



## Kalpathy Issues and Beyond: Socio-Political Realignment in Malabar in the post 1921 Period

**Dr. Sreevidhya Vattarambath**

Associate Professor of History

Government College

Malappuram

E-mail: anandhuadwaith@gmail.com

### Abstract

One need not despair of ever knowing the truth of one's religion, because the fundamentals of Hinduism, as of every great religion, are unchangeable, and easily understood.

– M K Gandhi, Young India, October 6, 1921

This statement of Gandhiji indicates the existence of caste system in the Hindu religion. The issues of caste and jati created lot of problems in the Hindu religion in the post 1921 scenario in Malabar. The year 1921 was a troubled period in Malabar, which witnessed a struggle between haves and have notes. The Malabar struggles, which changed the course of the history not only of Malabar, but of whole Kerala. The 1921 rebellion made far-reaching changes in the life of the poor populace of region. The socio-economic and political scenario of the region has witnessed the entrance of new elements which transformed their life. The caste based social pattern has been questioned through different ways. After the Chauri Chaura incident and the dissolution of the non-cooperation movement, Indian National Congress concentrated on Khadi and anti-untouchability campaigns which created great impact on the social sphere of Malabar. This paper entitled Kalpathy Issues and Beyond: Socio-political realignment in Malabar in the Post 1921 period intends to



trace out the anti-untouchability campaigns of the Malabar and the conversion and reconversion issues and how it affects the secularist social sphere of the region. This study is particularly an analytical one which sharply analyses the sources especially the debates in newspapers in a qualitative manner and made appropriate findings.

**Keywords:** 1921 Malabar struggle - caste structure - movements against untouchability - conversion-reconversion - Kalpathy issues - Arya Samaj - Sudhi movement - Hindu Mahasabha-

## Introduction

The social structure of India from the early period onwards was based on the caste, which became a melanoma to the social sphere of the nation. The people were bothered of their own religious identity and of others. Caste is one of the most overwhelming factors which shapes Indian society. Traditionally, people of India have been divided into distinct groups based on their birth and occupation. The Caste system includes a hierarchy of endogamous groups that individuals enter only by birth. The institution of caste as a hierarchy based on exploitation came in to being only when classes based on appropriation of surplus and on exploitation emerged.<sup>1</sup> Caste is hierarchical, hereditary and endogamous in nature.<sup>2</sup> Caste shapes the boundaries of individual members' rights in the inter-household and intra household relationships. The caste system recognizes an indefinite number of groups of different ranks, each one standing on the shoulders of the castes below it.<sup>3</sup> The great facts of life such as birth, death, marriage, feasts and other rituals move within the frame of caste.<sup>4</sup> Dipankar Gupta points out that caste consists of discrete castes which can never form a single hierarchy and therefore different hierarchies exist at the subjective level.<sup>5</sup> According to Mason Olcott, "the caste system is a hierarchy of endogamous groups that individuals enter by birth."<sup>6</sup> Louis Dumont had of the view that caste is a system of hierarchy based on the principle of purity and pollution. His work *Homo Hierarchicus: The Caste system and its Implications*<sup>7</sup> presents caste not as an economic or political structure, but as a religious and ideological system of hierarchy, rested in values of purity and pollution. In his view, every caste has a fixed place in their hierarchical order, determined by its ritual status.<sup>8</sup> He emphasized that caste is not a social institution, but an ideology based on collective values. He claimed that caste was unique to India because of its religious foundations and persistent social order. At the same time the Marxian



concept of caste is based upon the mode of production rather than a religious or cultural phenomenon. Instead, it is a social system rooted in economic exploitation and material conditions. Marx analyses caste in terms of class relations, production modes and property ownership.

The caste structure of India was based on different occupational groups. The caste system was the mark of superior economic organisation which the Brahmins instituted allowing the shift from one mode of production to another.<sup>9</sup> EMS Namboodiripad shared view that “the differences between one caste and another are a difference in the stage reached by them in the evolution of society”.<sup>10</sup> These differences later created lot of problems in the social sphere of Kerala. Caste hierarchy was in its highest stage in Malabar in the early part of 20th century itself. Noted poet Kumaranasan wrote this social condition in his poetry *Duravastha* as

“Thottukoodathavar Theendikkoodathavar  
Drushtiiyil Pettalum doshamullor  
Inginne ottallayo Ha!  
Jathikkomaranga!<sup>11</sup>

This clears the picture of Kerala where the Hindu society was like a watertight compartment, which was divided into numerous castes and sub castes. The lower castes were considered as untouchables and they were denounced to enter not only the houses of higher castes, but also temples and even the public roads. This discrimination against untouchables was a common feature of Hindu society and it was denounced as a “bourgeois attempt to keep the masses disunited”.<sup>12</sup> Even at the time of the 1921 Malabar Struggle, this bourgeois section didn’t allow the untouchables to join them and provide a united action against the rebels. This social division later caused for various social transformation in Malabar. This was clearly visible in the working pattern of the Indian National Congress who mainly concentrated on constructive programmes and anti-untouchability campaigns. This meaningless caste hierarchy created a width in the Hindu community. Even though the leaders of Indian National Movement like Gandhiji and Ambedkar opposed the existence of caste system in Indian society, they differed in their approaches to the abolition of the caste system. The central focus of Gandhi’s anti caste movement was the abolition of untouchability, but Ambedkar fought not only for the abolition of untouchability, but also for the dignity of the untouchables. For him, the root cause of their socio-economic backwardness lay in the graded inequality of the caste system.



The socio-political arena of Malabar in the post 1921 period was a chaotic one. The poor populace of the area faced lot of hardships due to the rebellion which took place as part of the non-co-operation and Khilafat Movement and also due to the brutalities of the British police and military. Political activities were in a stagnant condition. Regarding the condition of Malabar after the turmoil, K P Kesava Menon, the Congress leader opined that “for long time after the Rebellion, no public activity was possible in Malabar. Enmity towards Congress was evident everywhere. The authorities stated that the Congressmen had brought calamity into the country through participation in the Khilafat agitation. Some Hindu leaders<sup>13</sup> accused that the Congressmen of treason for joining with the Khilafatists. They even wanted all the Congressmen in Malabar to be imprisoned. The Muslims complained that those who had induced them to join with the Congress, abandoned them when oppression and firing by the troops started.<sup>14</sup> The Congress lost public support and encouragement once enjoyed. A mysterious silence and negative feeling engulfed the State. Large number of Congress workers and Congress committees were becoming inactive. It was in this situation that Indian National Congress, after the withdrawal of Non-co-operation Movement, started the constructive programmes and anti-untouchability campaigns.

The Hindu nationalist leaders of Malabar in the post 1921 period realised the fact that the caste and communal barriers existed here caused for the political turbulence in Malabar. They realised the fact that without the eradication of social evils among the Hindu society such as untouchability, no activities were possible in the region. They afterwards paid much attention to anti-untouchability campaigns and the propagation of Khadi. In those days, the so called ‘untouchable’ section of the Hindu society were not allowed to walk through the public roads, which were considered as the domain of Savarna section. Congress decided to react against this and the Vaikom Satyagraha and the Kalpathy incidents were the most important activities undertaken by the nationalists to eradicate untouchability and unapproachability. Due to the ceaseless efforts of the nationalist leaders through anti untouchability campaigns, Vaikom Sathyagraha achieved much attention all over India. A change of heart was noticeable in all over Kerala, particularly in Malabar. The Kalpathy incidents created dramatic transformation in the socio-political sphere of Malabar.

### **The Kalpathy issue**

One of the most noticeable incidents in the anti-untouchability campaigns in Malabar was the Kalpathy issue which took place in 1924-25 period. This issue



was generally raised for the cause of getting right to the depressed classes to walk through the public streets in Kalpathy Agrahara<sup>15</sup> in Palghat. The lower caste Hindus denied the right to walk through the public roads in the Kalpathy Agraharas even at the time of Ratholsava (car festival). This festival is conducted as part of the annual festival in the Viswanathaswami temple at Kalpathy which was managed by the Valiyakonnikkalidam branch of the Palakkattusseri royal family. The upper castes from different parts had the right to participate in the festival. At the same time the lower sections of the Hindu society were not allowed to enter in the Agraharam roads at the time of the festival. When the anti-untouchability campaigns under Indian National Congress became strong, the Ezhavas of Palakkad, who were backed by support of nationalist leaders like C Krishnan, Sahodaran Ayyappan, Swami Satyavratam, Sadhu Sivaprasad, E Rama Menon etc. demanded for getting right to walk through public roads in Kalpathy Agraharam. This demand was denied by the caste Hindus. This issue created a platform of hot debate in the Malabar Legislative Council.<sup>16</sup> The Government received a memorial from the Brahmin inhabitants of the Agrahara situated within the Palghat Municipality praying that orders may be passed declaring that the gramam streets are not accessible to Thiyyas, Ezhavas and men of other lower castes whose approach will pollute a Brahmin, their streets, dwellings, tanks and temples.<sup>17</sup> The Government replied to the memorial that the streets in Kalpathy Agraharam are registered as Government puramboke. As a response to this memorial, the Government issued an order which stated that “the Government desired to reiterate that the public have the right of access and use in respect of all highways, but it is not for them finally to decide whether a particular street or road falls with the classification. In the present case the Government observes that the Palghat Municipality have maintained the road...<sup>18</sup> Through this order the Government gave full right to the Municipality to take necessary action regarding this issue. The Madras Government again issued an order on 9th January 1925 that “the Government have no power of interference unless the Agraharas are connected with business centres. The members of the depressed classes have no free access to the post offices located in the Agraharams<sup>19</sup>. In actual sense, through this order, the depressed classes were denied the right to enter in Agrahara roads. It failed to impart justice to the long suffering communities. At the same time, the Government denied these allegations, which caused for various kinds of resistance. The Adi Dravida Conferences held at various places like Vaniyambadi, Tiruppattur, Salem, Ootacamud and Coimbatour submitted copies of the resolutions to the Government in between January and April 1925 praying to cancel or withdraw the G O passed.<sup>20</sup> The struggle of the lower sections of the society against the denial



of their basic civil rights got support from various parts. This created platforms for hot debates and discussions and also gave a chance to various social groups to enter into the region and to interfere in the internal matters. Even though the eradication of untouchability was started by Indian National Congress as part of the national movement, there happened a diversion in this and later this issue was taken over by the religious propagandists and religious groups.

### **Interference of religious propagandists and the work of Arya Samaj**

There happened many changes in socio-political sphere of Malabar in the post 1921 period due to the influence of various propagandists, the media and other religious groups. The social reformers of the region mainly intended to eradicate the obstacles under which the untouchability laboured. The most important role in this direction was done by Aryasamajists, who came to Malabar with the aim of propagating, popularising and reorganising the Hindu religion. They undertook the eradication of untouchability under their banner by overcoming the Congress, who undertook it as their main action in the post 1921-22 period. Under the initiative of its leaders like Vedabandhu, a branch of Arya Samaj was established at Palghat.<sup>21</sup> They undertook the conversion and reconversion process in the Hindu religion through Sudhi. They propagated the idea that if any untouchable joined in the Aryasamaj after undertaking Sudhi, they would be free from all caste restrictions and would have the freedom to walk through the prohibited areas. The idea propagated by Arya Samajists attracted many Ezhavas and other downtrodden sections to it. Many of them accepted Sudhi and joined in the Arya Samaj. The first Ezhava converted in this direction was Dharmapal.<sup>22</sup> But the savarna Hindus of the region were not ready to accept the converted Artyasamajists as equal to them and were denied their right to walk through the Kalpathy streets, especially at the time of Car Festival (Ratholsava). As a response to this issue, Mr. Thorne, the then Collector, replied that “whatever may be the condition of the common Ezhavas, the Arya Samaj Ezhavas have the right to walk through the Kalpathi streets.”<sup>23</sup> By rejecting this opinion of the District Collector, the sub divisional Magistrate proclaimed an order which stated that these converted Ezhavas have no right to enter the Kalpathy streets, especially during the Ratholsava period. These two statements confused the people. In this stage, J A Thorne, the District Collector, wrote to the government of Madras on 4th November 1925 through the Chief Secretary that in his visit to the Kalpathy streets, he met many gentlemen who tried to walk through the streets.<sup>24</sup> The Savarna groups of the region abused the Aryasamajists and the converted people that they had only one agenda that is entering in to the Agrahara. At the



same time, this orthodox section had no objection to the entering of the Christian or Muhammeden converts in the Agraharas as, in their view, they belong to recognised religions distinct from Hinduism. It was in this juncture that the downtrodden section of the Hindu religion thought of accepting other religions to enjoy all kinds of rights. Various Islamic and Christian organisations sent their representative to Malabar with the purpose of doing proselytization activities. In this stage, Rao Bahadur M Kunhiraman Nair, the Sub-divisional Magistrate, reported that there is a tendency on the part of other religionists like Christians and Muhammedans to induce the Brahmins to prohibit the Aryasamajists. Their motive is apparently to make the Aryasamajists less popular among the Ezhavas and indirectly to gain converts to their religions in preference to Aryasamajists.<sup>25</sup>

Along with the entrance of the Aryasamajists, a group of Muslim proselytisers from Pune and Christian Missionaries like Basel German Missionaries came into Malabar with the same purpose. Due to their efforts, large number of untouchables accepted either Islam or Christian religion. The Mau-nathul Islam Sabha at Ponnani took the leading role among the Muslims in such conversion process and they reported that from 1st January 1925 to 20th July 1925, about 323 non-Muslims were converted to Islam and about 3230 Rupees was spent for their needs.<sup>26</sup>

By knowing the news of large scale conversion of Hindus into Islam and Christianity, the Bombay Hindu Mahasabha sent their prominent leaders Anandapriyan and Chandramani Motilal to Malabar to do the needful to safeguard the Hindu religion. These two leaders met the savarna and avarna Hindu leaders to find out a solution to the large scale conversion of the Hindu downtrodden section to other religions. They appealed the avarnas to wait for some more time to solve their problems and gave an assurance that they will try hard to remove their problems within a short span of time.<sup>27</sup> With the purpose of establishing a branch of Hindu Mahasabha in Malabar, a public meeting was convened at Calicut Townhall under the leadership of Anandapriyan. In his address, he said that the aim of Hindu Mahasabha was not to contend Islam or Christianity, but to work for the regeneration and amelioration of Hindu community.<sup>28</sup> Most prominent leaders of Indian National Congress like Manjeri Ramayyar, Kurur Neelakantan Namboodiripad and K Kelappan actively participated in the meeting and made speeches on the present conditions of the Hindu community and also the need for its regeneration. In the meeting Anandapriyan stressed the point that the main enemy of Hindu Mahasabha was untouchability and its eradication was their main aim. Vedabandhu, the Aryasamaj leader was one of the important leaders participated



in the meeting and it was under his initiative that a branch of Hindu Mahasabha was established at Palghat. From here onwards Hindu Mahasabha and Aryasamaj worked together with the purpose of checking conversion of Hindus into other religions and eradication of untouchability. Thus, once again the social sphere of Malabar was tensed with the proselytization activities of different religious groups and the attempts of other side to check this which created a platform for hot debates and discussions.

### **Debates and the formation a Hindu Organisation**

The entrance of various religious groups, religious proselytes and the attitude of the nationalists towards this- all created an open platform of debate among the intellectuals and media. All of them made severe criticisms towards the downtrodden Hindus attempt to convert into other religions for getting rights. *Mathurbhumi*, the leading newspaper from Malabar came into the forefront of these debates and called out the Hindus of Malabar to wake up from their deep sleep to awaken their own religion from its weakness.<sup>29</sup> It shared its view that there is no need to any person, who belonged to any religion-Hindu, Christian or Islam- to accept other religions. Instead, they must work together for the upliftment of their own community, by engineering internal reforms within the religion. It had of the view that no one had the right to abuse others who are willingly accepted other religions. It condemned the persecutions of untouchables by the savarnas. *Mathrubhumi* wrote that “it is a shame to the whole community, and therefore, the Hindus should try to get rid of it and work for the regeneration of their own religion.

In response to the same issue, other newspapers also responded. Mitavati published an article of K Ayyappan under the caption ‘Religion and Jati’. In this, he opined that the root of jati is Hindu and whenever Hindu religion exists, Jati will not be abolished. He reminded that before changing the religion, the avarnas should try to destroy the Hindu religion.<sup>30</sup> As a response to this, K Kelappan, the nationalist leader, said that Ayyappan saw only the artificial parts of the Hindu religion. He pointed out that the hatred against jati, which was there in the mind of Ayyappan, turned to be a hatred against Hindu religion and he saw only the evils of untouchability and jati existed in the society and he could not visualise the merits of the religion.<sup>31</sup> K Kelappan severely criticised the attempt of the downtrodden sections of the Hindu religion to convert in to other religions. In his view, Hindu religion includes all rites and theories, which is suitable to all religious believers. But it was different in other religion like Christianity where the believes of all persons are the same. The converts in the religions would be considered a separate



section, but there is no need of such separation in Hindu religion. He had of the view that no other religion proposed such a freedom of thought like Hindu religion. According to Kelappan, it is nonsense to tell anyone to change their religion.<sup>32</sup> At the same time, Congress and nationalist leaders faced severe criticisms especially from the part of media. The rift between *Mathrubhumi* and *Al Ameen* removed its veil and came out in this juncture. *Al- Ameen* raised strong criticisms against the changing attitude of the Congress leaders who showed their readiness to join with Hindu Mahasabha<sup>33</sup>, while *Mathrubhumi* justified it. *Al-Ameen* asks: “though there existed Congress to work for the eradication of untouchability, is there any need for such a separate organisation to Hindus?” *Al-Ameen* was astonished by seeing the policies of Hindu Congress men, who were accepting such an organisation and working for it.<sup>34</sup>

When these debates and discussions were going on, attempts were made to form a Hindu organisation to unite the whole Hindus of Malabar under one banner and to check the conversions. This task was given to Anandapriyan and Chandramani Motilal, who were the leaders of Hindu Mahasabha. With this purpose, a public meeting was held at Calicut in the courtyard of Aryasamaj House and presided over by Sri. Pattathil Narayana Menon. Manjeri Ramayyar moved a resolution in the meeting demanding the formation of Kerala Provincial branch of Hindu Mahasabha and the commencing of a Great Hindu Conference.<sup>35</sup> A temporary committee was formed with this purpose. At the same time, many raised doubts about the aims and objectives of the Sabha.

P. Ramunni Menon, the Congress leader, expressed his anxiety on the deviation of a socialist organisation to a communal organisation in future. He expressed his view that surely such an organisation is necessary for the upliftment of Hindu community. But the interference of communal members in the political field is not an acceptable one. If it is so, it will surely affect the development of a nation, especially it is a branch of Hindu Mahasabha formed by Malavia, which had both political and social aims.<sup>36</sup> As a response to this, Hindu Mahasabha published their aims and objectives as-to impart unity among all members of the Hindu community, mutual cooperation, anti-untouchability campaigns, protection of Hindus etc.. It also gave an assurance that it had no aim to merge or co-operate with any particular community as political party and also declared that conversion or reconversion is not an aim of it and it is established not for this purpose”.<sup>37</sup> Afterwards, the Sabha decided to convince a Kerala Hindu Provincial Conference at Thirunavaya, the land of Mamankam in which Madan Mohan Malavia was selected to preside the



conference and Moonje will be a specially invited guest. There arose doubts in connection with the participation of a leader of All India Hindu Mahasabha, which was purely a communal organisation. The most leading Congress leader from Malabar, K Madhavan Nair expressed his view that if it is an organisation which fully accepted all the principles and ideas of All India Hindu Mahasabha, he was not ready to be a member of it. He showed his readiness to cooperate with it, if they decided to organise it as an institution that was completely free from all political aims and would work for the upliftment of Hindu community by eradicating the evils existing in the society.<sup>38</sup> After knowing these kinds of anxieties raised by prominent leaders, the Sabha proclaimed that there is no need to accept the ideas of Hindu Mahasabha and those who have desire to regenerate the Hindu community from its destruction only should participate in the conference. This declaration of the leaders created changes in the mentalities of the nationalist leaders and the ordinary people alike and they decided to work for the success of the conference afterwards. *Mathrubhumi* newspaper and the leaders of the Indian National Congress appealed the people of Malabar to make the conference a real success. Congress faced a lot of criticisms from various quarters especially for their change of attitude. By rejecting all these, *Mathrubhumi* and the nationalist leaders stood for the victory of the Conference which aimed to the formation of an organisation for Hindus. The Conference was conducted with great success, and it decided to organise Kerala Hindu Mahasabha with its branches. Afterwards, branches of Hindu Mahasabha were organised in different parts of the state. At Ponnani, a branch of the Sabha was formed with P.V Dorai Swami as President. U. Gopala Menon, the Congress leader and Vedabandhu, the Aryasamajist, participated in the meeting of the Sabha and made delicious speeches stressing the aims and objectives of the Sabha.<sup>39</sup>

## Conclusion

All these made drastic changes in the socio-political sphere of Malabar in the post 1921 period. The most noticeable one was the change that happened in the attitude of the secular Congress leaders, who, in later days, gave more priority to the religious activities rather than political. They were not aware of the pathetic condition of the poor populace of the riot-stricken region. Instead, they worked for the upliftment of their own community which later caused for the rift within the Congress itself. That is visible in the debate between two nationalist newspapers- The *Mathrubhumi* and *Al-Ameen*, which were published by Congress leaders themselves. Through the columns of *Al-Ameen*, Muhammed Abdurahman, the nationalist Muslim Congress leader, severely criticised the changing attitude of



the Hindu Congress leaders. This caused for a great transformation in the political scenario of Malabar in 1930s. There happened a rift within the Congress itself. Here what is visible is that afterwards along with secular tendencies, the communal propensities also entered into the socio-political sphere of Malabar. In the name of religion, the anti-caste and secular tendencies joined together on the one side and the communal elements on the other side which affected badly the secularist social sphere of the region. Thus, the socio-political sphere of Malabar later filled with communal and nationalist elements on the one side and secular tendencies on the other side.

### Endnotes

- 1 Sharik K Bhowmik, 'Caste and Class in India' in *Economic and Political Weekly*, June 13-20,1992, Vol.27, Nov.24-25 (June 13-20,1992), p. 1246.
- 2 Amit Thorat and Omkar Joshi, 'The Continuing Practice of Untouchability in India -Patterns and Mitigating Influences', January 11, 2020, vol IV no 2, *Economic & Political Weekly*, p.36.
- 3 Mason Olcott, 'Caste System in India', *American Sociological Review*, Dec. 1944, Vol. 9, No. 6 (Dec., 1944), p.648.
- 4 Raghu Thakur (ed.), *Caste system*-Ram Manohar Lohia, Samta Trust: Bhopal, 2024, p.1.
- 5 Dipankar Gupta, 'Contentious Hierarchies and Discrete Castes', *Economic and Political Weekly* Vol. XIX, No.46-8, 17 Nov.24 & 2Dec,1984, p.2051.
- 6 Mason Olcot, *op.cit.*
- 7 Louis Dumont, *Homo Hierarchicus: The Caste System and its Implications*, University of Chicago Press, 1981.
- 8 *Ibid.*
- 9 Dilip M Menon,'Being a Brahmin the Marxist way: EMS Namoboodiripad and the pasts of Kerala' in Daud Ali(ed.), *Invoking the Past-the Users of History in South Asia*, Delhi,1999.
- 10 E M S Namboodiripad, *The Natinal Question in Kerala*, Bombay, 1952, p.32.
- 11 Kumaranasan, *Duravastha in Assante Padyakrithikal*, Kottayamm, 1998.
- 12 M B R Rao(ed.), 'Documents of the History of Communist Party', cited by Dilip M Menon, *op.cit.*, p.74.
- 13 Some Hindu leaders in the sense those Hindus who were against the attitude of Congress leadership who joined with Khilafatists and pro-government and anti-congressmen.
- 14 K.P Kesava Menon, *Kazhinjakalam*, Mathrubhumi Books: Calicut, 1957, p.128.



- 15 Agraharas are the traditional Brahmin settlements in South India. Kalpathy Agraharam is situated in Palaghat district in Kerala which lies on the banks of Kerala.
- 16 *Public (1925) /department*, G.O No 523, Dated 27.05.25. 25 Questions regarding the access of lower castes to streets in Kalpathy Agraharam, Malabar, Madras Records, Regional Archives, Calicut.(hereafter RAC)
- 17 *Ibid.*
- 18 *Ibid.*
- 19 *Public (1925) Department, GO No.1245*, dated 21. 12.25, Madras Records, RAC.
- 20 Actions on resolutions regarding the G O in Kalpathy Agraharam, cited in *Ibid.*
- 21 *Mathrubhumi*, dated 22nd November 1924.
- 22 *Mathrubhumi*, dated 22nd October 1925.
- 23 *Mathrubhumi*, dated 7th November 1925.
- 24 *Public (1925) Department G O No.82*, dated 05.02.26, Madras Records, RAC.
- 25 *Confidential Report of Sub divisional Magistrate, Kunhiraman Nair to District Magistrate*, Calicut, cited in *Ibid.*
- 26 *Mathrubhumi*, dated 6th August 1925.
- 27 *Mathrubhumi*, dated 29th August 1925.
- 28 *Mathrubhumi*, dated 18th August 1925.
- 29 *Mathrubhumi*, dated 20th August 1925.
- 30 *Mathrubhumi*, dated 11th June 1925.
- 31 *Mathrubhumi*, dated 13th June 1925.
- 32 *Mathrubhumi*, dated 13th June 1925.
- 33 Though the copies of *Al-Ameen* are not available, the only source regarding this debate is the quoting from such articles of *Al-Ameen* in *Mathrubhumi*.
- 34 *Mathrubhumi*, dated 2nd May 1929.
- 35 *Mathrubhumi*, dated 26th February 1929.
- 36 *Mathrubhumi*, dated 26th February 1929.
- 37 *Mathrubhumi*, dated 12th March 1929.
- 38 *Mathrubhumi yude Charithram*, vol.I, Kozhikkode, p.210.
- 39 *Mathrubhumi*, dated 30th March 1929. Also see in Sreevidhya Vattarambath, 'Aftermath of the Rebellion-A study on the Political and Social Trends in Malabar from 1921 to 1935' unpublished PhD Thesis, Department of History, University of Calicut, 2007, p.221.