilized races. What made the immortal "Fuzzy Wuzzy" of Kipling's ballad such a "first-rate fighting man"? Really, nothing but the effect of Islam on his receptive nature. It is a creed which as if by magic turns the submissive into heroes. We have evidence of this here. The Cherumans and Kanakans, inferior races, serfs, in Malabar are submissive to the last degree; in their lives they are the most harmless of beings exemplifying many of the virtues which are supposed to be exclusively Christian, and always in peace. But let one of these adopt Islam, and many do yearly, and he is changed altogether. The psychic effect is marvellous. The youth who was shot through the spleen in the outbreak of 1894 while charging at the troops, now in Madras, I believe, was a Cheruman converted not long before. Many instances of these are to be had; but I will only say that the Mussaliar Kochi Koya, the chief instrument in the late insurrection, was a converted Cheruman (not altogether one by blood: not *pure* Cheruman blood. There is a strong strain of the Mappilla in him); and that two of those who were shot the other day were also converted Cherumans. One of these was converted only when he joined the gang at Pandalur the evening before he was shot. The man himself—he was wounded and has recovered—now tries to make out that he was *forced* to join; but this is untrue, for not only does another of the gang, Manavalan Moidin, say he joined willingly, but there is evidence of the conversion ceremony; and better still, his own wife and mother (I was the first to examine them) said they would on no account have anything to do with him if he were released, *because he became a Mappilla of his own free will.* He must have joined of his own accord. The place where he was working was a long way out of the path of the gang and he must have deliberately joined. So it is with Tiens and others who joined the Mappilla faith, but *the effect on those of the lowest races is the strongest.* Those parts where the element of danger is greatest are where the people are most allied in blood to the lowest races. The most dangerous criminals, the worst dacoits are also to be found amongst this mixture. In North Malabar about Nadapuram the whole community of a good class of Nayars was turned wholesale into Mappillas during the troubles through Tippu Sultan, but no more peaceable people are in the province. The effect on the lower races and the mixture with the lower races is altogether different. If you want to know how the Cheruman is distinguished from the higher races, I may say he is shorter, being barely 5 feet 2 inches in stature (the average for the North Malabar Tien is almost exactly 5 feet 5 inches, while the Nayar is taller), much darker in colour, his nose is broader, and his cranial capacity is much smaller: his head length is about 18·2 c.m. and the width about 13·6. Compare this with the Nambudri 19·2 and 14·6.

30. Now the hold which Islam has fixed on this mixture with the lower races is very strong indeed. The foreign or Arab blood in the Mappilla in the east of Ernad is very slight indeed, if at all existent. I doubt its existence. Following M. Broca's method of indicating the racial position of mongrels or mestizos, if there has been foreign blood it has been eliminated long ago. True there are individuals with unmistakeable Arab blood, in their veins, but, as a rule, these are not the dangerous ones. I feel confident in saying that the fanatics shot on the 1st March were chiefly of this mixture with the lower races. My opinion is based on observation only; but then I have examined anthropologically some 500 odd persons in Malabar and most of the lower races.

31. In appendix F you will find two Mappilla war songs such as are sung everywhere, and which do much to keep going that form of Islamism which is strongly fanatic. How much stronger force on life and the Government and use of life there is in songs which stir the heart of a people to the core and makes the heart strings to thrill than in laws however skilfully wrought we know well. No people in the Madras Presidency sing songs of this kind as do the Mappillas. In the Ceded Districts heroes are perpetuated in rude bass relief on stones, but not one in fifty knows the story of the hero, and the story as told is more or less forgotten; the interest is gone. Not so among the Mappillas. You cannot read the songs I am sending you without feeling the terrible strength of the spirit which animates them. Curiously enough the poet, now dead, belonged to Kondotty. The Kondotty faction of Mappillas has been always quiet. Strange that one of that faction should so inflame the other. One is about a great fight at Malapuram when the mosque was threatened and eventually burnt and the other is about the battle of Bedr. The former I picked up in Malapuram seven years ago,

took it to England with other folklore curios and brought it back. The latter I found stained with blood on the person of one of the fanatics after the shooting at Manjéri. It bears a remarkable superscription. But I will say something of the other one first, because it contains an excellent description of those ideals which excite the heart of every Mappilla.

32. It begins, of course, extolling Mahomet, and tells how the king of Damascus was convinced of the truth of his mission to men when the prophet made the moon rise at the wrong time, ascend to the zenith, divide, and each half pass through the sleeves of his coat. Then follows a version of the tale of Joseph and Potiphar's wife, itself founded on an older Egyptian story. Regardless as Shakespear for chronology, the poet tells how Islam was brought to Kerala and eventually a grand mosque was built at Malapuram. An odd absurdity is that the Perumal is compelled to do the *Haj* while Mahomet was alive. Of course, Mahomet was dead more than 200 years before Islam came to Malabar or the Perumal went to Arabia. The Mappillas offer to do anything, to give anything, to submit in every way that may be desired so far as regards themselves, their way of life, they will make any vicarious sacrifice so far as they are concerned. But as for touching the mosque! Never! They will not allow even a minute atom of the cadjan roofing to be burnt, although by doing so they can save their lives. There is a handful of men against thousands; but they will fight to the death and they are glad of the opportunity.

"The soul in our body is in the hands of God. Can we live for ever in this world? Must we not die once? Everything will die but God alone will not. Such being the commandment of God we will have no excuse when we are brought before him after death; so determine earnestly to fight and die. If we die fighting with the wicked men who attempt forcibly to burn this holy mosque, which is the house of God, we shall obtain complete salvation." The occasion to fight and die for the faith is then likened unto a vessel which has come to bear the faithful to the shores of bliss. They are invited to embark. How well for them that such a vessel has come for them! It will bear them to the broad gates of heaven. "Is it not for the arrival of a such a vessel (*sic*) that we should pray"! * * * "The pleasures of wealth or family are not equal to an atom of celestial happiness." Of course, those who embark in the vessel (seize an occasion to fight and die) will soon be in bliss for ever. "Our most Venerable Prophet has said that those who die in battle can see the *houris* who will come to witness the fight. There is nothing in this world to compare with the beauty of the *houris*. The splendour of the sun, of the moon, and of the lightning is darkness compared with the beauty of their hair which hangs over their shoulders. Their cheeks, eyes, face, eyebrows, forehead, head are incomparably lovely. Their mouths are like corals of gold; their teeth like the seeds of the Thalimathalam; their breasts are like cups of gold, the pomegranate, or like beautiful flowers. It is not possible for the mind to conceive the loveliness of their breasts and shoulders. * * * If they spit in the sea, the salt water becomes like honey, and is fragrant as attar. If they were to come down to this earth and smile, the sun, moon and stars would be eclipsed. Mortals would die if they but heard the music of their voice (Lore-lei!). When they wear red silk bordered with green lace of seventy folds, their skin, muscles and bones can be seen through. Such is the splendour of their body. If they clap their hands the clash of their jewels will be heard at a distance of 500 years' journey. They clap their hands and dance and sing as they come like swans to the battle field. If a human being were to see their beauty, their dance or their smile, he would die on the spot. Gently they touch the wounds of those who die in battle, they rub away the blood and cure the pain, they kiss and embrace the martyrs; give them to drink of the sweet water of heaven and gratify their every wish. A horse caparisoned with carpet set with precious stones will be brought and a voice will say 'Let my men mount; let them dance with the celestial houris.' Then the celestial coverings will be placed on their heads, they mount the beautiful horses which will dance and leap and take them to heaven, where they will live in unbounded joy."

"Such is the fate that awaits those who die fighting bravely. At the dissolution of the world they will be sped like lightning over the bridge across hell. In heaven they will attend the marriage of Mahomet. They will be decorated with bunches of pearls and crowns of gold; they will be seated on the tusk of Mahomet's elephant

and enjoy supreme happiness. It is impossible to describe the pleasures which await those who die fighting bravely without flinching. All their sins will be forgiven and God will listen to all their prayers."

Far otherwise is it with the coward. "All his virtuous actions are ignored. He incurs the wrath of God. He will be written down as a renegade in the book of God. His prayers are vain. He will die a sinner and be thrown into hell where fresh kinds of torture will be given him. In hell are countless myriads of scorpions, snakes, worms and frightful dragons. It is a pit of everlasting fire." The pleasures of heaven and the pains of hell have been revealed to Mahomet "who in his turn taught his disciples. It is the learned Musaliars who now hold this knowledge."

33. These extracts tell of the beliefs and feelings which possess every Mappilla so strongly that nothing can change them, much less eradicate them. But let it not be supposed that these feelings are purely sensual and erotic. The test of the standard of a religion is found in the amount of its effect on what is understood as morality; and there is no doubt that the Mappillas' version of Islam has strong effect on his life. He gains martyrdom and its glorious consequences through following the commands of God and the Prophet to the end.

34. The author of this poem was one Alungal Kandi Môyankutti Vâidiâr. His grandfather was a Hindu, a vêlan or medicine man, converted to Islam and called Uni Mammad Vâidiâr. The profession of the family was medicine; hence Vâidiâr, a term which is synonymous with vêlan. The poet died three years ago at the age of 45. His father is living and owns 10 *paras* of land ($1\frac{1}{3}$ acres)—a gift from the Kondotti Thangal. His poems are very popular and written as all Mappilla songs are, in the Arabic character, composed in a mixture of Arabic, Hindustani, Malayalam, Tamil, Telugu, and other languages. He was a good Tamil scholar too. Among his most popular poems are—

(1) Jin Pâta (of a battle between the Prophet and the Genii).
(2) Salikkath (of a battle between the Prophet and the Queen of Khorassan).
(3) Hussan Jamali Bardal Muni (a love tale).
(4) Badr Battle Song (of a battle between the Koreish Chief, Abu Jahil and the Prophet).
(5) Vahad (the second battle between the Prophet and the Koreish).
(6) Song of the Malappuram Shâhîds (given above, written seven years ago).
(7) Hejjra (song of the flight of Mahomet to Medina).

35. Now for the song of the Battle of Badr.—"This song was printed on Friday 22nd of the month Rahil Ahar, Hejjra year 1311 (this is 1313) in the Pandisala (godowns) of Padari Akath Kunhamed Kutti of Ponnáni in the printing press called Karakal Sayid Ali Madahara Mahimat of Tellicherry. This book was written by Kondotti Mele Angadi Ottupára Kuzhiyil Alungal Kandi Moyen Kutti Vâidiâr. The copyright has been transferred to me—Nalla Vêtil Kakkaden Kandi Pokku of Tellicherry. Printed by one Pokku, in the printing press named Malabath-ul-Holuma in Ponnáni town. If any one prints this without my permission he will be liable for damages."

The song has already gone through three editions of 1,000 each. The blood-stained copy found by me in the Manjéri temple is inscribed thus:—

"This book belongs to Kunholen's son Vîran. At 3 o'clock in the evening on Friday, 14th Shabah month, Hejjra 1313 (*i.e.*, 31st January 1896), we went to the mosque, performed Nîrcha (vow), ate in Kunhu's house and prayed to God. We resigned our body to God. Oh Lord of Mercy! Thou art the most merciful!

4	9	2
3	5	7
8	1	6

I wrote."

N.B.—The talisman scrawled in ink is not correct. It should add up 15 in any direction.

As a copy of the song is enclosed I will not quote much of it here. It is the Angel Gabriel who tells the Prophet that bliss awaits those who die fighting against the infidel. The Prophet tells his followers how they are to gain paradise and be met by the houris, whose eyes are like the waxing moon, whose cheeks are like the young plantains' leaves, who are soft as the petals of the young shoe flower.

His imagery here is not quite so happy, for the necks of the houris when they walk "wave to and fro like the neck of a rutting elephant. But their breast is like a lake whereon are lotus flowers and they are always 16 years old and very lustful. They come like sporting elephants to bear away those who die in battle and strive with each other saying 'I will take him—I will take him.' The Prophet swore to his army that such happiness would be theirs if they died fighting bravely."

Omar was eating dates; when he heard this he cast them away. The Prophet asked, why? He replied that he wished to waste no time eating dates. "I wish to use my time for fighting, and so saying he rushed like a lion among a flock of sheep, killed many and died fighting; he met with the death that he wished for." It tells how the father fights against his son, for the faith is stronger than the bond of blood.

And so it goes on. These poems must be read if the Mappilla is to be understoood.

The Battle of Badr was fought on the 17th day of Ramzan, the day on which the Mappilla fanatics wished, no doubt, to make their stand and die. Luck, and thanks to our knowledge of the district, and the capacity of the troops and of the special force were able to prevent this. They had really no alternative but to make their stand on the 16th Ramzan—1st March. A most important point was thus gained. Who Vîran, the son of Kunholan, is I have not yet discovered, but hope to be able to do so. No Vîran was shot. There was a Vîran Kutti. What is important about the superscription is that until it was made out, not a word was ever heard or mentioned about such a thing as a deliberate religious act, a vow, and giving up the body to God. It opens out quite a new subject for inquiry. I did not know of it until after my return to Calicut on the 30th April when I took the book with me for translation which the Head-quarter Inspector Mr. T. K. Kannan, B.A., has done most creditably. I do not however think it possible to delve out the truth. My inquiry was most carefully made and always directed towards tracing the religious element in the affair, but nothing has turned out. There was no divorcing of wives, and, beyond that Kiri Ahamaduni obtained his father's blessing, it is not known that any one was blessed. But here we find that there was a deliberate forsaking of the world on the part of some of them: a giving up the body to God. Fanatics, religious enthusiasts, had as early as the 31st January, or 26 days before the first mention of the outbreak was made public, deliberately assigned their bodies to God. This helps to blow aside any theory that the men went out *because* the Police arrested the Musaliar.

36. Harking back to our subject it is undeniable that the Mappilla is exceedingly impressionable and emotional. He holds the tenets and beliefs of his faith with the very strongest tenacity. The Salvation Army man who invites his brethren to embark to the shores of kingdom come, chiding those who hesitate, has not the smallest notion of embarking himself until he is compelled to. He is not so strongly affected by the reality of what he sings about as to possess the slightest inclination to be off at once to the meeting at the river when the path is death. The *reality* of the unseen, or that which lies in the animism, is much stronger in the lower races than it is in the higher. I shall never forget the look of a Sourah when I asked him how he knew a certain spirit had given him fever. To the Mappilla, the pleasures of heaven which await those who die fighting are not a far off and indistinct vision, or as with many people what they believe; they believe it is not this but something which impresses his whole being; it is altogether real; so real that he can meet death without flinching. It would be hard to find anywhere an instance of such an extraordinary contempt for life, such wonderful courage—fanatic it is true—as was seen on Manjeri temple on the 1st March last. The cutting of throats, the blowing out of brains made it very evident that it was death and death only which was longed for.

37. We have seen how that the Mappilla is a most unfortunate subject for a religion which is fanatic in character; and we have seen that he is impressed most deeply with a religion which is very strongly fanatic. The conclusion is that he may very easily

be made dangerous; and we have had only too many proofs that he is. He believes in justice, mercy, truth, God and the Prophet like a reasonable being; but he is also capable of believing above all things in the glory of fighting for his faith which must not be smirched. Apostates must die—their blood must be shed. Those who put down a house of God must be fought to the death.

VI.

38. It will not be necessary to weary you with an attempt to show how that people so situated, drinking misery to the dregs, inflamed by the contrast of the heart's desire which may be gotten so easily by whoever will, may be incited into outbreak. It does not require a powerful engine to raise the electric spark. Of course, it is not as a rule among those who have much to lose that this spark kindles, but rather among those who find the tragedy of life too strong for them. The former are capable of interpreting their faith reasonably. They know that an outbreak is a violation of it. Not so to those who are wretched. To them there may be very easily assumed that emotional feeling in which "the dread of something after death" in no way puzzles the will, and the desire to see "the undiscovered country" may be excited very easily. So little do they know of the tenets of Islam that they make a point of fighting in the very month in which they are enjoined specially not to fight if they can avoid it—not unless they are attacked. We know that among the Jews the great hero Judas Maccabeus first instituted fighting on the Sabbath. But he who first instituted dying as Shahids during the Ramzan is still in obscurity. Their very interpretation of their faith is fanatic in character. Thus the 17th Ramulan, the day of the Battle of Badr, is a very good day to die; the 26th is the best of all (it was on this day that Kiri Abdulla shot himself); and the 28th, the day on which we shot the second gang, is also a good day. Similarly, there are *good* days on which to start out to fight. The 12th Ramzan is a good day for this and therefore it was chosen for the 1st day of the outbreak. It has been suggested that because the Tuvur adhikari was not murdered on the 25th February, some of the fanatics having left their homes on that day, they may not have intended to murder him at all. But this is an error. The first overt act must not be until the 12th Ramzan—the 26th February. Most likely when the Musaliar was taken away no opposition was made, because it was not suspected that the incipient stage of the outbreak had been heard of by any one who would tell. It was expected fully that he would return. Had his departure *before* the trysting day been prevented by force, then the news of the outbreak would have been out beforehand. This was to be avoided at all costs. Therefore he was allowed to go quietly. It was never suspected that he was actually arrested and to be detained in durance. That he was expected back is clear. After they had started out and Raru Nayar was killed, some of the fanatics returned to Tuvur *for the Musaliar*.

VII.

39. Before attempting to disentangle the threads in order to find those which are most easily traceable between cause and effect of the outbreak, let us see whether in process of deduction the facts relative to the condition of the fanatics agree with the population and division of property *plus* fanaticism theory, are what we might expect them to be.

Three are classed as "Comfortable" They are Moidin Kutti Hâji, the leader (No. 91), and Pottemanil Uni Mamad (32), and Pottemanil Uni Mamad his brother (43). Moidin Kutti Haji was no doubt a religious enthusiast; and he was in difficulties. Three years ago he went to Mecca with his wife's brother and three others of the neighbourhood. Of the five he alone returned. He had spent his wife's dowry and he had taken some money from his wife's brother on his death in Mecca. He owed a couple of hundred rupees and had no visible hope of repaying the debts. Nevertheless he lived in a good sort of house in a good garden, held about $7\frac{1}{2}$ acres of land on Kânom, had two wives and three children; but the house had a neglected air about it and was in very different condition to those of his two brothers close by and which are neat and trim. He was very strict in all religious observances and his visit to the Wandur Shandy on the 25th February seems to have determined him to die a Shahid. He had ploughed about a quarter of a field just below his garden.

It was the last bit of work he did. It would seem that he was a man whose eyes were fixed more keenly on the next existence than on the present; one to whom fanaticism comes and envelopes in the natural course of the operations of the mind. But he was not cruel or bloodthirsty. He prevented several murders which members of the gang wished to do. From all I can hear he was much the superior of all the others in intellect and capability: for all that, neither the one nor the other was of a high order. He was above the others who were all more or less ignorant. But it will be seen he comes of a fanatical family through his mother, who was the well-known Athen Kurikal's sister. His widow Achu, a superior sort of woman and well-dressed—thus in great contrast to the others,—wears a necklace of praying beads. A religious house evidently.

Note.—Athen Kurikal himself came of a very troublesome family (*vide* Logan's Manual, pp. 533, 563 and 565).

(Intld.) F. F.

Pottemanil Uni Mamed (43) and his brother (32) puzzle one. The former had a capital house which has about it an air of peacefulness and comfort. He was not very rich; he had $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres on Kânom and $1\frac{1}{2}$ on Virampatom; and he had two good bullocks, a cow and a calf. But his landlord was "a good man" and there was no quarrel with him. He seems to have been happy in his home with his wife and six children. Poverty was not the cause, for his widow wears all golden ornaments in her ears. She will have a posthumous child very shortly and be dependent on her father who has nine other children to support.

His brother Uni Mamad (32) lived close by. His house is not quite so good as the others, which was the father's house, but it is a good and comfortable one. This man too had a happy home, apparently, and lived in domestic happiness with his wife and five children. She too wears all golden ornaments in her ears. The brothers had lived together after the father's death and even after they were married until their families began to appear in the world.

Both were religious. Their father had erected a praying shed situated between their houses, and every morning before sunrise the brothers prayed therein. In the father's family were six children, and of these only one now remains alive—a girl married to a man in Chembrachery. Both seem to have been quite religious, domestic, and comfortable, though not rich in their worldly affairs. The gang passed close by (43)'s house early on the 29th February after they had finished praying. It would seem that they could not but join. It is not at all likely either of these, just as in the case of the boys, would not have joined but that the gang came right in their way. A large party too, about 60 strong. The only explanation is that the brothers felt as did the Shahids of Malappuram. The vessel, such as they must long for, had come to take them to the broad gates of heaven; and go they must.

Twenty-four others are classed as "poor" people who are genuinely poor, but who are not in the direst straits of poverty.

Forty-four are classed as in poverty; they had considerable difficulty one way or another to exist; and in their case, death must have been a welcome release.

Eighteen are under the head of youths living with parents and being more or less supported. Some were forced to join—62 for example. He went to look after his father's straw and just then the gang turned up; he was asked to drink conjee with them and refused as he was keeping the fast. (The Shahids have license to eat; they do not keep the fast.) At last he was persuaded; and they took him by the hand and made him accompany them. In the west of Ireland mortals are tempted in this way by the fairies, and, as in the case of Adam and the apple, if they but taste they will surely die. His father is a very respectable man who feels his son's loss keenly. Now to fine such a man, one of the very few in the locality who has been a pioneer in turning waste into arable, and yet by his steady perseverance and patience has managed to keep himself in moderate affluence, would be most unjust. He is a successful farmer, but not a rich one. As soon as he heard the gang had come to his side he went straight off to tell the adhikari, little knowing that his son had been carried away by the gang. He feels the loss of the boy, who was only 17 (and married!), and would have done all in his power to reclaim him had he only known. He tries to hide it but he cannot speak of the boy, his eldest child, without involuntary tears rising in his eyes; and yet if the amshom be fined he is one of the few who could pay a fine.

The father of Khaidervelapan Averan Kutti too (72) was moderately well off and his son, a boy of 18, wanted for nothing. He was apparently led away by 73, his nephew but younger than himself, and by the Aruviralans, his playmates. The father went to guard the adhikari's house and in his absence the boy, who had been sent to watch new-cut paddy, went off and joined the gang. Other youths joined with their elder brothers or when the gang came their way.

Two are classed as vagabonds. One was a notorious house-breaker and ne'er do weel. His father is a respectable man who did not approve of his son's life. His mother used to give him food unknown to her husband. The other is a wandering vagabond and had no hold on life.

One is classed as semi-idiotic. He joined when the gang came near his place on the evening of the 29th February—on Pandalur Hill. He used to wander here and there among his relations, never working of his own will, but would do whatever he was told to do. He could not have had much interest in life.

40. We find therefore that the gang is composed thus:—

Comfortable (One however was in difficulties).	3
Poor	24
In poverty	44
Youths living with parents and supported more or less	18
Vagabonds	2
Semi-idiotic	1
Total	92

Seventy-one of these were more or less really poor; eighteen were forced to join or joined first as boys would, not knowing what they were doing, looking on the thing as a sort of picnic; and of the three others who were not exactly poor, one was in difficulties about money and all three were deeply religious.

41. It seems to me therefore that the theory aforesaid should be accepted as true. It may be wrong, of course, but the conclusion is nevertheless logical. The famous dictum of Professor Huxley's "Science commits suicide when she accepts a creed" helps to make us all remember how very easily we may be mistaken. And it may be said the reasoning is in a circle because we started out with data taken from the members of the gang. It does not really upset the argument, because the fanatics' families are just ordinary ones, and it was well to base a theory on the actual facts before us. There is yet another circumstance which may be added to elucidate the fanatic character of the affair. Aruviralan Mutha's brother would not take the slightest interest in hearing me tell how that his brother was lying in hospital and wounded. He would not listen to anything about him. "He is no more." The lad whom he had cherished and brought up as a father was nothing at all to him, even when lying wounded and in danger. That he would visit him or say a kind word to him was out of the question.

Again Puzhithini Kunyâyu's father would not take the least interest in his son's recovery. Kunyayu was in danger for a month, a snider bullet having gone through his lungs but neither father, mother, brothers nor sisters wanted to hear again of him, much less see him.

42. The case of the boy Mâtumal Moidin, a child of twelve, who joined the gang and left it, is different. Of four sons he is the only one left. Two shot, another who ran away from the gang and left it and was arrested. And a mother's love is strong. She is devoted to him. The Special Assistant Magistrate has proposed that this boy be educated in Calicut and turned into a peon; his brother being gone he could have his mother to Calicut and his connection with fanatical Pandalur would be severed easily. Now I do not at all agree with this. There is not the least probability of his mother severing her connection with Pandalur where her daughters are married. The boy should be sent to the Reformatory in Madras. It is quite impossible, I think, to give an opinion in a case of the kind without personal inquiry on the spot, such as mine was.

VIII.

43. Something more must be said of the people in the inflammable localities. Throughout the Chembrachery amshom and Tuvur there is no such thing as a street even of two or three houses together, in a line. The houses are all scattered. In the extreme east, in the Cheramba deshom, under the hills, the houses are sometimes half a mile apart. The population would appear to be sparse, but that it is superabundant is evident by the price of labour—one anna six pies, in kind. There is also a floating population during part of the year, people from the westwards coming to cultivate paddy and other grains on the hills. Much valuable forest has been destroyed in this no-man's land by this process. A man wishes to cultivate a certain part of the forest—"Modan" cultivation they call it. He proceeds to hack down and burn without question as to the ownership. Before crop is ripe some one comes along and claims the land; one-tenth of the crop is claimed, and eventually an agreement is made by which only a few *paras* are given (a para is about three seers).

It is not with any desire to push home my argument that I say the people hereabout, as well as about Pandalur, are in greater poverty than any class which I have seen in this Presidency. That direst type of poverty which exists in the east end of London is not met with in the Orient. That which I have seen among the Mappillas is the nearest to it within my knowledge. They have not the rigour of climate to contend with, and, being nearer the primeval life, they can manage to obtain from nature something, however little, in forest produce and the like, to aid the sustenance of life. But many of them are just as poor as they can be and live. The condition of some of the widows and starving children of fanatics is dreadful to think of. I was very glad indeed when that part of the inquiry was over. It was a great relief.

It was very apparent that there is a very much stronger kind of fanaticism among the women on the Pandalur side than is the case farther east. It was one of these women who, after the 1894 outbreak and her son was wounded, said: "If I were a man *I* would not come back wounded!" Many of these women are inspired with the same feelings. There is a sternness, an absence of softness, about the older women, a sternness bred of poverty and fanaticism, and when one asks for the grievance that made the son go out to die, a child could see that the answer "I don't know" is not the true answer.

44. I see that the Hon'ble Mr. Winterbotham, who very kindly let me see the proof of his report, searches for causes for the outbreak in the statements of prisoners and wounded fanatics, in *their* view of the causes. With all possible respect for the opinions or views of one who knows Malabar so well, I must venture most respectfully to disagree with this process. The etiology is not to be traced thus. When we see a Dravidian hacking off the head of a goat, smearing blood on a stone under a tree, and dancing about with the bloody head on his own, and ask him why he does it, he will probably say he does it because his father's spirit has been troubling him, giving him fever and disturbed dreams; and if we pursue the subject and ask him why he chooses this mode of appeasing the troublesome spirit, he will say it is because the spirit wants blood; eventually, push him teleologically, and he says it is the custom. And so it is always; whether amongst the Khonds where children are turned out of the house at five years of age and made to sleep together (boys and girls apart) until married, which may be never, or whether it is as amongst a class of Maravers, the dead man's head is dug up, cut off the trunk and carried in triumph to a feast, the answer to "why is it done?" is always "because it is the custom." Customs are not ingeniously devised, and no amount of asking why will dig out the why, which is to be found by a quite different method, viz., by comparative folklore, the agent of order. And it seems to me with all deference, be it said, to be equally useless to try and ascertain the causes of a Mappilla outbreak from examination of the people themselves as to *their* ideas of the cause. I am persuaded that most of them had not the faintest idea why they "went out." They are conscious of the feelings which make them go out; but they cannot tell you why; they cannot transmute their consciousness into thought, much less into expression thereof in words. Need it be said that consciousness and thought are widely different and that the former outstrips the latter immeasurably. The vehicle of thought is, too, with these people of but very small capacity.

IX.

45. I will now pass on to what we know of the earliest stages of the outbreak before action was formulated. You are acquainted already with my views on the 1894 outbreak: how that the condign punishment intended for its abettors and sympathizers has been turned aside and metamorphosed into encouragement to do it again, and how that, impressed with the serious aspect of the situation, I have again played the nauseous part of Jeremiah. That a big outbreak was coming and soon I felt certain, and I did all in my power to prepare for it. There was mischief in the wind which stirred the subdued but ever present fire of fanaticism. That it was purely fanatic in origin I do not for a moment believe. If the burning of the Oruvampuram mosque in 1893 was not a deliberate act by those of one party against those of another with whom they were at feud, it was a most remarkable coincidence. As I have set forth elsewhere my reasons for not believing that it was, I need not reiterate them here. Ever since the outbreak of 1894 the country under consideration has been in that state in which alarm is excited and spread without reason. It would seem too that the spirit of unrest was maintained to some extent by the Mappilla watches or guards of the well-to-do Hindus, just to keep up the fear, to keep their bread and butter. At any rate there was a feeling among the Mappillas that this last outbreak of the current year was inevitable. They felt it *must* come. It was, I think, a great mistake to send away that Tiya woman who had become an apostate *forty years ago*. The act helped on towards the outbreak. The Mappillas foolishly entertained the idea that the Government were afraid of them, and this emphasized the belief. Soon after the affair at Pallikurup they were in great fear; then the Government Order was a long time appearing and when it came they were disturbed considerably; but very soon this gave way to the feeling that they would have their way and in the end they thought they were feared. I can touch only briefly on this side of the subject without criticism beyond my province. The unequal distribution of fines was felt I am sure. The whole of the fine from Waluvanad, where the 1894 gang met with much overt sympathy, amounted to but some Rs. 5,000 while that of Ernad was something like Rs. 13,000. An adhikari of Ernad told me confidentially that about a fortnight before the outbreak he had been told plump and plain by the Mappillas that the fines were unfair and would not on any account be paid. The Sub-Magistrate Mr. Kunyâyen heard this, but viewed the refusal just as an ordinary refusal to pay revenue until compulsion is resorted to; it was too common to notice.

46. Evidence of the first *talk* of an outbreak comes from Puzhithini Kunyâyu, the wounded man of the second gang. He first heard of it about the middle of January and heard no more for about a fortnight. Then early in the Ramzan, on the 11th February as well as I can place the date, Punthurti Moidin Kutti Haji told him there was to be an outbreak. These two and three others talked of it after the Wandur shandy near the travellers' bungalow, where they put down their loads and chewed betel as they chatted. Punthurti Moidin Kutti Haji said there *must* be an outbreak. Kunyâyen asked why? He said it must come, but he could not tell the cause. After the next shandy, on the 18th, there was no talk of it. But after the one following, *i.e.*, on the 25th February, he heard of the arrest of Alingal Haidru and Kappakunnam Mûtha.

How that the news came to the Wandur adhikari and he gave it to the Police and Magistrate has been mentioned already in more than one report. Karuvat Uni Kammu heard of it on the 20th February, but said nothing until the night of the 24th, when he told his father who told the Wandur adhikari. I stayed in the Alingal house where lives the Karuvat family. There too, I heard that it has been expressed that the outbreak was inevitable, although reasons for it were not given. It was only felt.

47. It seems to me that the outbreak was encouraged much in this way. I do not at all believe in the theory that the withered-arm Musaliar was a Peter the Hermit preaching a Jehâd. It is a theory which is mere assumption. It sounds plausible, but it has no legs to stand on. The Musaliar found it more and more difficult to live. His existence depended on the welfare of the Mappillas of Tuvur and Chembrachery. Among the blind the one-eyed man is king, and among the ignorant of Chembrachery and Tuvur this man, who had gotten a smattering of the Koran at Ponnâni, but who had not earned or received the title Musaliar—had not graduated in fact—was looked

up to as rather a learned person. He tramped the country round, his son carrying a bag which his constituents filled with contributions of paddy in consideration for his reading the Koran and performing Moiluth and other ceremonies. Crops have been bad lately, the people were poorer and they found it harder to live, and therefore to fill his bag. Often and often—so his widow says—he had said that he was tired of life and would leave his family and go to Ponnáni to live in the Koran. More and more he found the life hard and he said he was weary of it. His wife objected to be left in the lurch, urged him on to continue as he was. Now I have little doubt that, knowing what was nearest the hearts of the people, he used to preach and talk in such a way as to excite them. He was compelled to arouse them, to sting them into feeling, so that they would fill his bag. Commonplace preaching by rote would not have any effect. He had to talk to them in such a way that their generosity would be exaggerated; so that they would give more than they really could afford. Thus he used to tell them that a journey to Mecca was a sure path to salvation. But it was not the only way: there was another way—the way through dying in fight. The prisoner Khaider Velapan Kunholen told me that when he sat down to preach he used to talk so. He kept the thing before their minds. But I do not for a moment think that he peregrinated and preached that they must go out and die. He had not enough of the moving spirit to do that. For he was not one of those acute souls capable of devoting their energies to purposes which hold out no promise of private advantage. He had a keen eye on the filling of his bag all the while. It must not be overlooked how terribly strong was this creed which the people held and which he preached. The ties of caste and blood are nothing to its bonds. And then how sweet the promise! How can they fear death when with heart and soul and all their being they *feel* it true! Then there is the story of his anger against the Tuvur adhikari's brother who, seeing him walking before him with wooden sandals—him a Cheruman by birth—threatened to kick him if he ever wore them again. There is no doubt the Musaliar (who had he remained a Cheruman would have thought this quite proper: in fact he would not have dared either to wear wooden sandals or come near the Nayar) felt this insult very keenly. He spoke of it constantly to his wife and how wretched he was that he could not avenge it. It happened a couple of months before the outbreak. The adhikari's brother fled from his house at the beginning of the outbreak and attached himself to us. He was with us at Pandalur and followed us to Manjeri. Evidently he feared unpleasant consequences.

48. It seems too that the trouble about the Tuvur mosque lands referred to already in this report and described in Appendix C helped on the beginning. Anything which excites them makes towards an outbreak. Reasons for the outbreak are given by survivors—the Tiyati's apostacy, pulling down a prayer shed, &c. No one knew the woman. No one knew where the prayer shed was or anything about it. Removal of a prayer shed, which is not a mosque, is *not* objectionable, all the Mappillas say. Yet here they went altogether against their own reason. Moreover, this prayer shed had not been built, only commenced; and no prayer had been said in it. Once maddened by religious enthusiasm they may do anything. To go on the path to become a Shahid is adopted in a blind reflex sort of way just as others have done. "In extasy the excited part of the brain works with such violence that it suppresses the functioning of all the rest of the brain." It is of no use saying an act of this kind might make them kill those who injured them, but why should it make them fight the troops! The religious enthusiasm once aroused reason is thrown to the winds. Religion is with the Mappilla altogether emotional; not at all a matter of reason. It is also to be remembered that very many of the people are ill-nourished and that hunger, so to speak, produces extasy. The oracle, the diviner, the medicine man, the man who communicates between the living and the dead is always staring while operating. All they want is to die in what they call a fight. I may mention that the Tuvur adhikari has managed the Melatur adhikari's affairs for the last year or so *vice* Raru Nayar (murdered by the fanatics) who had become too old for the work, and this may have been another reason why his death was so much desired. The outbreak emanated from about the Tuvur mosque; two of the second gang also; and many of the Chembrachery people live close to it.

49. It is germane to the question of the causes of the outbreak, and should not be passed over here, how that the fanatics cut each other's throats, dashed out the brains

of their fellows, and shot them. (They may have been suicides). Anything of the kind has never been heard of before. It is almost past belief. True nevertheless. And what are we to infer from this? Had the circumstance occurred among Hindus it would not have had anything like the same import as it has when it occurred among Mappillas who, it is part of their faith, must not injure each other. We can infer this: The desire to die was above the desire to fight. Death before all things. Brought to bay before they were ready and wished to make their stand, an unique circumstance in Mappilla warfare, they must have felt that perhaps some of them might be taken alive; and they may have had curious notions about the soldier's rifles. Of course they believe their Thangals possess charms which will render rifles as harmless as air bladders. They were not able to carry out their intentions and must have felt that they were caught unprepared, so to speak. It has always been the case that they make their stand where and when they choose. In 1894 if they had wished to go on for another fortnight the troops would not, so far as one can see, have had any chance of catching them; and they chose their day and their place with deliberation. But on this occasion it was very different. They were simply caught. They were left no alternative. Now this must have surprised them considerably, and they must have felt that perhaps they might not be able after all to die as they wished. But can there be stronger proof of the utter wretchedness of their lives than this awful example of their determination to die in this way! Believe me that over-population, which is the father and mother of all misery, and sub-division of property which compels poverty, together with fanaticism, which is part of that form of Islam which fixes itself on the lower races of the world, and of which we have abundant examples, have more at the bottom of Mappilla outbreaks than anything else. But for the crowding of population there would not be that scramble for land out of which the landlords make such fine profit. A man may be turned out at once, for there are hundreds ready to take his place. Not of course that agrarian troubles of all kinds are not deep down in the foundations of that which grows up into outbreaks. They are a very large part of the material; and what unprejudiced person could say that the line taken by our courts since 1882 which have altogether upset Malabar customs in respect of property are not much to blame? The earth is the landlord's, not the lord's, in Malabar. Nothing whatever is to be expected from the people themselves in the way of mutual consideration for each other when the highest among them here now lead the way in the wrong direction.

X

50. There is yet another view of the devotion to death. Mr. Logan hints at it in his Manual of Malabar. The twelve-yearly tenure of the tenant is governed, so to speak, by the cycle of Jupiter. So in former days was the tenure of office by the Zamorin. Quoting from the manual, about 200 years ago, Hamilton, a traveller, describes a tradition according to which if the Zamorin did not die within his term he had the pleasure of committing the "happy despatch," as they say in Japan, in public. And he describes how that in 1695 the custom had been metamorphosed as all customs are, by circumstances, and the Zamorin surrounded by his guards stood on a certain place (it is now, prosaically enough, occupied by German Mission tile works!), while certain men who had devoted themselves to death strove to rush up a straight road in front of him, palisaded on each side, with arms in their hands to kill him, if they could. He who could reach the Zamorin and kill him would take his place. But the devotees were always killed by the spearmen as they ran the gauntlet. It was the Nayars who were supposed to have the pleasure of being killed in this way, but the Mappillas joined in. I will not trouble you with a discussion on this extraordinary custom and will merely add that as a folklorist I go farther than Mr. Logan. I should say there is very little doubt, if any, that the modern devotion to death by the Mappilla is a modern phase of the old Malabar custom during the Mahamakham or "great sacrifice" which took place every twelve years when Jupiter was in Cancer. "There is nothing new under the sun" as the wise man has said; one thing but grows out of another in process of development or change. It is just as well to think of this. Otherwise the devotion to death which the Mappillas go through when there comes the vessel to bear them away to eternal happiness would be almost inexplicable.

XI.

51. It is time now to say something of prevention of outbreak. The practice has been in punishment by fine and in deportation. Against the latter there is nothing to be said. It must be done sometimes. Against the former, however, there is something. Now in the present case to fine Chembrachery, Tuvur and Pandalur would be analogous to giving a sick man an extra dose of his disease in order to cure him. What they suffer from in its lowest dimension is poverty. To fine them would be to increase their poverty. The fining for the last outbreak has added keenly to the poverty. I hope sincerely that the Government will pause well before they decide to fine. It seems that the Hon'ble Mr. Winterbotham accepts fining as a foregone conclusion. I hope this is not the case. Our system of justice has passed beyond that phase during which judicial punishment was in the light of revenge for acts on society. It may be said "What is to be done for all the terror and all the mischief done?" To this it can be answered —they have paid with their lives; they have been shot down like dogs. Police officers are only too familiar with instances of bands of dacoits who not only terrorise, plunder and kill but also rape, which fanatics do not, and of murderers guilty of the most atrocious crimes getting through the loop holes in the law through no fault of *theirs* (Police) and leaving the Court smiling. And as for the harm done to Hindu temples and property, if men are responsible for what they do they are also responsible for what they do *not* do. The Hindus never made the slightest attempt to save their property or to help us as the poorest could have done by bringing us information. But after all is over, they have run-away with a whole skin, often leaving their women to bear the brunt, they turn up and claim compensation. They used not to behave in this way and it seems to me very wrong for us to encourage them in evading their duties as regards the general safety of person and property. The Maranath Nambudripad knew of the outbreak impending in the evening of the 24th February, but he never told any one. He made straight for his house to take away his women I think. He told me privately that people are *afraid* to tell these things: rumours, which may turn out to be no shadow of coming events—those who tell are *marked*. I have arranged with him for confidential communication in future. It is altogether hopeless to attempt to prevent the Mappilla propagating his kind and dividing up his property. They are two obstacles which must bring him to grief in the race of life. The only thing to be done is to humanize him. The Mappillas of the east of Ernad are in many respects altogether barbarians. How much civilized is a man who when he has performed the common act of nature runs his person, the lower end of his vertebral column, along the ground for the sake of cleanliness! Like the dog, sometimes he does it, sometimes he does not. The illustration is gross; but it illuminates. I have tried to get some figures showing the relative number of children in schools and amount spent on education in Ernad, where there are Mappillas and in Palghat, where there are Brahmins for comparison, but could not manage it. Direct comparison would not be fair, but the comparison should be with what was spent on high caste Hindus when they were in the condition in which the Mappillas are now as regards aid in education. I am not very disturbed because the figures give no idea whatever of the facts. Palghat teems with education up to any standard or degree. In Ernad there are included all the little children who attend the mosque school and who learn positively nothing at all—unless gabbling incoherent Arabic is something. The number of children who are taught anything at all are very very few; and they are taught little more than A. B. C. The Mulla in charge of a school in Manjeri, the only paid Mappilla schoolmaster, receives Rs. 6 a month! I am informed by one of the Mullas there that there were four paid formerly but those of three schools were struck off the pay list; and also that the

Note.—In the 1894 outbreak there was very considerable expression of sympathy with the fanatics. In the outbreak in this year there was *not*.

(Intld.) F. F.

I understood in 1894 there was very grave suspicion of several rapes having been committed by the fanatics.

(Intld.) M. H.

Note.—I have since obtained a few figures: see the end.

(Intld.) F. F.

Government grant is half what it was two years ago. The expenditure on Mappilla schools in Ernad amounts to some couple of thousands of Rupees, but the money is altogether ill-spent. It makes nothing at all towards improvement of the people. The high castes of Hindus are helped by private individuals for various, not altogether impersonal reasons. For instance the Zamorin has a first-class school in Calicut, with an Oxford man as headmaster, but no Tiyans and Mappillas can attend it; it is all for Brahmins and Nayars. Our line of administration all through has been most favourable to the Brahmins. They have thriven in the new medium, adapting themselves to it most beautifully. But it is by no means through inferiority that the Mappillas are now in their present condition. We know too much of the east to think anything of the kind. I need say no more on this point. It was Mappillas and not Brahmins or other Hindus who aided us in the serious crisis just past. The only Hindus who gave us any aid are the adhikaris of Chembrachery and Tuvur. I have great respect for both of these gentlemen, but aid such as theirs would never have enabled us to put down the rising.

52. The Mappilla possesses many fine qualities and it is only right that he should be given fair opportunity to develop them. In the first place the Government will have to make up its mind to spend some money in doing it if outbreaks are to be prevented. Refusal means outbreaks. It is sad to see as one travels through Malabar how that old cart roads are given up and abandoned. I am afraid that far too much of the money that should have been spent in maintaining roads has been educating Hindu children. Instead of abandoning roads, more roads should be made. For Malabar, peculiar in many respects, is quite unlike the eastern side of the peninsula as regards locomotion and carriage. As soon as you leave Malabar in the train and enter Coimbatore you can see cart-tracks in many directions. Anywhere on the East Coast, carts can travel in almost any direction. There are some localities to be excepted, of course; for instance, a portion of Ganjám; but there, there are plenty of roads. In Malabar it is altogether different. Carts can travel nowhere except along made roads. Over the greater part of the country it is impossible to ride on horse-back off the roads. Roads are a greater necessity, really, than they are in other parts of the Presidency. We know that making roads, digging wells and planting trees are the first duties of every administrator about to make for proper development of a province. The two latter are not so necessitous in Malabar as is the former. As I have said before, owing to the absence of means for locomotion the people in the east of Ernad are shut in from the world as if on an island, while their numbers increase enormously. What is needed most of all is to join them to the rest of the world and let them share in whatever enlightenment is going forward.

53. At present the only use these people can make of their heads is for carrying heavy loads. How can progress be expected! The community must be *helped* out of their present condition towards something better. At present a few go to Kolar, and gangs have been by far the best workmen (so the Engineers say) in building the big iron bridges in the Madras Railway. It is only through enlightenment, communication and partnership with the rest of the world can it be hoped that the Mappillas will for themselves see the mischief which over-begetting and sub-dividing property bring on themselves. The remedy must be made by themselves. No legislation can do it. It is to their credit be it said that their increase is not stopped by *vice*, one of the most certain of the positive checks to population.

54. But practical suggestion should be made and therefore I proceed to make some on the subject of roads. There should be a road from Melatur northwards and along the foot of the hills bending north-east and then northward to Kaliavu; at Kaliavu it would join the road which runs east from Wandur to that place. Formerly this was an old road.* It was the old way up by Sispara to some coffee estates and on to Ootacamund. The coffee estates have been abandoned and so has the road long ago. Had this road been made before, it would have had an influence on prosperity, for the valuable forest along the foot of the hills might have been made proper use of. Timber has been stolen and burnt without end in this no-man's land. Then there should be a road due east from Pandikad to Karivarikundu through

*Some of the furlong stones still to be seen—(Intld.) F. F.

Tuvur passing near the mosque. For several miles of this route there was once a road. While speaking of the locality I may propose also that there be opened a Police station at Kâliâvu, one at Karivarikundu—2 head constables and 10 constables in each and receiving the Wynaad allowance, for the locality is deadly feverish. If this allowance be not given, the men must be changed constantly, an arrangement which would negative their usefulness. I would not have any arms in these stations. Also a Police station at Chembrachery. Then, and it could be arranged easily, there should be established a weekly market at Kâliâvu and Karivarikundu. At both these places there is considerable timber trade, and at the latter there is an iron trade capable of development. I have talked about this to many of the sensible people of the locality, and they all said at once that what I beg to propose would be most advantageous to people and the best of all means for prevention of outbreaks. It would be an excellent means for humanizing the inhabitants. As it is, the eastern portion of Chembrachery is so far from Wandur that beats are out of the question. It is quite twenty miles or more to the south-east portion of Cheramba, the most dangerous locality of all. The people in this locality have no means of procuring ordinary supplies, salt, fish and the like and exchanging or selling produce except by a long trudge over very rough ground and through forest to Wandur, where there is a shandy every Tuesday or to Pandikad, 12 miles, where there is one every Monday. Every seer of grain grown in this newly-opened up locality must be carried on the head, sometimes fifteen miles before it can be brought to a road. I should say the road from Wandur to Kâliâvu has not been passable for many years, it only *being* done during this year; it will be made passable, I hope. The Police station at Chembrachery is really necessary not only as the other two as means for peace and knowing what is going on in the locality but as a guard for the Adikari's house. It should be located where Vellayur is marked on the map. Vellayur is the deshom where the Adikari lives. The station would suffice for watching Tuvur also. These stations should be good buildings with an upstairs room which European officers could occupy when travelling on inspection for a fixed charge. There are many advantages and no objection to an arrangement of this kind. It is most desirable that European officers should visit this part of the country which, were roads opened, would soon be sought out by sportsmen. From bison to peafowl there are quantities of game. Destruction to crops through game is a very serious loss to the farmers. At one place I was at near the foot of the hills, the bison feed on the young paddy and destroy a very large portion of the crops. The people want guns badly to scare away the trespassing animals, but this of course cannot be allowed. The only thing is to civilize it, and as civilization comes in the game will retire. From Kâliâvu a road should run north and north-westwards to Nilambur in order to open up that part of the country.

55. Then there should be a good road through Anakâyam, Pandalûr and Muddikôd, where the strongest fire of fanaticism has burnt ever since Mappilla troubles began. The place has been the home of misrule since a long time. In 1794 a Mappilla bandit's strong hold and the fortified houses of his followers on Pandalûr hill were destroyed by Major Murray, and it was at Pandalûr that in 1836 there was the first occurrence which was afterwards repeated again and again until the outbreak in February last. After the outbreak in 1894, it was proposed to make a road right through Pandalûr from Malápuram to Pandikad. It was thought the fines would be enormous. It was never supposed the amount collected would be not very much more than the cost of the establishment for collection. The Engineer was for some time at work surveying the line of road. I have seen him on the work about half way between the two places. But the whole thing was given up. It was a great mistake. How inflammatory the Pandalûr people are is quite plain in the fact that about 30 joined the gang within quite a few hours. Not that they joined *en masse*. The houses are all detached and some distance from each other. How ready they must have been!

56. The roads are needed not only as a means of humanizing the Mappillas but also for strategical purposes. Troops must have roads. In the very heart of fanaticism there is no road at all. In the 811 square miles of Ernad, there are only 177 miles 1 furlong of maintained roads. There should be 500. Looking at the map the distance to the road looks trifling; but it is country that must be *walked* over. It is very rough

indeed, rugged rocky hills and dales. This gives an idea of the country to be traversed—one day Mr. Wilkinson and I when out with the special force company managed to get an elephant to carry our things. One day's hard marching was enough for the beast. Its feet were so sore it had to lie up for a long time and we sent it away. During an outbreak when coolies for carriage are most wanted, there are none to be had. We ourselves were unable to change our clothes for days Mr. Wilkinson and I were much without beds and feeding was a scramble. Once off the roads where carts cannot go, and the smallest comfort is not to be had. And as for the civilizing effect of roads I will only say that in the locality roads are so few in comparison to the needs that there is hardly any cart traffic. If a man has to carry a bag of paddy, say to Manjeri from Cheramba, he must carry it to the road and afterwards along the road. If he carries it half the way, he may as well carry it the whole way; indeed he must, because in the first place there are no carts to be hired and if there were, he could not pay for one to carry a bag. You may remember that at Pandikad, even in the piping time of peace, you had to retain your carts because none were to be had there. So one sees going along the road numbers of Mappillas carrying loads on their heads. It is impossible for the people to get a reasonable price for their produce in these days unless they can transport it by wheeled traffic. A hundred years ago things were different. But now, as far as moving a bag of paddy is concerned, Madras is nearer to Malápuram than Cheramba is. The price of a small measure, about a seer, of paddy in Cheramba is 6 pies. In Manjeri it is 7 pies. In Calicut it is somewhat dearer. And last of all, all the fanatics came from places *where there are no roads*.

XII.

57. Such are the first, the most immediate needs and there should be no delay whatever in having the needs supplied. But there are others, necessary, certainly, though not so pressing. The affair at Trikalûr will be remembered. There, there were proper war casualties on our side. (It seems really that the only circumstance which is not as it ought to be in the outbreak this year is that there was not one casualty on our side. That which is to be avoided not only for our own sakes but for the sake of the moral, the emotional effect rather on the Mappillas is regretted!). Now supposing there is to be an *emeute* gathering as fast or faster than as in February last in the direction of Trikalûr, how could we manage? Trikalûr is about 20 to 22 miles from Calicut, and would be no more if roads were maintained; but if troops had to go there to-morrow, they would have to march from Calicut *viâ Manjeri*, which is 30 miles, then 14½ miles to Ariacode, and then they would have to cross a big river, which if in flood would be quite impassable, and after that, march 4 miles where there is no road or only a foot way. I have been to Ariacode from Calicut using a bicyle which had to be carried across curious places (I do not think it is passable for a horse. I would not like to have to take one) in the latter half of the journey; and I have been from Ariacode in the same way to Tamrassery. The old roads, from Tamrassery and Makūlān, nearly 9 miles from Calicut on the Wynaad road, join about 9 miles to the eastward and then go on east to Ariacode. Maintenance of these roads is a necessity not only for strategy but for developing the country. Near where the two aforesaid roads meet to the eastward is a place called Manacherry, where there is a weekly market; and a little to the east of this on the way to Ariacode it used to be joined by an old road direct from Calicut—through Chevayur and Kanniparamba. This too should be re-opened and maintained.

58. The route book perpetuates the error that there is a military route *viâ* Kondotti and Ariacode. It has not been a route since the bridges were broken, and it was impassable for carts 17 years ago. When the troops marched out from Calicut to Trikalûr, 1885, they could not move by this route; they had to go round by Manjeri. Then Ariacode to Edavanna is an old route. It was the old road from the coast to the Nilgiris, but here two bridges are gone and it is not a route. The bridges should be re-made and the roads maintained in proper order. As for bridges that on the road between Manjeri and Pandikad is down and the torrent is often altogether impassable in the monsoon sometimes. Imagine a rising in Tuvur or Chembrachery and the troops unable to cross this rapid stream!

Again, there used to be a road from Kondotti to Tirurangadi (near where is the great Mappilla shrine) but it has disappeared. I took a horse over it once—not riding—but will not do so again. Much ginger is grown on the hills between the two places, to say nothing of other cultivation, and of course it must be transported on the heads of Mappillas. There should certainly be re-opened a good road here too.

It appears on the map that there is a road between Tirurangadi (and also Mambram) to Calicut; but there is not. Carts going between the two places must go through *Malápuram*. True there is the railway; but why should the railway have the monopoly! What has been the saving of these people is really the grand highway, waterway rather, the Bepore river, and it may be said the routes to Areacode are not necessary, as the river is always available. It is and it is not. The boatmen are mostly Mappillas. If there were a big disturbance, the men would not be seen, and neither would the Hindus; so that though the way would be there it could not be used. As I rode to join the troops on the evening of the 28th February, soon after passing Manjeri, there was not a soul to be seen. It was a deserted country. Houses shut, no one on the road, no one in the fields. A peon carrying a letter to the troops at Manjeri was the only one I met. So it is not to be relied on that boats would be had in plenty to proceed up the Bepore river at any time, for in the very crisis when they would be wanted they would not be had.

There is another old road from Tirurangadi to Kottákal and Kulathur (the scene of an outbreak when the Honourable Mr. Winterbotham was the Special Assistant Magistrate) to Angadipuram which should be re-opened and maintained properly.

That gentleman recommends bridle-paths, but again I must venture to express my disagreement. They would not relieve the Mappilla's head of its load, and would be of no practical use. Bridle-paths would not help to bring the Mappillas in touch with the world, and what is also very important with Europeans. They have an insane idea that the Europeans hate them and want to destroy them. Only contact will eliminate this. The shooting ground in the east of Ernad is closed against the sportsman because he cannot possibly get to it at present. It is not the business of Government to prepare conveniences for sportsmen and I am not suggesting that they should make them. The suggestion is that a desirable consequence is likely to follow opening out the country.

As I have said, the scheme demands money; and money must be spent or frequent recurrence of outbreaks is a moral certainty. The last one was the biggest yet by far. Nearly three times as big as that of two years previous. What will the next be! We should not await it with folded hands.

XIII.

59. There remains to be noticed the work done by the Police and needs for the future. Taking these points in turn I think you are already aware that the part played by the Police has been thoroughly satisfactory and praiseworthy. In the way that troubles have of falling together and which called forth the famous remark of Claudius, the year has been a very trying one. Hardly were the fanatics disposed of but there was a serious disturbance in Ponnáni where for sometime—for many years indeed—the two religious chiefs of Mappilla Islamism have been in grave dispute and in the ordinary course of things, the dispute ended in a fight. That affairs must come to a crisis about this time was inevitable. It was, of course, in no way connected with the outbreak. Troops were called for but I was glad to be able to ask the District Magistrate not to send any and a strong party of reserve Police under Inspector Walter fresh from a twenty-mile march made a forced march to Ponnáni and all was quiet. (The rioters have been convicted.) And then there was the trouble in Alatur, where in a riot a man was shot dead. There too all was soon quiet. A reserve party was sent there too. The part played by the troops has been reported on by the Special Commissioner and no doubt by the District Magistrate and I need not say much about it. The men of the South Staffordshire marched exceedingly well on the 29th February and on the 1st March and on the latter day their shooting was splendid. It was not, however, a severe part, for beyond these two days they did only a few easy marches and halted at places on the road. But they did it right well and were as cheerful as possible and ready for anything. That of the Police was

not such an easy one. On the 26th and 28th February a small party at each place saved the Adikaris of Chembrachery and Tuvur and from that date until they marched into Malápuram on the 30th April they have been at work. Although only a section was present at the Manjeri temple, where as I have already told you they were in their place in the line of advance; the part played by the rest was a most valuable one. But for their position at Nenmini with Mr. Wilkinson on the 29th evening and night the gang would ten to one have made for Vellatur side where they would have had heaps of adherents and the affair would have been much more serious altogether. While regretting they were not all present at the affair at Manjeri temple, I can by no means regret sending them to Nenmini where they did their proper part in the strategy which brought the fanatics to their death before their time. As soon as the firing was heard, they covered the 9 miles and odd to Manjeri in something less than two hours; and then for the rest of the day and through the night the duty was theirs; for I wished the Police to do every thing they *could* do. Posting Police parties at salient points, the dead and wounded were carried down to the sub-jail compound and laid out for burning. Then the guarding of the bodies was done entirely by the Police who formed a cordon of sentries right round the place of burning and the bungalow in the north-east corner. The burning itself was done altogether by the Police who had to find fuel as best they could. Mr. Wilkinson and Mr. Bidie (the Assistant Superintendents, who were with me) were working like coolies at the fire until half past three the following morning. It is not easy to burn ninety bodies when nothing is prepared. However it was all done. The day following Mr. Wilkinson and I with the Special Force Company marched through Anakâyam and Pandalûr and with Inspector Cheykutti's assistance arrested six of those whose case is now before Government for having joined the gang and left it or helped in some way. The day following six others were arrested by Inspector Cheykutti with the Special Force men and then we went eastwards and harried the second gang until we shot them on the 13th March. Orders for the mobilization of the reserve were sent as soon as I returned from Madras on the 28th February; subsequently, I ordered them to the front and they marched up rapidly under Inspector Walter, the Reserve Inspector and reached Pandikad on the 3rd March and from that day they worked together with the Special Force Company until the middle of April in quieting the country, a task which, now that it is all done with, may seem to have been easy enough. As usual, dacoity sprang up and men went about pretending they were fanatics. In order to stop it as soon as possible, the Special Force Company and about seventy reserve men were disposed here and there as occasion required; the locality was occupied with a strong force and there was much activity. At the same time stringent orders were issued by me throughout the district for the regular performance of all Police routine work, beats especially—to which I have always given the chief importance in Police work, as if nothing had happened, and I am glad to say that quietness was thus given. We have had some cases of dacoity but with the exception of two in Melatur side and in which no identifiable property was lost, in fact only a little food was taken by hungry Mappillas, the other cases are being accounted for. Unfortunately the recess is on or we would have had convictions ere this. While the terror is still surging, before subsidence, conviction of Mappilla dacoits in Sessions is easy enough; but what the effect will be when the Courts open I know not.

60. Then again there was the inquiry. I was with Mr. Winterbotham for a fortnight during part of which I sent two sections of the Special Force under Mr. Wilkinson scouring around Cherpalchery side to check the inclination to dacoity which sprang up there; and then followed my own inquiry which proceeded together with quieting the country. The reserve men were sent away by degrees and at last on the 30th April the Special Force Company marched into Malápuram, leaving but one section in Manjeri to guard the wounded man in hospital and I left for Calicut.

61. I am pleased beyond measure with the conduct of the men. From first to last they have been in the best of good spirits and going through the most trying duties with cheerfulness. An instance is this. Having marched to Pandikad by 7-30 on the 29th February (they reached Wandur late the previous night and had little or nothing to eat), the section with me (I was with the Malápuram Company of the

South Staffordshire Regiment) were given the option of waiting for food and following on and joining us on pursuit of the gang. The soldiers' breakfasts were ready and we were to start in half an hour. No: they preferred to go on, marched the whole day, doing scouting for the troops as well, and it was not until after 9 or 10 P.M. in Pandalur temple that they got some food. So it was all through. The other three sections with Mr. Wilkinson fared little better. Every man carried the scanty wardrobe he wanted in his haversack and slept in the open air on straw if he could get it, his rifle beside him. Blankets and kits were brought in carts to Pandikad, but there they were left as we could not transport them, nor indeed did the men want them, preparing to be in readiness to move at once in any direction. Under the hills we had a good deal of rain, but in spite of that sleeping on wet ground and the bad fever which prevailed at the time, we had no sick.

62. Something must again be said of the affair at Parambayil where the second gang was destroyed. The magnitude of the first overshadowed the second, which alone, but for the first, would have created just as much excitement as any other previous Mappilla disturbance. Troops could not have harried the second gang as we did, and thus preventing its growth. It is out of the question. Sepoys would have required their tents and blankets and mess and all that which is impedimenta, but which happily we were able to do without, and splendid marching power which brought us success. There was nothing for it but press on to the end. The police have done on the occasion what native troops have again and again failed to do, and therefore they have proved themselves to be most valuable and certainly most inexpensive light troops and well worthy of consideration and care. The Commissariat charges alone (and when wanted in the field one company had no carriage at all!) of the detachment at Malappuram or Calicut must be very much more than the cost of the Special Force company altogether. The amount spent by us on carriage was very trifling and would not have been so much by one-fifth or perhaps one-tenth, but that we had to retain carts, because none were available in Pandikad. I am sure I do not know where else in the Presidency men will be found who will work like this for two and a quarter months in one suit of clothes and a cloth in the haversack, and be as steady as they are in danger. The Ooriyas of the Northern districts are fine fellows for hill warfare, no better; but they by no means care about marching without kits. I do not think I am asking for too much favour when I ask for tangible proof of appreciation by the Government to the men of the Special Force and to the reserve, *but especially to the former*. There is no doubt this distinction should be made. In my letter describing the affair at Parambayil (1-A) to the District Magistrate, I made it clear that the Special Force men deserved the *most* praise, but he gives credit to both alike. Not only have they had the lion's share of the work all through, but the *proof* of their worth when for the first time they had to tackle a gang of fanatics alone lay in how they acquitted themselves on that occasion; and most certainly, the credit there is entirely due to the Special Force who were remarkably steady. Their steadiness at last steadied the Reserve men among whom were some young recruits who were tremendously excited. The Reserve men have most onerous escort duties and rare opportunities of drill; indeed it is only lately they have had any worth the name. The Special Force men went through the attack—in the new form and which I had instituted a year before and practised twice a week since—just as steady as on parade. I should say there was only about a section of the Reserve men present and the Reserve Inspector was not present—much to his regret and mine,—he having escorted the body of Kiri Abdulla to be burnt in Manjeri; he marched back rapidly but was just too late.

63. But the Reserve men have, however, done their share of the work right well on the whole, and next time they will do even better. It was a party of Reserve men and a section of the Special Force company under Inspector Walter which first scattered the second gang on the 9th March. Mr. Walter did precisely the right thing (see my letter 1-A) and gave another proof of his competence and reliableness. And it was a Reserve Head Constable Rahiman Khan who, when we found the fanatics would not leave the house and we talked of burning them out, at once volunteered to go and set fire to it. I have promoted this man who behaved most admirably, and setting a fine example to his men. He too asked for the honour of escorting the dead to be burnt in Manjeri, and with his men did the escorting. And then there

was the forced march to Ponnáni, on guard there for a fortnight and a forced march back. The Reserve men and Mr. Walter were as keen as possible and much disturbed because they were too late for the affair on the first march.

64. It is however only fair to give most credit where most credit is due, and in consideration for what they have done and how very inexpensive they are as troops. I therefore beg to ask that three months' pay be given to all ranks of the Special Force, excluding the Inspector who fell sick at the beginning and had to go on leave, and also excluding one or two men who were not to the fore all through. The distinction should be made, and the cost will not be much; of course recruits at Malappuram will be excluded also. Not only will the Inspector's pay not be included; but one European head constable also, as we were short. It will amount to pay for about 70 head constables and constables and three European head constables, and I am sure the outlay will be wise. Even with their extra allowance service in the Special Force company is not liked, and I am most anxious to make it *corps d'élite* in the district. This will help much.

65. You were good enough to favour my proposal to inaugurate signalling in the Special Force company and you are aware how that it has been successful. The signallers were employed constantly and did excellent work.

66. For the Reserve men who were employed during the disturbance, I beg to recommend one and a half months' pay all round. They too marched and slept in the clothes they stood up in and required no carriage. I may say the carriage, little as it is all through, was not on account of men's kits, but on account of ammunition; and the kits were put in the ammunition carts. Of Mr. Walter I cannot speak too highly. He is a valued ally to me in the district and his keenness was only equalled by his endurance, power of work, and willingness.

I think it would be a graceful act on the part of Government if they will be pleased to sanction these well-earned presents to the men, and at the sametime record their appreciation of their work throughout the whole disturbance, and hope earnestly for the favour of your recommendation.

I am very glad to be able to say that the police have been equal to the serious crises which have occurred in the present year in the district. The sepoys have had nothing to do but sit quiet sometime after the second gang was shot.

67. The constable, first class, No. 325 Krishnan Nair, whose clever arrest of the Musaliar on the 25th February was a most effective check to the outbreak, deserves a handsome reward. I recommend that he be given 50 rupees. He ran considerable risk. It must be remembered that he, a Hindu, went into the face of danger and avoided it only by his own self-possession. It is very probable that when the gang passed westwards from Raru Nayar's house that they intended going to Manjeri to release the Musaliar. The way is that to Manjeri as far as the High Road; and very likely, when they reached the High Road, they were told that he had just been taken off to the barracks at Malappuram, and so they changed their course southwards. While in the sub-jail, Manjeri, this man kept shouting out at the top of his voice that there was no use in guarding him, as his people were coming to release him. He was confident that he would be released by force. Luckily he had been sent in to Malappuram and there was a section of the South Staffordshire men at Manjeri. And now I must mention Inspector Cheykutti. He took charge of his division (Malappuram) a week or two before the outbreak. He was not, as you know, the Inspector of the division in which the outbreak took place. His aid was invaluable. From the very beginning to the end it was he and his people who obtained *all* the information concerning the movements of the gangs. A near relative of his, Pattayil Ahmed Kutti, working under him was a most extraordinary active scout. How or when he ate or slept I know not. For day and night he was here and there and everywhere. He is a man of means, and impervious to danger. In this part of the country Cheykutti is very influential, the adhikari of Painad is his close relative, and he himself is now the head of the first Mappilla family. The family is an old and honourable one, and Inspector Cheykutti himself is a steady, sober, sensible man who is a right good servant of the Government. He was engaged in special duty in North Malabar in the second half

of last year detecting dacoities and bringing to book a very famous bandit and murderer whom the police had assisted for years (an Inspector * and a second-grade head constable have just been dismissed for that) and whom he himself arrested. The smartest men sent by me failed to arrest the man, failed owing to his ally, the Inspector of the division and his friends, the most influential people in the locality; and it was only when I entrusted his arrest to Cheykutti that he was at last seized. For his work in connection with that alone—for the bandit Avulla was responsible more or less for all the grave crime in North Malabar where dacoity was very serious, but is now since his confinement stopped altogether—Cheykutti deserves to be handsomely rewarded. Following this there is his excellent work, throughout the late crises; and last of all, there is his admirable work in the dacoity cases which followed the outbreak. The dacoits have been caught and the movement checked. I do not propose to reward him with money and most respectfully urge that he be honoured with the title Khan Bahadur. He well deserves it. The honour would not be misplaced and it would have an excellent effect on the Mappillas. I may also mention that his kinsman Vellaedatha Chek rendered us considerable aid.

* A head constable acting *sub. pro tem.* as Inspector. (Intld.) M. H.

Inspector Mr. Sweeney rendered good assistance in the way that was required of him, and I regret his having fallen sick and his departure after a short stay.

Second-grade Head Constable Krishnan Nair, Station House officer of Manjeri, was of good use in ascertaining the names of the killed and in obtaining other useful information. In order to do this he had to move about the disturbed tract while excitement had not yet subsided. I recommend for him a reward of Rs. 10.

Second-grade Head Constable Korukutti Nair has been made a probationary Inspector. His prompt action at the outset of the disturbance gave him an opportunity to show his mettle, and his conduct then decided me to recommend him for the appointment which you were kind enough to give him. He was in charge of the Manjeri division throughout.

First-class Constable No. 933 Hyderman of Wandur station was also useful, working under Inspector Cheykutti in obtaining some information concerning the second gang, and I recommend for him a reward of Rs. 5.

Fourth-grade Head Constable S. No. 635 Achutan Nair, Station House officer of Melatur, was one of the few of the Station Police officers whose head was not turned by the confusion and did his best throughout; he kept me informed of all that went on in his locality and was to be depended on. In a crisis like the one past, of course, the ordinary station police are not of much use. I propose to reward this man for his arduous and steady work by one month's pay. It will give an impetus of encouragement to the others.

Inspector Mr. Neill was the trustworthy and dependable officer in charge of Angadipuram division, and in many ways throughout he did good service.

Inspector Mr. Vasavamenon has grappled well with the dacoities following the outbreak in his division (which he has just joined), the southern portion of Walavanad. Even there, of course, people were in terror. I propose to reward the office clerks who were with us and who had a hard time as the Reserve men. I must add my commendation of the services rendered by the Hospital Assistant Mr. Ramutti who was with us throughout, always cheerful and ready and painstaking. It was his excellent care that saved the wounded man Kunyayu. He was in his hands ten minutes after he was shot, and day and night he tended him. He marched everywhere with us and was of the greatest service. I hope he too will be given a substantial reward.

XIV.

68. Now needs for the future—

Boots.—I think it is most important that the men be well shod. The boots we get from the jail are no manner of use, and buying them is downright waste. They will not last the Special Force men for ordinary parades: to appear at these even, they have to spend their own money for repairing their bad boots, and as for marching

in them it is out of the question. Not one man, Special Force or Reserve, wore a boot the whole time we were out. They would have been glad of *good* boots; but they could not march in *bad* boots. The country is very rough indeed and almost everywhere there is thorny jungle. I need not tell you how very important it is for men to keep their distance when advancing in skirmishing order. If they do not, they are almost useless against an enemy and most dangerous to each other. When advancing on the Manjeri temple there were places where the men could not possibly keep their distance because they had no boots. They did their best certainly, and recovered their places quickly. But that is not all that is needed. Now the 25th Regiment sepoys wear English boots, procured from Messrs. Wrenn, Bennett and Co. for Rs. 6 a pair. A boot of equal value (not price) made anywhere in India is not to be had under Rs. 7-8-0. The Commandant has made many experiments in boots and has at last decided in favour of English boots as the best and cheapest. The sepoy buys his own boots—and prefers to buy these boots to cheaper Cawnpore boots. He knows they are cheaper in the end. I have talked to the Colonel and the officers and to the rank and file of the regiment about boots; and I have examined and compared their boots; and I have no hesitation in recommending that the same boots be supplied to us—*one* pair a year, instead of as at present two pairs from the jail and which are quite useless. I propose that these boots be given to the special force and reserve. The jail boots are *no use*, be it remembered. In times when they should be *used* they are put aside, because they cannot be used. And who will say they are ornamental!

Water-bottles.—If the Reserve and the Special Force men may keep their water-bottles, there is no more to be said. Certainly they want them. Before we got the bottles we had to halt frequently in the scorching sun to get water; and water was not always obtainable.

Signalling.—I propose that a staff of signallers be maintained in the reserve, sanction being given for instruments and the signaller's allowance for three head constables and twelve constables and for an instructor for six months, and I propose that the signaller's allowance be given to as many of the Special Force constables as will pass the test. This is even more important than the other. After all, not very many will go in for it. The more signallers the better. It is a capital means for developing intelligence and steadiness.

Kaki for the Reserve.—I propose that the reserve be clothed in kaki with green turbands as the Special Force now. You saw how filthy the Reserve men's white clothing was. I brought a party in to Pandikad in order to show you. Besides, men in white and red are visible a long way off. Scouts on the hills can see them a long distance, while men in kaki are invisible. And for their ordinary escort duties, kaki will be much more suitable. They will be much smarter.

Cooking vessels.—I was trying to arrange about these just before the outbreak. A set of light metal vessels fitting one inside the other and a metal plate for each man, all to pack up neatly, would be useful.

Carriage.—I spoke to the Special Commissioner about this and was not sure whether mules or porters would be best. I now decide in favour of the latter. We very often have to go where mules cannot go. Men can go where we can and may be always ready at a moment's notice. We must have some porters for carrying ammunition, hospital kit, and a few necessaries; fifteen would suffice for this, and they might be had for Rs. 7 a month. They need not be given clothing, or but part-worn blue coats and a part-worn turband and an old belt and a blanket. They would be less costly than mules, more useful in the field as well as in camp. Before the outbreak when making rules for the men marching out equipped properly, I arranged that a certain number of men be selected to be engaged as porters at a moment's notice. It was no use: as soon as rumours of the outbreak reached Malappuram, there was not one of them to be found. They should be enlisted under the Police Act and thus made amenable to discipline.

But I am not at all sure that we would always carry and use cooking vessels. Before all things the company must march light, and the necessity for these things and for porters to carry them may be done away with in this way. If the Government

will be pleased to allow payment to be made for food supplied to the men on occasions when they cannot cook it themselves, this would be the most economical arrangement by far, and the easiest and best. It is difficult to explain. There are no shops to buy food, and if one relied on cooking ourselves we should have to carry about a large quantity of rice. We can manage some how quite well enough if no objection is made to payment on occasions. Many people supplied food to the men and would take no payment. For even if we had the vessels without rice, etc., they would be of no use and we could not be burdened with rice; and where we can get the one we can get the other. The cost would be very little indeed. If this be granted, then we can do without the cooking vessels and porters to carry them. But of course this would not do away with the necessity for the porters for ammunition, etc. The men carry always something in their haversack; and with *coffee and biscuit* in the morning, they will manage excellently. Whenever out in the field the men should have coffee and biscuit in the morning. They were very grateful for it this time, the cost is little, and it helped more than anything else to keep them in health. Before they got it in the middle of the little campaign, many is the day they had to march all day and get no food until the evening.

Serge clothing.—The brown woollen clothing is so thick and heavy that the men object to wear it even in the rains. If they were to turn out for an outbreak during the time when warm clothing is worn, it is kaki and not woollen clothes they would wear. I propose they be given kaki coloured *serge* clothing, of *English material* (Cawnpore stuff is always parti-coloured, and a company dressed in it looks like an arrangement in shades of brown), instead of the woollen clothing; it would be much better.

Ammunition.—I propose that the annual allotment per rifle for Special Force and Reserve be increased to 150 instead of as at present 100, in order to improve the shooting.

If the rewards I propose be granted and these sanctioned, then you can rely on the Special Force company being always ready for its work. The "Company Kâran" have earned a position of respect and they will be able to hold it, and remain ready at a moment's notice. And as Hamlet says, "The readiness is all."

69. At last I am able to bring this long report to conclusion. Mr. Bidie was in the field for a week or ten days. Mr. Wilkinson was with me throughout. Mr. Cardozo who was for some days at Mannarghat with the troops had his share of difficulties in Ponnáni and Alattúr. I hope it is not out of place for me to say here that these gentlemen worked to the top of their bent helping me to pull the district through the trying period which has now, happily, ended.

Note.—I enclose an Appendix G from figures found after the report was written.

G.O., No. 968, Judicial, dated 6th June 1896.

Abstract.—Expressing the satisfaction of His Excellency the Governor in Council at the excellent behaviour and marching of the troops when assisting the civil power in the recent outbreak.

Letter from the Inspector-General of Police, dated 19th June 1896, No. 2145.

Abstract.—Reporting, with reference to G.O., No. 791, Judicial, dated 3rd July 1896, regarding the provision of cooking utensils for the special Police Force of Malabar and the grant of compensation for damage to the mens' clothing during the outbreak.

From M. HAMMICK, Esq., I.C.S., Inspector-General of Police, Madras, to the Chief Secretary to Government, dated Madras, 26th June 1896, No. 2553.

I have the honour, with reference to G.O., No. 968, J.D., dated 6th June 1896, to submit a report from Mr. Fawcett on the subject of Police signalling during the last Mappilla outbreak.

2. I agree with Mr. Fawcett that, in view of our ignorance as to where the next outbreak may take place, it is not advisable to construct permanent signalling stations. The Police could not assist the Military in the last outbreak in the matter, as they were working away from them most of the time. If, as I shall propose, our Police staff of signallers is strengthened, they will very likely be able to help the soldiers when the next outbreak occurs.

From F. FAWCETT, Esq., Superintendent of Police, Malabar, to the Inspector-General of Police, Madras, dated Calicut, 16th June 1896, No. 452.

I have the honour to reply to your C. No. 346, Government of 1896, and to return the copy of the Government Order on which is your endorsement.

The subject to be reported on is "whether it was found impossible to require the signalling staff of the Malappuram reserve to assist the troops and whether they were only of use to the police themselves"; and it seems to be better to answer it indirectly.

There are instruments in the Malappuram reserve for two signalling parties only; therefore, the signalling parties of the Police can never suffice for both Police and Military. We really want more Police signallers quite apart from the Military, and for this reason I have proposed already the institution of signalling in the A reserve. As a matter of fact, after the first few days of the outbreak, the Police were employed away from the Military hunting the second gang and it was here that our signallers were of most use.

I can therefore safely say that it was practically impossible to employ the Malappuram signallers for the Military as well as for the Police.

Perhaps I had better say something of the suggestion of Captain Chad's to construct regular signalling stations on certain hills. To do this would certainly be costly. The mere keeping down the jungle around them would be an item the Government would not care to pay; and, even if constructed, these very signalling stations might be quite out of view or quite useless. It would no doubt be a great advantage to have a signalling station in the top of Pandalur hill, 2,000 feet high, and which is visible all over the troublesome tract; but to erect a station there would be very costly and a road of some kind would be essential. Men could never be placed in an isolated post as on top of this hill unless they formed a very strong party, and then how are they to be fed, for any article of food excepting water must be carried up from below or unless they were in a small redoubt or fort, it would not be safe. I thought of proposing that the hill be prepared as a regular signalling station, but anticipation of the cost deterred me.

I think we will do very well provided we have plenty of smart signallers who are able to find points quickly.

From J. HEWETSON, Esq., Acting Collector and President, District Board, Malabar, to the Chief Secretary to Government, dated Calicut, 13th July 1896, No. A-Confidl.

Government telegram, dated the 2nd instant, enquired if the district board had any scheme for opening up the Mappilla country by roads and I replied that the board had no funds to spare for the purpose. As it seems to me very essential that parts of the Calicut, Ernad and Walluvanad taluks should be provided with better roads, I propose that a supervisor on Rs. 100 a month with a small staff be appointed for 3 months to survey and level the necessary lines of road and paid from Provincial funds. He should work under the supervision of the district board engineer. This, of course, is on the assumption that the Provincial Government is prepared to make and maintain the roads, for the district board cannot possibly do the work in the present state of its funds. When the new settlement is introduced or if the Local Government would undertake the duty of maintaining roads in planting districts, other arrangements may be made. There will be a surplus of about Rs. 3,000 from the fines for the 1894 outbreak which can be taken in part-payment for the work.

2. The first road to be undertaken is one from Kuttangudi ferry near Malappuram to Pandicad *viâ* the Pandalur hill. This has been already surveyed and is estimated to cost of Rs. 15,500. Work could begin on this road at once. It is lettered A on the enclosed tracing.

3. The second road, I would recommend, is an extension of road No. 50 from Kanniparamba Police station to Ariakode *viâ* Trikalur. This would give a shorter and better road to Ariakode than road No. 5 *viâ* Ferokh and Kundotti. This road is marked B on the plan. Connected with this is a short line marked C to connect Kanniparamba Police station on road No. 50 with Manacheri on road No. 49. This would be very useful for local traffic, but is not very urgent from the present point of view. A bridge on road No. 49 at the 11th mile is also required.

4. A line from Kalikavu on the supara ghât road towards Nilambúr is marked D on the tracing; it is suggested by Mr. Fawcett, but I do not consider it very urgent.

5. E is a very important and necessary road from Kalikavu to Melatur Police station. This should be one of the first undertaken.

6. Road No. 62 on the tracing from Mambram to Kundotti should also be remade and kept up. The roads from Kundotti to Ariakode and Edavanna is not so urgent and would require two large bridges to be of any real use.

7. I may mention that the bridge between Manjeri and Pandicad is being reconstructed this year by the district board and that work is being done on the road from Wandur towards the Supara ghât.

8. A good bungalow is very badly wanted at Pandicad, which is in the centre of the most likely tract for future disturbances. At present there is only a one-roomed shed there, in which eight officers were living for several days during the last outbreak.

9. I think that these proposals would meet the immediate requirements from a strategic point of view.

A.

Minute of dissent by His Excellency the Governor, dated 7th August 1896.

B.

Minute by His Excellency the Governor, dated 7th August 1896.

Minute by the Hon'ble Mr. H. W. Bliss, C.I.E., dated 15th August 1896.

Minute by the Hon'ble Mr. J. Grose, C.I.E., dated 18th August 1896.

Minute of partial dissent by His Excellency the Governor, dated 23rd August 1896.

Minute by His Excellency the Governor, dated 23rd August 1896.

Minute by the Hon'ble Mr. J. Grose, C.I.E., dated 27th August 1896.

Minute by the Hon'ble Mr. H. W. Bliss, C.I.E., dated 27th August 1896.

Order—No. 1567, Judicial, dated 30th September 1896.

The papers read above relate to the Mappilla outbreak which occurred in east Ernad in the Malabar district in February and March last.

2. The circumstances attending it are sufficiently exhibited in the reports of Mr. Winterbotham and the local officers.

3. The immediate causes of the rising are, as usual, obscure. The delay in the collection of the fines inflicted on account of the outbreak of 1894 appears to have been due rather to the elaborate nature of the principles upon which they were assessed than to any fault or negligence of the local officers, but in any case it is clear from paragraph 45 of Mr. Winterbotham's report of the 5th of May last, read above,

that this delay in no way operated as a cause. Should the levy of fines be considered necessary in the case of future outbreaks, the more summary methods of assessing them, suggested by Mr. Winterbotham in paragraph 46 of his further report, should be adopted. Fanaticism, rendered possible and strengthened by the presence of poverty and the absence of education and civilization, appears to have been the main reason which occasioned the disturbance, and such matters as Kochu Kaiyan Mussaliar's resentment at his treatment by the Tuvur adigari's brother and the removal of the so-called prayer-shed at Paiyanad are clearly rather pretexts to justify fanaticism than actual immediate causes of the outbreak.

4. The action of the District Magistrate, Mr. Hewetson, in ordering the troops to fire upon the fanatics at the Manjéri temple (which before full information on the subject was submitted appeared to require justification) has been shown by the reports since received, and especially by Mr. Winterbotham's letter of the 10th April, to have been warranted not only by the dictates of prudence but by the provisions of the law. It was known to him that, when outbreaks of this sort occur, the Mappilla fanatics go out with the set purpose of obtaining eternal bliss by death, and resolved to die, but before dying to kill as many infidels as they can; and that no Mappilla gang has ever surrendered. In this particular case, the gang, after committing murder, arson, desecration and robbery, had taken their stand in a temple which had been similarly occupied before and where a gang in 1849 had two actions with the troops and killed or wounded three officers and twelve privates before it was finally destroyed. On the opposite side of the temple to that on which Mr. Hewetson and Captain Chadds approached it by a forced march was the Taluk Cutcherry. It was quite near to the temple and in it were a treasury, several fugitives and twenty soldiers. Mr. Hewetson knew that the fanatics had fired on this place without provocation and that they had been called upon to surrender, but had refused to do so. He had been informed, also, that the little body of soldiers at the Taluk Cutcherry was hard pressed, was short of ammunition and had lost two men already. When Mr. Hewetson, with Captain Chadds and the troops, came within sight of the temple, they found that there was a deep valley between them and it, and that if they descended into this valley they would lose the advantage of their position, which was on the brow of a hill overlooking the temple, and expose themselves to great danger from such a rush as these gangs always make. They saw, too, that if they lost time in parleying the gang might descend on the Taluk Cutcherry, and annihilate the soldiers and fugitives who were there. Under these circumstances Mr. Hewetson was justified in attacking the gang as he did. The effect of the attack was disastrous to the gang, only two of them having been captured alive; many more would have been so taken but for the fact that some of the gang were brutal enough themselves to put an end to the lives of their comrades, wounded and unwounded alike. Mr. Hewetson acted then and throughout the outbreak in a manner which merits the approval of Government, and it is without doubt largely due to his successful management of the affair that matters were prevented from assuming a far more serious aspect than they actually did.

5. The Government now proceeds to deal with the most important of the questions raised in these papers, namely, the steps which should be taken to check the recurrence of risings of the nature of that which occurred in February last.

6. The first point to be considered is the punishment which should be awarded to the amsams in which the outbreak occurred or from which the rioters came, and to those persons who were concerned in it and who are now under arrest. It has been usual in the case of previous similar occasions to levy from the amsams which were in any way concerned the compensations and fines the infliction of which is authorized by section 9 of Madras Act XX. of 1859. The opinions recorded in the reports read above are not entirely unanimous on the question whether this course should, in the present instance, be persevered in; but His Excellency the Governor in Council has, after full and careful consideration of the matter, arrived at the conclusion that to do so on this occasion is undesirable. Two of the main considerations which have influenced this decision are the facts that far less sympathy with the fanatics was exhibited by the Mappilla community generally during the recent outbreak than

on former occasions, and that the levy of fines would tend to accentuate the poverty of this class in the eastern portion of the Ernad and Walavanad taluks which appears to be one of the main, if not the main, predisposing cause of fanaticism in that part of Malabar.

7. The cases of the thirty-six persons who were originally arrested in connection with the outbreak, and who are referred to in the District Magistrate's letters of the 2nd and 8th of May read above, will now be dealt with. Of these, No. 21, Chakála Kunnan Kunhiyan, has since died.

Nos. 13, Nariramparambath Ossan Moidin Kutti, 20, Arakkuparamban Avulla, 22, Ossán Unnien, 28, Tayyil Alivi, 29, Kundúr Ayammad Kutti Mulla, and 30, Máliyakkal Moyan Kutti, have already been released by the District Magistrate. The Government approves his action. The District Magistrate recommends that Nos. 33, Peedikaparamban Marakkarutti, 34, Thechiyólan Unni Ayamed, and 35, Kunnummal Ahmed, should be set at liberty. The Government concurs with him in this opinion and he has already been instructed by telegraph to release them immediately. No. 23, Máttummal Moidin, will be deported from Malabar under the provisions of the Mappilla Act XX. of 1859 and Regulation II. of 1819 and detained in the Reformatory School at Chingleput until he is 18 years of age. His case should then be specially reported to Government. In the meanwhile, the usual half-yearly reports required by the Regulation must be furnished to Government by the Superintendent of the school through the Director of Public Instruction. The boy should be separated, as far as possible, from the other Mappilla boy who is already confined in the school for connection with the outbreak of 1894.

Nos. 1, Kochu Kayyan Moidin Kutti Mussaliar, 2, Kappa Kunnan Mootha, 3, Pottammal Unni Mammad, 4, Alingal Aidru, 5, Aruviralan Mootha, 6, Cheruman Raman, 7, Puzhuthini Kunhayu, 9, Kuttipuliyan Ahmed, 10, Mattummal Veeran, 17, Páppádathil Mammu, 18, Kazhu Kunnumel Chek Kutti, 19, Parakkadan Ahmed Háji, 24, Kaithavalappan Kunhólan, 25, Aruviralan Athoyi, 26, Naipadath Kunhamán, 27, Ambát Aidros, and Koyithodi Ahmed, whose case is dealt with in Mr. Hewetson's letter, Ref. on C. No. 1188, dated 19th May 1896, will be deported and detained in jail under the provisions of the Mappilla Act XX. of 1859 and Regulation II. of 1819 pending the pleasure of Government. The Government considers that the case of Nos. 1—5, 7, 10 and 27 can only be adequately met by their confinement in a jail outside the limits of this Presidency, and the Government of India will be at once addressed in view to ascertaining whether accommodation for them in such jails can be made available. The others, Nos. 6, 9, 17, 18, 19, 24, 25 and 26 and Koyithodi Ahmed will be detained in jails within the Presidency.

Nos. 12, Veluthedath Moidin, 14, Chittirámpalli Mootha, 15, Konnath Pari, 16, Talakkolath Ahmed, 31, Kóttápádan Mammi, and 32, Pottayil Mammad Mussaliar, will be deported from Malabar and detained under police surveillance, though not in custody, in districts on the East Coast. Orders will hereafter be issued as to the jails in which those of the above persons who are to be detained in jail will be kept and as to the towns in which the remainder will be required to reside. The case against No. 11, Karangádan Ayamed, is doubtful, and he should be released. The evidence against the Tuvur Tangal, Kottakuth Imbichi Koya Tangal, is not strong, and in consideration of this and of the fact that six months have now elapsed since the outbreak, the Government is of opinion that he should not be arrested. The complicity of No. 8, Kuttipuliyan Moidin Kutti, turns upon the proof of his presence at Arimbra Nair's house at a certain time. Further evidence upon this point should be taken from others of those who were present at the house and a report submitted to Government. The District Magistrate will report, after the lapse of six months, whether it is, in his opinion, safe to allow No. 6, Cheruman Raman, and 32, Pottayil Mammad Mussaliar, to then return to Malabar.

8. The Government now proceeds to consider what measures are practicable to remedy the condition of the Mappillas in east Ernad and Walavanad. It has already been stated that their poverty and the want of education and civilization operate as predisposing causes to the fanaticism which is so rife among them, and any remedies must have for their object the improvement of education and the advancement of

civilization among them and such enhancement of their material prosperity as it is possible to attain by action on the part of Government. The insecurity of land tenure under the janmi system, which is referred to in the reports read above, has no doubt operated to a considerable extent to prevent the agricultural Mappillas in the south-east portion of Malabar from maintaining that material prosperity which has rendered outbreaks on the sea-coast a matter of the past. The question of the revision of land tenures in Malabar is one which bristles with difficulties. It is now under consideration in the Revenue Department, and Government is unwilling in the meantime to undertake any piecemeal legislation such as that referred to in paragraph 53 of Mr. Winterbotham's letter of the 5th of May last. His suggestions will, however, be transferred to that department for consideration and disposal in connection with the subject of Tenancy Law in Malabar, and it will be requested to expedite, as far as possible, the settlement of the question therein alluded to.

9. With regard to education, special efforts have in recent years been made to encourage its spread in the Mappilla country. Mappillas have been included among the "backward classes" and enjoy the privileges conferred upon such communities by the Grant-in-Aid Code. After the outbreak of 1894, a Sub-Assistant Inspector of Mappilla Schools and two Inspecting Schoolmasters were appointed to supervise the education of this class on the West Coast, and a number of primary schools intended for Mappillas exclusively were opened there at the cost of Provincial funds. The Director of Public Instruction will be requested to report the degree of success which has attended these measures. A Mappilla scholarship scheme has also been brought into force. The Government is inclined to doubt whether this scheme altogether meets the objects for which it was intended. The scholarships are awarded on the results of the Matriculation, Lower Secondary and Primary examinations, but there seems reason to believe that very few indeed of the Mappilla schools have yet succeeded in reaching even the primary standard, and it is therefore a matter for question whether the scholarships are really of use in encouraging education among Mappilla boys. The Director of Public Instruction will consider whether it is not advisable to grant the scholarships to pupils of lower standards, to multiply them considerably, and to restrict them entirely to Mappilla boys in the eastern part of Ernad and Walavanad, and report the result. It is certain, however, that whatever steps be taken to facilitate its spread, education must necessarily operate with exceeding slowness in raising the Mappillas as a community. The difficulties explained in paragraph 50 of Mr. Winterbotham's later report, and the importance assigned by all Mappillas to religious, as opposed to secular, teaching, must always obstruct the rapid spread of the latter.

10. After full consideration of the subject the Government is disposed to rely, for the raising of the Mappilla community of the portion of Malabar where risings almost invariably take place, mainly upon the opening up of the wild country in which they reside by means of a system of roads. History is full of instances of the civilizing effect of these, under not dissimilar circumstances. The President of the District Board has already been requested in G.O., No. 1299 L., dated 17th July 1896, to submit, at the earliest date, estimates for repairing the broken bridges on roads No. 57 (Tirur to Malappuram) and No. 55 (Manjéri to Manarghat), and it appears from his letter No. A, dated 13th July 1896, read above, that one of the bridges on the latter of these roads is already under re-construction. In the same letter he states that a road from Kutlangadi ferry, near Malappuram, to Pandikad *viâ* the Pandalur hill has already been surveyed and that its estimated cost is Rs. 15,500. Neither Mr. Winterbotham nor Mr. Fawcett appear to regard a road from Malappuram to Pandalur as necessary, though the former recommends the construction of a road from Pandalur to Pandikad and the latter one from Pandalur to Mudikod. The Collector should, accordingly, report whether the road in question will take the place of any, and if so, which of the roads which have been suggested in the papers read above, or if it is required independently of them, and if so, why. In the meantime the estimates for it should be scrutinized in the Public Works Department, to which the Collector should send it, and the propriety of granting an allotment from Provincial funds for carrying out the work speedily will thereafter be considered. The Public Works

Department will also be requested to state whether it can spare an Assistant Engineer to survey and prepare estimates for such other roads in that part of the country as are most urgently called for. It appears to the Government on perusal of the report of Mr. Fawcett read above, of Mr. Winterbotham's letter of the 5th of May last, and of the report from the District Board already referred to, that roads (1) from Melatur through Karuvarakundu to Kalikavu and thence to Nilambúr, (2) from Kanniparamba police station on road No. 50 to Ariakode *viâ* Tirukkalliyur, and (3) from Pandikad through Tuvur to Karuvarakundu should first be considered. The Public Works Department will accordingly be requested to prepare and submit to Government estimates for these three roads. The question whether the roads to be constructed should be executed by the Public Works Department or by the District Board will be determined hereafter, but it appears to Government to be indispensable that the undertakings should be kept, as far as possible, out of the hands of contractors and be carried through departmentally. It is very desirable that the money spent upon them in paying for labour should pass, as far as possible, into the hands of the Mappillas who live in the country through which they will run and who appear at present to habitually earn a labour wage which is far below that ruling in other parts of the Presidency, and which is insufficient to keep them from grinding poverty. If necessary, the assistance of the Revenue Department should be obtained to collect and concentrate the labour which is required.

11. Certain improvements in the arrangements existing in the special police force and the reserve in Malabar appear to be called for. The Inspector-General of Police supports Mr. Fawcett's proposals that three new police stations should be established—one each in Kalikavu, Karuvarakundu and Chambrasseri. The Inspector-General will be requested to report more fully upon the necessity for this measure. It is not understood how, if these stations are to be kept without arms, the station at Chambrasseri could serve as a guard for the adigari's house. Without arms, also, the police in these stations would be useless in the suppression of any outbreak and could not do more than collect and communicate information. But for this purpose it does not seem necessary to establish three new stations in so small an area or to keep in them so considerable a strength of constables as is proposed. The Inspector-General's suggestions in his letter of the 9th of June last regarding boots, water-bottles, and khaki and serge clothing are approved and sanctioned. The Government also agrees with him that there is no immediate necessity to raise the allotment of ammunition in the special force and reserve from 100 to 150 rounds per rifle. The entertainment of a permanent establishment of porters for carrying ammunition and kit while on the march similarly appears to be in excess of requirements. The Superintendent of Police will now be authorized, in the event of another outbreak, to incur such unusual expenditure while on the march as may be necessary to buy supplies for his men locally when transport is impracticable. As regards ammunition each man should be able to carry without difficulty 60 or more rounds in a bandolier. In the unlikely event of more than this quantity being required, a few of the men themselves should be detailed as carriers of what is needed. Further orders on the subject of signallers will be deferred until the receipt of the definite proposals upon the subject which the Inspector-General of Police promises to submit to Government. Mr. Winterbotham's suggestion in paragraph 56 of his letter of the 5th of May that dark lanterns should be provided for night marching will be transferred to the Inspector-General of Police for disposal.

12. It remains to express the thanks of Government to the various officers whose efforts in the prompt suppression of the outbreak. and in dealing with the questions which arise from it, are deserving of commendation. Mr. Winterbotham's judgment and experience of the district have been of the greatest assistance to the Government, and he has executed the difficult and troublesome work allotted to him with much promptitude and ability. Mr. Hewetson's successful conduct of affairs has already been noticed, and Mr. Gillespie appears to have rendered him much assistance both during the outbreak and in the inquiry which followed it. P. Kunjayan, Sub-Magistrate of Ernad, appears to have acted very judiciously and promptly at the outset of affairs in arresting the four men suspected of originating the affair (a duty in which he was

well aided by Moussa Kutti, the adigari of Wandur) and to have been of much assistance in the course of the inquiry held subsequent to the outbreak. The Government has placed on record separately its appreciation of the excellent behaviour of the special police force and the reserve. A gratuity of one month's pay to the men of all ranks of both bodies who actually took part in suppressing the outbreak is sanctioned as a mark of this appreciation, and the grant of the rewards to the head constables and constables referred to in paragraph 6 of Mr. Hammick's letter of the 9th of June is approved. The special force is already distinguished from the reserve by the local allowances which are paid to it, and the Government is of opinion that further differentiation is not desirable. The praiseworthy conduct of the police is without doubt very largely due to the efforts and example of their officers Messrs. Fawcett, Bidie, Wilkinson and Cardozo. Mr. Fawcett's devotion to his duties during the outbreak and his subsequent thorough inquiry into the circumstances attending it are deserving of every commendation. The Government has perused with pleasure the testimony borne by the Superintendent of Police and Inspector-General of Police to the excellent work performed by Inspector Chey Kutti. The recommendation of Mr. Fawcett with regard to this officer, which is supported by Mr. Hammick, has been noted.

(True Extract.)

for *Ag. Chief Secretary.*

To the District Magistrate, Malabar.
„ Collector, Malabar.
„ Inspector-General of Police.
„ „ of Prisons.
„ Commissioner of Police, Madras.
„ Director of Public Instruction.
„ Accountant-General.
„ Public Works Department.
„ Educational Department.
„ Revenue Department.
„ Financial Department.
„ Public Department (with reference to paragraph 10).
Copy to H. M. Winterbotham, Esq., I.C.S.
„ to J. Hewetson, Esq., I.C.S.
Editors' Table.