

SOCIO-RELIGIOUS ENLIGHTENMENTS: VAKKOM MAULAVI, THE FATHER OF MUSLIM RENAISSANCE IN KERALA

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Abstract: This piece of work traces the origin, development and results of the socio-religious movements which have changed Muslim society in Kerala in 19th and 20th century like other religious sects. Every religious reform movement arises out of certain grievances, certain demands and certain hopes of the society at large. It is a historical fact that the Muslims had been the torch bearers of knowledge during the middle ages. It can rightly be assumed that the socio-religious conditions of Muslims in Kerala to a great extent had been similar to that of the other communities in Kerala. Therefore ,a reform movement was inevitable for an Islamic revival. This movement set in motion in Kerala from the last quarter of the 19th century and it became powerful from the beginning of the 20th century having been inspired by almost all the revivalist movements all over the Islamic world. In Kerala the outstanding figures of this movements were Sayyid Sanaullah Makti Tangal, Chalilakath Kunja Ahamed Haji and Vakkom Abdul Khadir Moulavi, who is often referred to as the father of Muslim renaissance in Kerala.

Key Words: Makthi Tangal, Chalilakath Kunja Ahamed Haji, Hamadani Tangal, Vakkom Abdul Khadir Moulavi, Ulama, Arabic-Malayalam Script, Darul Ulum, Swadesabhimani, Muslim Aikya sangham

Introduction:

The Socio-Religious Movements in Kerala were not confined to the Hindu community alone. The Muslims who were educationally backward and also affected by the winds of change. One of the outstanding contributions of the British rule In India was the introduction of modern and secular education. Due to a variety of reasons the Muslim community of India had been keeping a long distance from the British and their systems, especially education. Like brethren all over India, the Muslims in Kerala too followed the policy of non-co-operation in order to show their unabated hatred to the British. It was through the strenuous endeavors undertaken by the enlightened scholars and reformers like Makthi Tangal, Hamadani Tangal,Vakkom Moulavi and religious organizations, formed in a later stage, that the Islamic renaissance envisaged by the aforementioned great reformers and other scholars reached Kerala from the last quarter of the 19th century. Those who opposed these great men could no longer hold on to their resistance because of the pressure of the time. At last they too, while keeping their ideological differences, with regards to both early scholars and their successors in modern times, volunteered themselves to be reformed at least in the sphere of education and social customs.

Socio-Religious Reformation

Like all other religious communities, 19th century marked the beginning of reform initiatives and movements within the Islam as well. This was a time when some concerned personalities of Muslim community started raising their voices against certain so called 'unIslamic' practices which were inflicted into the religion by the *Ulema* of vested interests over a period of time. The early reform movements were both reformist as well as revivalist. On the one hand they tried to purify Islam from all later accretions, which run contrary to its original teachings, on the other, they tried to uplift the community through secular education, stressing even on the education of women. The reform movements contributed much to strengthen the community identity as these reforms were directed

against un-Islamic practices and customs. But neither the early reformers, nor the later reformers were against the tenets of the texts of Islam, *Quran* and *Hadith*. Veliyankot Umar Qazi, Sayyid Sanaullah Makti Thangal, Chalilakat Kunhamad Haji, Sheikh Muhammad Hamadani Thangal, E.K. Moulavi, Vakkom Abdul Khadar Moulavi were prominent personalities associated with the socio-religious reform movements of Muslims in Kerala.

Prominent Reformers among the Muslims of Kerala

The reform movement among the Muslims was initiated by Sanaulla Makti Thangal, who was the pioneer among the Muslim reformers of Kerala. His role is of prime concern to the Muslim community because of his polemic engagement with the Christian missionaries and their aggressive proselytization efforts. Makti Thangal was born at Veliyamkode in the Ponnani taluk in 1847, as the son of Sayyid Ahmad Thangal, the disciple of Veliyamkode Umar Qazi. He belonged to the *Sayyid* family, the descendants of Prophet Mohammed.¹ He acquired both secular and religious education from Ponnani. Besides Arabic and Malayalam, he was proficient in English, Hindi, Persian and Tamil. He was appointed as Excise Inspector under the British government. It was a time when Islam and its Prophet were under severe attack from Christian missionaries. They conducted Lectures at every nook and corner of the country and published several books and pamphlets caricaturing Islam and its Prophet. There was no Muslim bold enough to meet the vilifications of the Christians. Makti Thangal, who was very much upset by this state of affairs, resigned his job in 1882 and devoted himself to take the task of answering the charges, of Christian missionaries. In 1884, he brought out his first book *Kadora Kudaram* which created a sensation to the field of theological polemics. He questioned the belief in the Trinity, a cardinal doctrine of the Roman Catholic. In 1892 he published another book, *Parkalitta Porkalam*, establishing that the Prophet, who was prophesied in the Old and New Testaments was Prophet Muhammad. He challenged if anybody proved his conclusion wrong on the basis of the evidence of the Bible, he would pay him 200 Rupees. But the challenge was never met.² He published a journal called *Paropakari* to publish counter arguments to the allegations against Islam by rival sects and a biography of Prophet entitled *Nabi Nanayam*. It was the first biography of the Prophet by a Kerala author.³

Hence, the cultural defence against Christianity led by Makti Thangal, did help to arouse a community consciousness among *Mappilas* of Malabar. Makti Thangal also engaged in the socialization process among the Muslims of Malabar. He criticized the practice of *Marumakkathayam* among the *Mappilas* of North Malabar and certain coastal towns of South Malabar in the light of *Quran*. He published umpteen pamphlets both in Malayalam and *Arabi-Malayalam*, criticizing the system as a remnant of Hindu culture. In *Parkalitta Porkalam* he wrote, "on material basis, this people (Northern *Mappilas*) follow the system, introduced by Sankaracharya. Even the Hindus realized the injustice involved in the system. It is a wonder that the Muslims, who are money minded, do not feel so."⁴ Makti Thangal stressed the necessity of secular education along with religious education for the progress of the community. He realized that only through education, the *Mappilas* could be liberated. It was with this intention that he organized a *sabha* at Kannur in 1889, with the support of Sultan Ali Raja.⁵ He argued that the cause of the revolutionary growth of Islam in each period was not sword, but their contribution in the field of science and philosophy. He was also worried that the Muslims of Kerala were reluctant to study English and Malayalam. He fought against the view of the orthodox *Ulama* that English is the language of hell and Malayalam is the language of Hindus, and therefore it is against religion to learn these languages. He made fun of the *Musliyars* committing blunders in teaching and writing on account of their lack of knowledge of the local language. Makti also tried to bring out the translation of *Quran*, in Malayalam. Makti himself had assessed his contributions to the Muslims of Kerala thus: "Protected Islam from the Christian danger; wiped out the evils crept into the *Iman* (belief) of Muslims and their religious education; protected Muslims by dragging them away from the path of violence; opened the doors of progress for Muslims; provided the materials for religious sermons and wiped out the stage fright of Muslim preachers."⁶

Chalilakath Kunjahmad Haji, was another progressive reformer, who made contribution to the social advancement of the Muslims in Kerala. Born in Tirur he was educated at *Dars* (seminaries) in Kozhikode and Ponnani and later at *Latheefiya* College Vellore, studied philosophy, astronomy, astrology and languages like Urdu, Persian, and Tamil. He was the first Malayali Muslim to take degree from Vellore. In 1909, Kunjahmad Haji was invited to *Vazhakkad Madrasah* conducted under the patronage of the Koyappattodi family, which later came to be called *Darul Ulum Madrasah*, a prominent institution of religious learning in Vazhakkad, where he joined in 1909, as the chief instructor. He was given full freedom by the management, and he initiated a series of reforms in the basic structure of the system of education. His first reform was the introduction of class system as per the level of knowledge of students. Benches, desks and black boards were introduced and the management very gladly provided all equipment required for teaching, like globe, atlas, maps and reference and library books.⁷ The renovation in the *Madrasah* education attracted much attention as well as criticism. Finally, Haji left *Darul Ulum* but established similar institutions at Mannarkkad, Valapattanam, Badagara, etc. He also stood for education of women and he set an example by sending his daughter to schools, defying the dictates of orthodox *Ulema*. Those who were dare enough to send their children to schools were branded as *Kafir* by the Orthodox *Ulema*.⁸

He reformed the *Arabi-Malayalam* script to enable the transcription of Malayalam words better. Thus Kunjahmad'Haji was a pioneer in *Madrasah* educational reform. Sheikh Muhammad Mahin Hamadani Thangal, who worked in Cochin, played an important role in conditioning the Muslims of central Kerala, to adopt the progressive social values. He was the moving spirit behind the formation of *Nisphakha Sangam*, which was the forerunner of *Kerala Muslim Aikya Sangam*. Similarly, his efforts to translate Islamic Classics into Malayalam and his *Arabic-Sanskrit-Malayalam* Dictionary did influence the future course of Muslims modernization. By taking inspiration from the *All India Muslim Educational Conference* organized by Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan and Altaf Ausayn Hali, he organized like-minded young men and formed the Muslim Conference to promote education among the Muslims.⁹ He published several articles in the *Arabi-Malayalam* journal, Muslim calling upon public-spirited young men to work for the spread of education among the Muslims. He was nominated to the *Sri Mulam Praja Sabha* by the Government of Travancore and later he moved to Cochin and selected it as the centre of his activities. He wrote a book entitled *Irfat al-Islam*, calling upon Muslims to discard all superstitious beliefs and practices and develop unity in the community.¹⁰ He died at Vaduthala in 1922. E.K. Moulavi, who was one of the earliest in Malabar to join the *Khilafat* Movement, was another progressive who intervened in the reform process among the Muslims of Malabar. He founded many Muslim organizations like *Muslim conference* (Travancore) *Lajnathul Muhamadiya* (Alleppey) *Lajnathul Hamadaniya* (Azhikode) *Lajanatul Islam Sangam* (Eriyad). For the publication of a translation of the *Quran*, he formed the Islamic Literature Society in 1934 at Calicut. While he was at Azhikode, an *Arabi-Malayalam* monthly journal called *Al Irshid* was published and after his return to Thiruvananthapuram, he published *Al-Murshid* (*Arabi Malayalam*). The notes and *fatwas* he contributed to these journals remain the models of religious liberalism.¹¹ He died on 10 September 1964.

Vakkom Abdul Khadir Moulavi (1873-1932 AD)

Vakkom Abdul Khadir Moulavi is regarded as the father of Muslim renaissance in Kerala. He was born at Vakkom, in the Chirayinkil taluk of the princely State of the erstwhile Travancore on December 28, 1873, as the fifth child of Aisha Beevi and Muhammed Kunju. His house name was Poonthran and they belonged to a traditionally rich Muslim family, which migrated from Madurai to Travancore. His enlightened and wealthy father who was a prominent trader and influential figure among all other communities engaged a number of scholars from distant places to teach young Abdul Khadir every subject he wished to learn. He also set up a well furnished library and gave opportunity to interact with great scholars. Within a short span of time because of his inherent talents, he mastered the Arabic language, and acquired profound knowledge on the Holy *Quran*, *Sunnah*, Logic, Islamic jurisprudence and Islamic history. Besides this, he learnt different languages like Arabic, Persian, Urdu, Sanskrit, Tamil and English along with a proficient knowledge in Malayalam. Moulavi was greatly pained at the deplorable conditions of Muslims in

the country, steeped in ignorance and superstitions. The orthodox *Ulema* had turned Islam, a religion which had made acquisition of knowledge obligatory for every Muslim, man and women, into the enemy of progress by making it a "sin" to send children, particularly girls to school. They had distorted and corrupted Islam by importing into it several ideas and practices fundamentally foreign to its spirit, like veneration of the saints, offering *nerchas* at their tombs, calling upon them in times of dire need, etc. Moulavi after his formal education decided to take up the challenging task of reforming Muslim society with the assistance of like-minded young men and co-operation of other learned men of similar views.¹²

His initial efforts were concentrated more on reforming the Muslim community of Kerala along the lines of revivalist attempts of the Egyptian writer Savant Rashid Rida, Muhammad Abdu, Jamaluddin Afghani, etc. As far as the modern Islamic reformation is concerned Rashid Rida, a disciple of Muhammad Abdu had profound impact on shaping Moulavi's religious as well as moral outlook. The *Al Mannar* magazine, which was published by Rashid Rida, had been shaping the religious reformist spirits within Islam around the world.¹³ Moulavi also got influenced by the reformist efforts of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and Shah Waliullah of Delhi. However, he was more oriented towards the developments in Egypt and the Arabic world rather than the North Indian reformists. Within Travancore, there were lot of magazines and pamphlets issued circulated by various social groups. In this context, Moulavi felt a real need for having a newspaper cum magazine for representing the voices of Muslims in Travancore. For this he had subscribed *al Manar* from Egypt to spread the ideas of textual and canonized form of Islam much against the wishes of orthodox *Ulema*.

Vakkom Moulavi was one of the greatest social visionaries, who purposefully devised print media to disseminate progressive ideas not only among the Muslims but also among the other communities. He is remembered best as the founder and proprietor of *Swadesabhimani*, a newspaper which became in due course the vehicle for a new social and political movement. The first issue of the newspaper *Swadesabhimani* came out on 19th January, 1905 from Anjengo under the editorship of C.P. Govinda Pillai. The editorial note of the first issue concluded with the words: "Our chief wish is to bring good to the people through the action of the *Swadesabhimani*. We will do our utmost to achieve this end and we will not conceal any of the public grievances for fear of any calamities to us."¹⁴ On 17th January, Ramakrishna Pillai took over the charge of the editor. Much of the reputation of the news paper was legitimately the credit of Pillai, the editor who created an entirely new style in journalism, of radical criticism of prevailing evils in society, along with personal criticism of powerful personalities. This new style which got identified with the editor in the name of the newspaper and it brought about radical press movement in Travancore. Moulavi's greatness lies in the fact that he backed the editor in all efforts even when the latter was banished from the State. Together they published articles and news items against Dewanship and princely rule in Travancore. They advocated the implementation of adult franchise and universal application of law and regulations. They stood for responsible government based on voting rights of citizens. The new paper carried radical criticism against the royal authority by publishing articles, like 'Royal Servants and the Travancore Government', 'Travancore Dewan', 'Valiya Kottaram', 'Why not Deport Sankaran Thampi', etc. For these kinds of staunch criticism, on 26th September 1910, by a royal proclamation the news paper and press were confiscated and Ramakrishna Pillai was deported from Travancore.¹⁵

Though the press stopped functioning, it created awareness among civil community on certain universal principles, liberty and democracy. The local political movements like 'Pouravakasa Samaram' or 'agitation for citizen's rights' were ascribed to the efforts taken by this *Swadesabhimani* Press. It also paved the way for Abstention movement. For Vakkom Moulavi the various journalistic ventures and literary efforts that he undertook had the primary aim of reforming the practice of the religion of Islam. His effort was to equip the religion for modern times. For this purpose he tried to popularise reformist principles of leading Islamic thinkers and preached modern education among Muslims. In the editorial written by the Moulavi in the first issue of *Swadesabhimani* he very clearly indicated the desire to serve the Muslim community as well as other communities which "desires the goodness" (of the Muslims).¹⁶

Further, he published several journals in which he correctly expounded the teachings of Islam and refuted the innovations, by quoting profusely from authoritative works on Islam. In the editorial of *The Muslim* started by him in January 1906 in Malayalam, Moulavi wrote that since each community was striving for its improvement, Muslims also ought to do the same. For that he advocated the rejection of false concepts of the ideals of Islam. He wrote about the early history of the Muslims, about educational advancements achieved by the Muslims in northern India and in countries like Egypt, and also statistical details about the poor educational standards of Muslims in Kerala. He started a campaign for the spread of education and restoration of pristine Islam. In the first issue of *The Muslim*, he wrote: "If we look at the last census we will find that Muslims are very backward in the matter of education. There are 1,90,568 Muslims in Travancore. They form only 6.5 per cent of the total population. It is found that only 84 out of 1000 Muslims are literate. Of the age group of 20 and above 73.75 out of 100 Muslims are illiterate. When we scan the statistics the lack of progress of Muslims will pain us.¹⁷

Through the columns of *The Muslim*, Moulavi exhorted the community for the need to educate Muslim women. He wrote several articles containing information on Islamic thought which were meant to facilitate a reform of religion. He felt that orthodox *Ulema* with their priestly power were exerting more influence on the community for their own personal interests. A command over the Quran and other religious systems of knowledge required the very availability of religious knowledge at least to the reach of common man. For this he published an article in *The Muslim* magazine in 1914. In that, he provided a summary and a detailed historical account of Islam to provide a better readership of Quran and a better understanding of Islam. Again, in the year of 1915, he published another detailed chronicle on Islam titled, "*Islam Matta Siddhantha Samgraham*" or 'A summary of Islamic Religious thought's.¹⁸ All these were meant to shatter the orthodox *Ulema* vicious hold over the Muslims community. Thus, he made successful attempts to provide the religious knowledge to the masses for overthrowing the *Ulema*. To penetrate among the Muslim masses who had very little knowledge of the Malayalam script, Moulavi in April 1918 started another journal called *Al-Islam* in *Arabic-Malayalam* script. He even used a different script, *Arabic-Malayalam* in a larger way by publishing the journal *AI-Islam* in this script. For this purpose, he imported a litho press and incorporated it with the existing printing press.¹⁹

Though the Kerala Muslims of that period were able to read Arabic, they used Malayalam as the spoken language. Again, the *Ulema* put restriction on the Muslims on reading in any language other than Arabic. By realizing this fact, Moulavi whose only idea was to disseminate the 'exact' Islamic knowledge among the masses tried a journal in *Arabic-Malayalam* Script. The publication of the *Arabi-Malayalam* journal created such stir among the Muslims that the orthodox *Ulema* organized crusade against the activities of Vakkom Moulavi and his supporters. In several places, the opposition even led to physical conflicts between the supporters of the two groups. *Al-Islam* had done a great service in educating the women folk in the fundamentals of Islam and the necessity for improving their conditions. Vakkom Moulavi even published an article in *Al-Islam* in 1918 entitled "*Nammude Sthreekal*" openly advocating women's education.²⁰ Further, to focus the attention of the Muslims to the need for their cultural advancement and at the same time to educate the non- Muslims on the greatness of the Islamic teachings, he started another monthly journal in Malayalam called *Deepika* in January 1931. It carried several notices of articles published in English, Urdu and Arabic journals. The most distinctive feature of the *Deepika* was the Malayalam translation of the Quran, which was published in series. It was an exhilarating experience to read Moulavi's translation and comments. Another feature was the translation of Luthrop Stopdard's *The New World of Islam*, which was an impartial and authoritative history of the Muslim countries in the 20th century.²¹ During this time he also took initiatives in bringing science education at a closer level to the *Madrasah*, so that his own people could also benefit from the positive impact of rational knowledge. In a provocative statement issued in the volume VI of *Deepika*, titled, "Where we have to imitate the Westerners? he emphasized that Muslims should look forward to the scientific, technical innovations of Westerners like the invention of aeroplane, Vaccine, Machines, etc. At the same time he cautioned the 'over enthusiasts', who were blaming Islam for the backwardness by saying that Westerner's culture of cursory attitude towards the religion should be kept away from the larger perspective of the community interests.²²

He again persuaded Muslims to find pleasure in the way the modern western people were leading their life with postal services, telescope, aeroplanes, steamships, etc. The advancement that science brought to westerners was unimaginable according to Moulavi. In the next issue of *Deepika*, he persuaded Muslims to look around for having an open mind. He drew the examples of Nairs, Ezhavas and Syrian Christian groups as having mobility. This he ascribed to their enterprising spirit. He even expressed his admiration for Syrian Christian planters in bringing wireless to the High ranges.²³ The journal, *Deepika* came out regularly for the first six months, but found it difficult to maintain itself, as many of the subscribers failed to pay up their subscription. Moulavi managed to publish twelve issues, but his ill-health and the heavy expenses entailed in its publication forced him to discontinue its publication.²⁴

Moulavi propagated his ideas about the meaning and objective of human life, the position of religion and religious consciousness in life, the distorting influence of false religious consciousness, and about the injustices prevailing in society and politics. His journalistic and literary work became the main-stay of a socio-religious reform movement. In spite of heavy financial setbacks Moulavi consistently worked towards upgrading educational standards of the Muslims, and towards inculcating the desire to spread reformist ideas among the indigenous *Ulema*. These were important in a social context in which ordinary Muslims were discouraged by their own religious leaders from resorting to modern educational institutions. Their only educational resource was in learning religious texts through Arabic letters. Another specific area to which his attention was drawn was the question of social organization. He argued that even if people are of varying abilities and diversities, they have to live together in community, and in relation to each other. Therefore, organization which is the objective expression of social relations becomes very important.

Being a contemporary of Sree Narayana Guru, the famous social reformer, it is learnt that Moulavi interacted with him quite a number of occasions. He was initially nominated as a member in the SNDP for his organizational capabilities. All groups appreciated Moulavi's modern outlook and the necessary skills for spearheading the movement. In 1918, he constituted *Islamika Dharma Paripalana Yogam* along the lines of SNDP at Nilakkamukku.²⁵

He initiated movements for removing sectarian as well as other difference within the Muslim community of Kerala. Like SNDP, which initiated movements for merging up of various sub castes' into the Ezhava category, *Islamika Dharma Paripalana Yogam* pioneered the spirit of unification of Muslims in Kerala. However, unlike the SNDP, which had a casteist outlook, 'Islamika Dharma Paripalana Yogam' looked forward for a universal brotherhood of Muslims. The *Sangham* published several booklets, organized seminars to propagate the reformist ideas. The pamphlet *Zau-us-Sabah*, written by Moulavi was published by the *Sangham* to counter the allegations made by the orthodox *Ulema* against the pioneers of Islamic reform, Ibn Taymiyya and Muhammad Ibn Abdul Wahab.²⁶

Similar organizations, like *Pallippuram Hadiyyul Islam Sangham*, *Chirayinkizh Taluk Samajam*, *Muslim Aikya Sangham*, Kodungalloor, etc. were formed. Particularly the *Chirayinkizh Taluk Samajam* did many things for the progress of the community. It conducted a census of the Muslim households in the Taluk, with particular reference to the educational and economic background of the families. Its annual conferences attracted large numbers of people from the different parts of the state. It also published several booklets for guiding the people in the right path. As a result of such efforts at least some Muslim boys started attending non-religious schools.²⁷ Moreover Moulavi influenced the education department itself to teach Arabic in Schools. When the 'government of Travancore decided to teach Arabic in the schools and appoint Arabic teachers as a result of the pressure exerted by Vakkom Moulavi, dearth was felt for Arabic teachers and necessary text books for the different classes. It was to Moulavi the government turned in this impasse. He was authorized to select Arabic teachers after proper testing of their knowledge. He also wrote text books for the primary classes. Moulavi carried out both these onerous tasks to make Arabic education in schools in Travancore an extraordinary success.²⁸ It attracted at least some Muslim pupils to schools. Among the Muslims of Travancore Sulaiman Sahib from Alleppey and P. Habib Mohammed, the nephew of the Moulavi himself, acquired University Degrees.

To develop the communitarian consciousness Moulavi took various efforts like reforming the customs, practices etc. by providing modern knowledge systems to the people. For him, the Muslims were simply a crowd, but to be a Muslim means one is suppose to be part of the Muslim community. To him 'community' means, they were supposed to possess the moral and religious essence of Islam. The community was having leadership and power over others in earlier times due to their deeper understanding and puritan practice of Islam. Over the years due to moral decline of the people, they lost their power to western powers. To revive their lost glory they had to combine Islamic knowledge with modern scientific knowledge.²⁹

Moulavi's foremost attempt was to reformulate the social life of Muslims in Travancore in accordance with the modern age. Muslim community as a whole was remaining away from the modernization attempts that were instituted in Travancore by the Princely state as well as by the British paramount and missionaries. The major changes that were happening to the different social groups were a revelation to Moulavi to conduct certain levels of changes within the Muslim community. The activities of Moulavi had a great impact on the Muslim community of Kerala. He had the advantage of combining the religiously sanctioned status of a *Moulavi* along with a socially well recognized personality of his locality. Along with the religious reform, education was perceived as a way of social uplift. Moulavi stated the need for social organization for general improvement of the community and for staking the claim for educational advancement. All the journals with which Moulavi was associated did bear the message of socio-religious reform. With these multitudes of socio-religious reform initiatives, Vakkomi paved the way for the modernization of Muslim masses in Kerala. He was also one of the builders of modern Kerala. It was through his untiring endeavours and painful efforts that the Muslims of the state entered the threshold of modern education, religious redemption, political regeneration and intellectual achievement. Therefore, Vakkom Moulavi is regarded as the father of Muslim renaissance in Kerala.

Notes and References



¹ For a biography of Makti Tangal, See K.K.M. Kareem, *Sayid Sanaulla Makti Tangal* (Mal.), Tirur, 1981.

² *Ibid.*, p.16.

³ See the comment about this book published in the news paper The Kerala Sanchari quoted in *Ibid.*, .27.

⁴ K.K.M. Kareem, *Makti Thangalude Sampoorna Krithikal*, (Mal.), Tirur, 1981, pp.224-225.

⁵ K.K.M. Kareem, n1, p.56.

⁶ K.K.M. Kareem, n4. p.559.

⁷ A.P. Ibrahim Kunju, *Mappila Muslims of Kerala: Their History and Culture*, Trivandrum, 1989, p.232.

⁸ See the details in C.N. Ahmed Moulavi and K.K. Kareem, (eds.), *Mahathaya Mappila Sahitya Paramaparyam* (Mal.), Calicut, 1978.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p.481.

¹⁰ A.P. Ibrahim Kunju, *op.cit.*, p.234.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p.239.

¹² *Ibid.*, p.240.

¹³ Muhammad Kannu, *Vakkom Moulaviyum Navodhana Naayakanmaarum* (Mal.), Vakkom, 1982, p. 171.

¹⁴ Quoted in *Ibid.*, p.80.

¹⁵ Ramakrishna Pillai wrote under the caption *Ente Nadukadathal* in Malayalam and *The Travancore Deportation* in English about his deportation from Travancore during his stay at Palghat. Poojappura Krishnan Nair wrote a drama *Swadesabhimaniyude Nadukadathal* (the Deportation of Swadesabhimani) and it was staged in 1956 as part of the fund rising programme for the Swadesabhimani Memorial Committee. Later the drama was published by the Parishad books, Ernakulam in 1962.

¹⁶ For a reading on the works of Vakkom Moulavi, See A. Muhammad Abda, *Vakkom Moulaviyude Thiranjedutha Krithikal* (Mal.), Vakkom, 1979. For a reading on the Journalistic activities of Vakkom Moulavi, see S. Sharafuddeen, Wakkom Moulavi — A Pioneer Journalist of Kerala', *Journal of Kerala Studies*, Vol. VIII, Part 1-4, March-December 1981, pp.93-102.

¹⁷ *The Muslim*, Vols. IV and V (1909-10) Quoted in A.P. Ibrahim Kunju, *op.cit* p.242.

¹⁸ A. Muhammad Abda, *op.cit.*, p.73.

¹⁹ Muhammad Kamm, *op.cit.*, p.153.

²⁰ Quoted in the News Letter of Vakkom Moulavi Foundation.

²¹ A.P. Ibrahim Kunju, *op.cit.*, p.242.

²² Deepika, Vol. IV, 1932, p.3 Quoted in J. Muhammad Nahar, Vakkom Abdul Khadar Moulavi: History as Biography, posted in www.vmft.org/wp-content/.../12/Vakkom-Moulavi-by-Mohd-Nahar-J.pdf, accessed on 10/4/2015.

²³ Deepika, Vol. 11, 1932, p.13 Quoted in *Ibid.*

²⁴ A.P. Ibrahim Kunju, *op.cit.*

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p.241.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ See a statistical report on the Muslim education in *Census Report of Travancore*, 1891, Para 2, pp.365-6.

²⁸ A.P. Ibrahim Kunju, *op.cit.*, p. 244.

²⁹ Vakkom Moulavi, *Nammude Avastha in Al Islam*, 1918, pp.5-6 quoted in J. Muhammad Nahar, *op.cit.*

