CHAPTER FOUR
GEORGE JOSEPH’S CRUSADE FOR SOCIAL REFORM
: HIS ROLE IN VAIKKOM SATYAGRAHA (1924)

Untouchability is a major curse to the society. It had been a great threat to the existence of peace in the society and Kerala has been a victim of such a brutal practice. Kerala society has gone through many such situations. During the Sangam period there was no caste system prevailing in the Kerala society. In the ancient period, Kerala was a part of ancient Tamizhagam which was a Dravidian society without any caste or class distinction. At that time Tamizhagam was free from the evil hands of caste system. The Chaturvarnya system was absent there. It was quite difficult to establish a Chaturvarnya system in ancient Tamizhagam.

The Dravidian culture was absolutely a casteless culture.\(^1\) Only with the coming of the Brahmins, the Chaturvarnya system began to spread to the south. The Brahmins started their migration to South India by 5\(^{th}\) Century A.D. onwards. Most of them were Sanskrit scholars and ascetics. They reached South India and introduced the Vedic culture to the Dravidian people. The Vedic culture was more religious and based on Chaturvarnya system. These Brahmins could inject some of the evil aspects of caste system into the casteless Dravidian society. They persuaded the local princes to perform yaga. Performance of yagas could enable
the Brahmins to strengthen their positions. Gradually Brahmins gained a superior position in the society of South India. With the coming of the Brahmins, the South Indian society went through a transitional period— from a casteless society to a society which was strictly following all the evil aspects of casteism.\textsuperscript{2} Thus caste system in Kerala was a result of Aryan entry.\textsuperscript{3} Brahmins gradually occupied a dominant position in the society especially in religious matters. Their role in religious ceremonies became unavoidable which put them into the uppermost position. The castes which had to engage in manual labour began to be considered as the most inferior caste in the society.

Kerala society was transforming through such stages, which slowly welcomed the most evil customs like untouchability, unapproachability and unseeability. All these customs became a curse to the society. A new concept of pollution got into the Kerala society.\textsuperscript{4} The lower castes became the victims of all these barbarous customs. They were denied of any kind of freedom in the society. The lower castes were prohibited to enter into the premises of the temple. They could not even worship freely. In the Kerala society, pollution was of mainly two kinds. A touch of a lower caste would pollute the upper caste and a mere sight of a lower caste was a cause for pollution.\textsuperscript{5} The evil customs practiced by the society of Kerala was cruel and barbarous. Only the upper classes enjoyed all the benefits of life. The upper class followed a practice of brutality and suppression.\textsuperscript{6} All these sufferings provoked the untouchables
for a fight with the upper class sections in the society. One such kind of movement broke out in the Kerala society was the Chanar (shanar) agitation or the breast-cloth controversy.

It was a struggle fought by the Chanar women for getting the right to cover the upper parts of their body. During that time, the lower caste women were not allowed to cover the upper parts of their body. Only the higher castes had the right to wear the upper cloth. The Shanar women fought fearlessly against this evil and finally they attained the right to wear the upper cloth. Such a movement was the result of long sufferings of the lower caste people from the hands of the upper castes. The Christian missionaries particularly under British Residents like John Munro, General Cullen etc extended a helping hand to the downtrodden for getting these privileges.

The Vaikkom Satyagraha was fought for having the right to enter the roads attached to the Vaikkom Mahadevar temple. This movement came out mainly because of a new revival emerged in the Kerala society due to the spread of English education. People became aware of the meaningless, evil practices like untouchability. The modern ideas brought them into a revolt with the dominant upper classes. Many persons from the upper caste community came forward to reform the society from the clutches of untouchability. Women also have an important role in the socio-reform movements. They too benefited from the western education propagated by the
Christian missionaries. Vaikkom Satyagraha came out as a historical event not only in the history of Kerala but also in the history of India. Indians had never experienced such a movement against untouchability. The leaders in Vaikkom followed the new technique of satyagraha introduced by Gandhi. Satyagraha was a new weapon used by Gandhi against all immorailities. He has proved it as a strong weapon against social discrimination in South Africa. Satyagraha marked a new phase in Indian freedom movement.

Indian National Congress leaders did not give much importance to social problems in its earlier period. Political change was the need of the time. They believed that if they turned towards social freedom, it would reduce the spirit of the freedom struggle. So they thought social freedom would come after attaining complete political freedom. Thus priority should be given to political causes. But the entry of Gandhi into Indian political field brought a drastic change in all areas. Social freedom became a major concern of the time. Under the influence of Gandhi, Congress passed a resolution which demanded the admission of untouchables into temples. In a Congress session held in Bardoli, a resolution was passed which banned untouchability. Thus untouchability became a major concern of the time, with the arrival of Gandhi.

Untouchability in all varieties proved to be a curse to the society. Practice of untouchability was a curse existed not only among the Hindus but also among the Christians and the Muslims.
The *Satyagraha* movement, which took place in Vaikkom was an outcome of the long suffering experienced by the people. The lower castes were striving hard for getting the social freedom. Temple entry was a major objective of the backward classes.\textsuperscript{13} Though the oppression against the lower class prevailed all over the country, Travancore was the first state to start a *satyagraha* against untouchability, unapproachability and unseeability.

T.K. Madhavan was a popular Ezhava leader who had played a crucial role in organizing Vaikkom Satyagraha. Once he was denied entry into the court, attached to the royal palace for fear of pollution. It was considered as a great insult to the whole *Ezhava* community. They wanted to fight back against all the restrictions that came towards them. It was a denial of their social freedom. Many leaders promised their enormous support for the agitation against such social evils. George Joseph had keen interest in this matter. George Joseph along with leaders like K.P. Kesava Menon, took up this issue seriously and provided a wide propaganda to this matter.\textsuperscript{14}

The Vaikkom satyagraha was the result of a number of evil practices experienced by the lower class sections in the society. Under these circumstances some leaders in Kerala were compelled to start a non-violent *satyagraha*. No Government would have the courage to suppress a movement based on intense non-violent methods.\textsuperscript{15}
The 38th session of Indian National Congress held in Cocanada (Kakinada) was a turning point in the history of social reforms. T.K. Madhavan attended that session of the Indian National Congress along with many other Congressmen. He introduced a resolution which was revealing the barbarous side of untouchability, practiced by the upper class section in the Kerala society. In that resolution, he demanded that all local Congress committees should take effective actions for the removal of untouchability. A meeting of the Kerala Provincial Congress was held on 20th January 1924 in Ernakulam under the initiative of T.K. Madhavan. In that meeting an Untouchability Committee was formed under the initiative of some leaders, and this committee took the decision to start a campaign against untouchability in Vaikkom.

Vaikkom, a small town in Travancore was not familiar to anyone living outside Travancore until this place hosted a famous satyagraha against the evil of untouchability. This movement shook the people living all over India. They had never experienced such a non violent struggle against a social evil. This movement had introduced a new word called unapproachability. It was really a shock to the lower caste people living in other parts of India, since they had not experienced such a brutal and barbarous practice, even though they had gone through such similar situations. The leaders of this movement were confident that they would attain success in this struggle as they were brave and honest and were ready to face anything which stood against them. This courage and
mental power of the Kerala leaders attracted many national leaders including George Joseph.\textsuperscript{17} Joseph had always kept sympathy towards the suffering lower classes. This can be evidenced from the deep interest he had shown in the case of the tribal community in Madurai. George Joseph provided his full support for the satyagraha movement in Vaikkom. He came to Vaikkom and entered into the struggle with great enthusiasm. He became an active leader of Vaikkom Satyagraha.

The Vaikkom Satyagraha was actually started under the initiative of some leaders like K.P. Kesava Menon, A.K. Pillai, K. Kelappan Nair and Kurur Neelakantan Nambudirippadu. All of them belonged to higher castes. They made a propaganda tour in many places of Travancore. They aimed to gather public support for starting the satyagraha. So they organized public meetings in many places and people got attracted towards the ideas and methods propagated by the leaders.\textsuperscript{18}

A meeting of Kerala Anti-Untouchability committee held at Kollam on the 16\textsuperscript{th} February 1924 under the leadership of T.K. Madhavan, K.Kelappan Nair, K.P. Kesava Menon, Kurur Neelakantan Nambudirippadu, A.K. Pillai etc took crucial decisions regarding untouchability. They discussed about the evil aspects of untouchability and took necessary steps to root out that evil from Kerala society.\textsuperscript{19}
Vaikkom Siva temple is one of the famous temples in Travancore. It was considered as an important centre of pilgrimage. But a form of untouchability was attached to this temple. This temple was situated in the midst of four square walls surrounded by public roads. These temple roads were mainly used for processions and other religious ceremonies attached to this temple. Only the higher castes could freely walk through these roads. Entry into these roads was permitted only to the higher castes. The Brahmins and the priests of the temple believed that if the untouchables enter into those roads, the temple would be polluted. So the lower castes were denied their entry not only into the temple but also into the approach roads. Majority of the population in that area consisted of lower castes mainly Ezhavas and they were denied of their freedom to worship. They became victims of the blind traditions and superstitions practiced by the higher caste temple authorities. This denial of freedom to a larger section of people brought a number of leaders into Vaikkom.

They raised a movement to get freedom for the untouchables to walk through the public roads and for the freedom to worship. In the opinion of Gandhi, “the untouchables never want anything more, they only demanded the most elementary human rights.” There are evidences that in the earlier times the lower class also had the right to enter the temple, especially the Ezhavas. In the northern part of the Vaikkom temple, an Ezhava house called ‘Kalakkal’ had existed. The inmates of this Ezhava house had special role in the temple
matters. One of the idols of this temple has been kept in this house. It shows that the *Ezhavas* had a prominent place in this temple. But gradually they lost their position and *Brahmins* took over everything related to the temple matters. And the *Ezhavas* too were treated as untouchables so they were denied entry into the temple.

Congress leaders in Kerala took active role in starting the *satyagraha* movement. For that attempt they got full support from some higher caste Congress leaders. That provided them with much vigour and confidence. Even though Gandhi started the *Satyagraha* movement as a weapon against the British imperialists, the leaders of Vaikkom took it as a chief weapon against the temple authorities in Vaikkom which gave this movement wide popularity.

The Congress anti-untouchability committee organised a public meeting at Vaikkom on 29\textsuperscript{th} February 1924. Both lower castes and higher castes attended this meeting. George Joseph was invited to give a speech at this meeting but he could not reach there. At this meeting, the leaders took a decision to conduct a procession consisting of all castes. They planned to take the procession towards the prohibited area. But this march could not be started on the proposed time due to some reasons. Mainly because this movement needed wide publicity from all over India and also to get good participation from the national leaders. Leaders like George Joseph could be able to participate only after the proposed time.
Gandhi received a message of the agitation in Vaikkom. He was really impressed by the non violent satyagraha movement started in Vaikkom. He emphasised the importance of non violence to be kept throughout the agitation. Leaders like George Joseph felt that there was insufficiency in giving proper education to all people regarding the importance of the removal of untouchability especially to the higher castes. Most of them were not aware of the reason for the satyagraha movement fought for. George Joseph and a few other leaders opinioned that this agitation should be treated as a civic rights movement for getting entry into the public roads, so that there would be more participation from the side of the people. Some sections of the higher castes strongly criticized the steps taken by the satyagraha leaders to get entry into the temple roads. They were obsessed by the decision taken by the leaders to start a satyagraha agitation.24

Most of the higher caste Hindus became furious towards the decision taken by the Congress leaders to start an agitation for the entry of the lower castes into the temple roads. They wanted to stop the agitation proposed by the Congress leaders. As this might be caused for a public disorder, the organizers of the protest movement took a sudden decision to send only a few numbers of volunteers to the temple road instead of their early decision for a large public march. A satyagraha movement of this kind was a new experience for the people of Travancore. Wide support from a section of upper caste Hindus was a major feature of Vaikkom Satyagraha which
raised the vigour and enthusiasm of the satyagrahis. It was for the first time that the technique of satyagraha was practiced for a seemingly local issue, which has had far reaching consequences. Gandhiji started this new method of agitation as a strong weapon against the tyranny of the British Government. But at Vaikkom it turned as a strong weapon against the Travancore government and the high caste Hindus.  

The evil of untouchability had infected all over India but a strong agitation against this practice started for the first time only in Travancore which according to Swami Vivekananda “a lunatic asylum”.

The Vaikkom Satyagraha was started on the 30th March 1924. Volunteers from different parts of Kerala reached Vaikkom in large numbers. District Magistrate issued a prohibition order, which announced that if the lower castes would move through the prohibited roads or persuade somebody to do so, the Government would take action against them and they barricaded the entrance of the temple roads. The District Magistrate also sent a prohibition order towards K.P. Kesava Menon, T.K Madhavan, K. Kelappan and Velayudha Menon. But the leaders stood by their stern decision and kept going with the agitation. Gandhi sent a message to the satyagrahis which gave them great enthusiasm and confidence. Gandhi urged the leaders to conduct the movement in a calm and peaceful manner.
The leaders of the movement reached the site early in the morning and made all the final arrangements for the flagging off of the satyagraha movement. They made a march towards the prohibited roads under the leadership of K.P. Kesava Menon and T.K. Madhavan. They stopped a few yards before the non entry board and then sent a three member group consisting of a Pulayan named ‘Kunjappy’, an Ezhavan or Tiyyan named ‘Bahuleyan’ and a Nair named ‘GovindaPanikkar’ towards the prohibited road point. But before they took their entry into the prohibited path, the police stopped them and asked their castes. The Pulaya and Ezhava were blocked and only the Nair was allowed to enter the roads. But he refused to follow their order and the three men sat down on the road floor demanding their entry to the temple road. After sometime all three men were arrested and taken into custody. The district magistrate made an order giving them a six months imprisonment. After this the satyagraha spread to all parts of Vaikkom.27

The next day also the satyagrahis made a march towards the concerned spot. Again the arrest and imprisonment took place as on the previous day. At this time there arose a rumour that a conflict between the Nairs and the Ezhavas are taking place in Vaikkom. After that the satyagrahis entered the roads using force and that led to a critical situation. Such rumours promted the satyagraha leaders to give some awareness to the higher caste Hindus regarding temple road entry. So the movement stopped temporarily. K.P.Kesava Menon made a speech in a Savarna (high caste)
meeting. He tried to reform the minds of the higher caste Hindus. But most of them were not ready for any compromise. They could not come forward from their orthodox believes. At last there was no way other than the satyagraha movement, to get the temple roads opened. So the organizers decided to start the movement immediately.²⁸

The orthodox higher class sent some representations to Gandhi in Bombay. They tried to convince him that the temple roads were private roads and if the Congress leaders continue the satyagraha movement, the upper caste Hindus would stop their support to the Congress activities in Travancore. Letters were sent to Gandhi. Through the letters only Gandhi could know about the participation of George Joseph in Vaikkom Satyagraha. One letter informed him that George Joseph was supposed to start a civil disobedience at Vaikkom. But this information was not much reliable to Gandhi so he directly wrote a letter to George Joseph for getting the actual picture of the situation in Vaikkom.²⁹

The initial stage of Vaikkom Satyagraha brought a pleasant situation in Vaikkom. Based on non violence the satyagraha movement brought a calm atmosphere in Vaikkom. People acquired more confidence in this non violent agitation which gave them a new energy and enthusiasm. At the same time it raised the anger and fear of the Savarnas (high castes).³⁰
K.P Kesava Menon and T.K. Madhavan led the march on 7th April 1924 and both were arrested and sentenced to six months imprisonment. The arrest of these two prominent leaders was a great blow to the satyagraha movement as they were taking a pivotal role in the conducting of the satyagraha. At this crucial situation George Joseph jumped into the Vaikkom Satyagraha agitation and delivered some speeches in Vaikkom, in which he severely criticized the action of the district magistrate towards the satyagraha movement and strongly exhorted the common people for the successful conduct of the satyagraha.

George Joseph suggested to the volunteers in a meeting that “your attention should not be diverted to applauding or raising slogans. It should be focused on those who are fasting and holding their own in the Meenam sun”. After George Joseph’s entry into the satyagraha, there was little change in the tactics and techniques of the movement. George Joseph kept moving promptly to lead the Vaikkom Satyagraha. But George Joseph’s decision to lead the satyagraha caused Gandhi unhappy. Gandhi was not fine with the attitude of George Joseph towards the Vaikkom Satyagraha. Immediately after getting the news of George Joseph’s entry into the Satyagraha, Gandhi wrote a letter to him, in which Gandhi informed him that “As to Vaikkom, I think that you shall let the Hindus do the work, it is they who have to purify themselves. You can help by your sympathy and by your pen, but not by organizing the movement and certainly not by offering satyagraha. If you refer to the Congress
resolution of Nagpur, it calls upon the Hindu members to remove the curse of untouchability. I was surprised to learn from Mr. Andrews that the disease had infected even among the Syrian Christians”.34

The other person, who was dissatisfied with the entry of George Joseph into Vaikkam Satyagraha, was Sardar K.M Panikkar-diplomat historian.35 He issued a statement in Madras newspapers that a Christian had no role in a matter like Vaikkam Satyagraha as it was purely a Hindu affair. He sent his statement to Gandhi with a request that Gandhi should not provide his consent for the entry of non–Hindus into the Vaikkam movement.36

In the opinion of Mahatma Gandhi an honest Christian like George Joseph should not dedicate himself for the struggle in Vaikkam because those efforts may become more complicated.37 Gandhi said “untouchability is the sin of the Hindus, they have to purify themselves and thus they should suffer for it. If any non-Hindu enter into this movement that attempt would leave the Hindus unmoved”.38

Though there was a disagreement with Gandhi, George Joseph continued his active participation in Vaikkam Satyagraha for some time. Under his fine leadership the movement continued vigorously which compelled the authorities to take new steps to control this movement. They barricaded the concerned temple roads which denied the further entry of the satyagrahis into the temple
roads. This new change raised the anger of George Joseph. Thus he wrote to the district magistrate. “I need not hide from you the committee’s feeling that the Government has not played the game fairly. It has imposed upon the volunteers an unnecessary and superfluous amount of suffering verging on torture, but I do not make any complaint about it” 39

Immediately after the new decision taken by the Government to barricade the temple roads the satyagrahis took fasting in the hot days of April without food or water. It was really hard to take fasting on those days of mid-summer. George Joseph made vibrant speeches at various meetings and rallied his followers in several places. 40 For George Joseph this movement was not less important than that of the national struggle for Swaraj. For him the Vaikkom Satyagraha was a civic rights movement. The concerned roads were owned by the state but the lower castes had no access to these roads only because it was in the neighbourhood of a famous temple. It was ridiculous and inhumane. It was the right of everyone to go through the temple roads. It should not be denied to them due to the presence of a temple or because of one’s caste.

For George Joseph, Vaikkom Satyagraha had nothing to do with temple entry. It was purely a struggle for securing civic rights. George Joseph wrote to the Indian Social Reformer on 30th January 1932 as a reply to Gandhi’s comments on Vaikkom Satyagraha. “It is true that Gandhi took the view that as a Christian, I had no
business to go into it and I should apologise. But I did not agree. There was no apology. I took the view that since a civic right was denied to untouchables, it was as much my concern as that of any caste Hindu”. 41

The Vaikkom Satyagraha soon acquired a nation wide popularity especially due to its attitude towards untouchability. At this juncture the government took a new decision to stop arresting the satyagrahis. George Joseph sent a telegram42 to Gandhi informing “Vaikkom Satyagraha assumed a new phase, police, refuses to arrest satyagrahis. Satyagrahis have got down front road fasting. More satyagrahis intended the following days. Advise if change procedure necessary, Urgent.”43 For this request, Gandhi replied soon “Omit fasting but stand or squat in relays with quiet submission till arrested”44

Gandhi gave a definition to fasting in satyagraha thus, “one cannot fast against a tyrant. Fasting can only be done against a lover not to obtain rights from him but to reform him. It is like a son fasts for his father who drinks. Fasting at Bombay and Bardoli were of that character”. Gandhi wrote “I fasted to reform those who loved me. But I will not fast to reform, General Dyer, who not only does not love me but who regards himself as my enemy”.45

Gandhi advised George Joseph about a few techniques for making the satyagraha more effective “you must be patient. You are
in an Indian state. Therefore, you may wait in deputation of the Diwan and the Maharaja. Get up a monster petition by the Orthodox Hindus who are well disposed towards the movement. See also those who are opposing. You can support the gentle, direct action in a variety of ways. You have already drawn public attention to the matter by preliminary satyagraha. Above all, see to it that it neither dies nor by impatience becomes violent.  

Under George Joseph’s leadership the Vaikkom Satyagraha kept going with in the same manner as it was in the initial stage. GJ dedicated his full efforts in Vaikkom as it was a fight against the curse of untouchability. His Christian identity could not stop him from being a satyagrahi in Vaikkom. Removal of untouchability from his own soil was much crucial for him as that of any of his Hindu brethren. It is clear from GJ’s sincere dedication to Vaikkom Satyagraha that one’s religious identity doesn’t matter for him for the active participation in a struggle against a social evil like untouchability. Untouchability was a serious threat to the whole society. It was more severe and painstaking than that of being under a foreign rule. George Joseph’s active participation in Vaikkom Satyagraha created a distance between him and Gandhi. It was an ideological difference between both.

In the Vaikkom issue George Joseph could not agree with the ideas of Mahatma Gandhi. He could not obey Gandhi’s advice for withdrawing his participation in Vaikkom Satyagraha because of his
Christian identity. Even though GJ had left his lucrative legal practice and personal belonging for being an active satyagrahi in the national movement led by Gandhi but regarding the Vaikkom issue he could not agree with the view of Gandhi. George Joseph could dedicate his full energy in Vaikkom.

George Joseph was arrested on 11th April 1924. He was sentenced for six months imprisonment and sent for Trivandrum jail. GJ’s active role in Vaikkom Satyagraha had greatly annoyed the Government and the temple authorities. Like other brave leaders in Vaikkom, George Joseph too was put in the prison. Arrest of George Joseph again left the satyagraha leaderless. The Resident of Travancore, C. W.E Cotton wrote thus “Mr. Joseph out of the way, the movement might collapse altogether for none of the other leaders seem to have any ideas or drive”. After the arrest of G J, there was a vaccum in the field of satyagraha. Before moving to jail, G J telegrammed Gandhi about this leaderlessness.

“I am arrested. Satyagraha must continue. Overwhelming public support and numerous volunteers are there... Leadership only needed. Send Devdas or Mahadev” But George Joseph could not receive any reply regarding this matter. George Joseph’s choice for assuming leadership in Vaikkom was Chakravarthy Rajagopalachari, the later Governor General. But Gandhi was not satisfied with this choice. He commented that Rajagopalachari was “physically unequal to the strain of the campaign.”
Gandhi had a different attitude and a different approach towards each step of the Vaikkom Satyagraha. He wanted to make this satyagraha an inter-Hindu affair. He criticized the participation of any other religious leader in the satyagraha. His opinion that the caste system and untouchability, and other similar issues are happening inside the Hindu community; so Hindus should suffer all the pains regarding the removal of these social evils. George Joseph was totally dissatisfied with the view of Gandhi. He avoided such suggestions and took an active role in the Satyagraha. Gandhi also disagreed with the practice of accepting monetary aid coming from outside Travancore. He told that monetary aid should come from the local people.

Money from outside would reduce the enthusiasm of the local people. Outsiders can send their help only through their love and support. After the starting of the Vaikkom Satyagraha, the Sikhs of Punjab had reached Vaikkom and started free kitchen to provide food for the satyagrahis. Gandhi was disturbed with such actions. Gandhi wrote “it is not to be denied that the present movement through out India is to throw open to the suppressed classes all the public roads, public schools, public wells, public temples etc which are accessible only to the Brahmins.” Gandhi used the word ‘public’ for all people. Because he never liked the discrimination against some people due to their birth and occupation. Gandhi considered these discriminations as barbarous and uncivil. Gandhi
was also against sending Congress leaders from outside Travancore. After the arrest of George Joseph, his letter reached Gandhi pointing the leaderless situation of the Satyagraha movement and the need to send some eminent leaders to Vaikkom urgently. But Gandhi did not show any interest in this matter.

Gandhi expressed his view regarding the leaderlessness at Vaikkom in an interview given to Associated Press of India on 13th April. “Vaikkom satyagraha has undoubtedly arrived at a delicate state. So many leaders have been picked up by the Travancore authorities. Appeals have been made for all India leaders to lead the movement. It is a question how far a local movement on reaching a critical stage, can be turned into an all India movement. All India sympathy I can understand and the Vaikkom satyagrahis have it in abundance but to concentrate actively energies of leaders from different provinces on a single local movement seems to be a difficult if not an impossible task. I am hoping, however that leaders in the Madras presidency will not allow the movement to die for want of a proper leader” 54 Most of these ideas were unacceptable to the national leaders like George Joseph. Arrest of George Joseph and other prominent leaders created the situation in Vaikkom complicated. There was a need for fine leadership.

The agitation in Vaikkom was moving with full vigour under the leadership of Barrister George Joseph. The arrest of GJ and his eighteen associates reduced the spirit of the satyagraha. The
arrested leaders were worried over the effectiveness of the satyagraha without a proper leadership. It was necessary for them to find a perfect leader to carry on the movement. Such a person came to their mind was E.V. Ramaswamy Naicker (Periyar). So George Joseph and Kurur Nilakantan Namboodirippad sent a secret letter to E.V. Ramaswamy Naicker in which they requested him to take the leadership of the satyagraha. After receiving the letter Ramaswamy Naicker rushed to Vaikom and assumed the leadership. He was soon arrested by the Travancore authorities and imprisoned for one month. In his absence, his wife Nagamma reached Vaikkom and continued the satyagraha movement. After his first release, E.V Ramaswamy Naicker had to leave Vaikkom as per the order of the Travancore authorities. But he refused to do so which got him a six months imprisonment.

Gandhi tried to persuade E.V. Ramaswamy Naicker to keep away from the Vaikkom scene. But he refused to do so. His role in Vaikkom gave him the name “Vaikkom Hero”. For George Joseph the role of E.V. Ramaswami Naicker in Vaikkom Satyagraha, never seemed more important than that of any other leaders in Travancore. He felt that the supporters of E.V. Ramaswami Naicker were trying to give over importance to the role of Naicker in the satyagraha than it really was. This tendency annoyed George Joseph for some extent. National leaders like C. Rajgopalachari, Swami Sraddhanand and S. Srinivasa Ayyangar reached Vaikkom and provided their full support to the Satyagraha.
Another leader who came to Vaikkom was Dr. Varadarajulu Naidu. Kamaraj Nadar also had his role in Vaikkom, who was a close friend of George Joseph. Kamaraj reached Vaikkom and became himself a true satyagrahi.

Even after the arrest of the prominent leaders, the satyagraha was continued to reach its ultimate aim. Gandhi reached Vaikkom on 9th March 1925. He made some discussions with the police commissioner Mr. Pitt to reach a final settlement of the satyagraha movement. At this time the ruler of Travancore Srimoolam Thirunal (1885-1924) had passed away and Rani Sethu Lekshmi Bhai (1925-31) took over the administration as Regent. Finally a settlement was made to open the approach roads to all Hindus irrespective of caste and the boards showing the denial of entry of the Avarnas in to the roads also removed.

The Vaikkom Satyagraha stood as an important event in the life of George Joseph. Through this satyagraha George Joseph could be part of an agitation against a social evil like untouchability in his home land. Vaikkom Satyagraha provided him with a great mental satisfaction. George Joseph had a great concern for the problems of the downtrodden sections in the society. Fighting for a social cause meant so much to him that he considered the Vaikkom Satyagraha as a civic rights movement. For GJ, the Vaikkom Satyagraha was fought for a social cause, a section of people were
denied access to a public road merely because of the presence of a temple nearby or because of their low caste position. He had a different view towards civic rights and untouchability. He wrote that there are three classes of rights: political, humanitarian and social. Each one is differentiated from the other. The political rights are the right to use the public roads, public wells, public schools, right to use the courts and right to vote. These are the rules created by the modern state and violating these rules is barbarous.

Second one was the humanitarian rights. This right is defined according to the view of each person. Regarding the issue of the right of the outcastes to public worship, Brahmins would think that entry of the outcastes into the temple premises would pollute them and this practice would be against the ancient customs and practices. But for a social reformer, denial of temple entry would be seen as insanity and violation of his individual liberty for freely worshipping a God.

Social right was the third one. George Joseph preferred the need of inter-marriage to get rid of the evil of untouchability. He severely criticized the custom of early marriages that had existed in India. He wrote that as long as the custom of early marriages exist in India, the idea of inter-marriage is impossible because most of these marriages are done by the parents according to their wish. For George Joseph the only reality was poverty. It was a severe problem which affects both upper castes and lower castes. George Joseph
said, poverty should be the crucial issue than the problem of temple entry\textsuperscript{64}.

All these conclusions of George Joseph regarding untouchability had some similarity with the thoughts of Dr. B. R Ambedkar. There was occasional correspondence between both. Dr. Ambedkar’s view regarding the uplift of the depressed classes was that this section of people should be provided with better education and higher employment. Once this is achieved the other things like religious matters would turn in favour of them. Earning a better living is more important for them than the issue like temple entry.\textsuperscript{65} Dr. Ambedkar was completely hostile towards the temple entry agitation.

After taking charge as the ruler-Regent of Travancore, Maharani Sethu Lekshmi Bai ordered the release of all satyagrahis from the prison. GJ took this opportunity to pay a visit to his family home in Chenganoor. After two months he left for the North. George Joseph returned to North with a heart of great satisfaction for being part of a struggle against untouchability. Vaikkom Satyagraha seemed as a crucial event in George Joseph’s life. This satyagraha movement paved the way for taking some crucial decisions in his life. After the Vaikkom episode, there happened a distance between George Joseph and Gandhi. Some of Gandhi’s views and ideologies regarding the Vaikkom moment were not acceptable to George Joseph especially regarding the entry of non-Hindus into the Satyagraha. Besides this, after the Vaikkom movement GJ kept a
distance from the Congress too. He returned to Madurai and resumed his law practice.

NO CHANGERS AND PRO-CHANGERS

Before reaching Madurai, G J gave a quick visit to the North. At that time a division was taking place in Congress between the No-Changers and Pro-changers. G J stood with the No-Changers. G J had never attracted towards the idea of council entry raised by the pro-changers in the Congress. The Swarajist party leaders wanted to make the council entry programme as the official programme of the Congress. It welcomed the opposition of some leaders in the Congress who wanted to proceed with the existing methods of the Congress party. George Joseph was one among them. By this time the revolutionary activities were growing faster in different parts of India. The misunderstandings and differences in opinion regarding various issues, among the members reduced the spirit and energy of the Congress activities.

Even Gandhi’s Non-Co-operation movement lost its enthusiasm. The situation led the revolutionaries into the forefront of the battle field. Attaining complete freedom was the ultimate goal of the revolutionary leaders. They wanted to create a terror in the minds of the British officials. Even some leaders within the Congress party had a soft corner towards the revolutionary terrorists. But G J
could not turn his mind towards the revolutionaries, and he never showed sympathetic towards such activities.

He was a stubborn believer in non violence. G J believed that such violent activities would never bring freedom to India. He attended the all-party conference held in Bombay on 21st November 1924. This meeting provided a green signal to the pro-changers in the Congress party for their programme of council entry. At this meeting G J proposed an amendment of a resolution introduced by a Congress leader. This resolution was against the repressive policies of the government against the revolutionaries in Bengal. G J emphasised the sympathetic attitude of the countrymen towards the revolutionaries. He pointed out that the Congress should not allow such attitudes to grow in the minds of the people. He said, providing support to such activities was more dangerous than the activity itself and the Congress leaders should not put their trust in any such organisation. He again commented that the Congress leaders should not depend on any secret society or revolutionary organisation for getting political reforms from the hands of the British government.

GJ’s comment on revolutionary terrorism incited criticisms from several Congress leaders. Motilal Nehru commented, “why such an eminent barrister and journalist as George Joseph should move this amendment.” Revolutionary leaders were true countrymen and their fearless dedication and true love for their own
country was beyond any doubt, are acts of patriotism. They were selfless fighters to attain the freedom for their mother land. The stories of the brave revolutionaries soon spread all over India. Common people became very much fascinated towards such leaders and they praised the courage of these revolutionaries like Bhagat Singh (1907-1931) who was hanged for his patriotic activities. The revolutionary movement could create a fear in the minds of the British officials. In such a situation, GJ's proposal for the amendment of a resolution was something unfair. This amendment was vetoed by a large majority in the Congress.

When Gandhi introduced the Calcutta pact in the All India Congress Committee meeting on 23rd November, George Joseph disagreed with it. When the resolution was put to vote, it was passed by a great majority. But George Joseph voted against it. Suspension of non-cooperation movement by Gandhi after the Chauri-Chaura incident disappointed George Joseph generally. He became very much upset over the turn of all these events. So G J decided to quit the Congress and came back to Madurai. By distancing himself from the Indian National Congress, GJ took a break from his active political career at the all- India level.

BACK TO MADURAI

In 1925, George Joseph reached Madurai. Earlier he had left Madurai for being a part of the national movement. Due to the
differences with Congress it seemed quite difficult for him to be inside the Congress party. That made him to turn towards his legal profession in Madurai. But he never left his Gandhian ideologies and principles which became a part of his life and continued till his last breath. After reaching Madurai GJ continued his role in different social and political activities.

In the year 1925, the Madras presidency witnessed a political turmoil. After the death of Tyagaraja Chetti, the Justice party became leaderless. Tyagaraja Chetti was one of the founding fathers of the Justice party like Dr. T.M. Nair. No leader was seemed sufficient for the leadership. By this time the Swarajist party put a strong hold on the politics of Madras. The main leaders of the Swarajist party in the Madras presidency were Srinivasa Iyengar, T. Satymurthi and Ranga Swami Iyengar. In the election to the legislative council held in 1926, the Swarajist party won 41 seats. It came as the majority party. As a result, they were invited by the governor of the Madras presidency to form a Ministry. But the Swarajists were not ready to accept the offer. At last a coalition ministry was formed.

The attitude of the Swarajists regarding the rejection of the offer given by the Madras governor to form a ministry was not liked by several Congress members. GJ was one among them. He wished that the Swarajist leaders should accept the governor's invitation. He tried to persuade the Swarajist leaders in Madras to
follow the order. He also wrote that the leader should take into account the public opinion, regarding this issue. George Joseph sent letters to some national leaders too. Varadarajulu sent a reply to George Joseph showing his full support to the issue. But Rajagopalachari did not agree with George Joseph, regarding the issue. George Joseph sent letters and wrote articles in the ‘Hindu’ and in the ‘Madras Mail’, a better way to express his ideas freely. George Joseph never showed any hesitance to reveal what is in his mind. He had the courage to criticize something which he feels so odd and unsuitable to the present system.

But George Joseph’s argument ended in vain. His campaigns could not attain its fruit. The editor of the ‘Hindu’ was no longer ready to accept any article from George Joseph. He strongly protested this attitude of the Hindu editor. But he could keep sending his articles to the ‘Madras Mail’.

The Swarajists rejected the governor’s invitation to form a Ministry was mainly because of the decision taken in the All India Congress Committee meet in March 1925. In that meeting the Congress candidates getting ready for the election are requested to sign a ‘pledge’ for fairly carrying out the functions of the Congress. The pledge was interpreted as “the congress men in the legislatures should refuse to accept the offices in the Government until in the opinion of the Congress a satisfactory response is made by the Government".
George Joseph had a clear idea about what would be the outcome of such actions made by the Congress. He mentioned that in a letter sent by him to C. Vijayaraghavacharyar, George Joseph wrote “The congress has got the largest organised party in the Madras Council. I want its leaders to form a ministry. The constitutional position is simple and the duty of the party seems to me imperative.”

“It is true that in the course of the election campaign a number of things were said, some wise and some foolish but the folly of our politicians was no greater than that of their compeers in other countries under similar circumstances. The business of sensible men is to consider the future. If the Congress does not form a Ministry, the gentlemen who were pleased to call themselves Independents will lie in wait at the doors of the Government House offering to undertake the business of Government. On the basis of party discipline, they themselves got into the council repudiating allegiance to all parties whatsoever. The intellectual absurdity is fairly patent but the constitutional impropriety is shocking.”

Even though GJ’s campaign ended in failure it became a crucial incident in the political life of GJ. GJ possessed a strong view regarding a particular problem, and he dared to fight against a system which he feels uncivil and unsocial. This attitude invited scathing criticisms from others.
During the mid–twenties, Indian politics entered into a phase of great turmoil. Even some problems began to emerge inside the Swaraj party. A section in the party demanded more responsive cooperation. This section was led by N.C. Kelkar and M.R. Jayakar. But another group under the leadership of Motilal Nehru wanted to continue the earlier policy of the party. As a result a new party was formed by a section of the Swaraj party under the leadership of N.C. Kelkar and M.R. Jayakar. They criticized the old policy and methods of the Swaraj party. The death of C.R Das on 6th June 1925 was a blow to the Swarajists. It had severely affected the functions of the party. By this time Gandhi resumed the leadership of the Congress after his release from the prison. But during this phase, he mainly focused on constructive programmes. When all these developments were taking place in the Congress, GJ kept away from the mainstream of the party.

GJ’s ideological differences with Gandhi regarding certain issues could not affect his interest on Gandhi’s constructive programme. He welcomed it as a solution for various social issues. As a social worker, GJ provided his whole hearted support for the conducting of various constructive programmes. Gandhi’s constructive programmes consisted of mainly three programmes – promotion of khadi, the removal of untouchability and the restoration of communal harmony.
The *Khadi* programme acquired much popularity. Earlier the All India Khadi Board had issued an appeal that every Congress member should have at least one spinning wheel working in his family. One of the main objects of the Congress organisation was the production and substitution of hand spun *khadi* for all other clothes. If a person does not own a *charkha* working regularly in his home, he could not be a member of the Congress. It became a condition for getting membership in the Congress. 69 National schools were established in different parts of India. These schools became the recruiting grounds for Congress cadres. Foreign clothes occupied a dominant position among the Indians. Importing of foreign cloth to India provided a huge profit to the British. At the same time it badly affected the Indian cottage Industries. Indian weavers were put into utter poverty. The *khadi* programme initiated by Gandhi aimed at the removal of such pathetic conditions of the rural Indian masses. He believed that the uplift of the poor would be a better solution for the growing poverty in India. Gandhi conducted tours to different corners of India to spread the idea of *khadi* issue. He demanded the use of hand spun clothes. He advised the people to give up the use of foreign clothes and also to become self sufficient in their clothes.

But the production of khadi seemed to be very expensive than the foreign clothes. As a result the price became too high. Gandhi was informed of such situations. George Joseph sent a letter to Gandhi, in which he explained such difficulties related to the
production of khadi. He wrote that the production of khadi is a highly expensive affair and it would severely affect the domestic mills than the British. In George Joseph’s view, Indians should promote the use of ‘khaki’ instead of khadar. He said that production of khaki is cheaper than Khadi and using this as uniforms would provide the people with an appearance of military discipline. Such view of George Joseph was for supporting the poor, who could not afford any kind of over expenses. For GJ, priority was for the social issues that is, the issues of the common people. According to him, if the production of khadi is not less costlier to the people, we should stop the production of it and find something which is more easier and affordable to the common masses. No political issue or any other programme should badly affect the life of the common man.

But Gandhi could not support the view of George Joseph. For Gandhi, the use of khaki, instead of khadar was not a good solution for the problem. In his opinion, the use of khaki as uniforms would remind the people of military dictatorships just like the Fascists in Italy and Nazis in Germany. But all these issues could not take GJ away from the constructive programmes especially the khadi issue. GJ and his family had earlier boycotted all their foreign clothes as a part of the non co-operation movement called by Gandhi. From that period onwards George Joseph and family gave up wearing of foreign clothes and started using khadi. They continued that till the end of their life. During his imprisonment in Trivandrum, George Joseph undertook the activity of khadi spinning. A spinning wheel
was given to him. He engaged actively in the spinning process for long hours during the imprisonment, which gave him more pleasure and satisfaction. Occasionally there was a need for raw cotton which is evident from his letters from the prison. In his letters he made requests for more raw cotton from places like Madurai.  

As a part of the khadi programme, Gandhi paid a visit to Madurai. He was overwhelmed by the progress of khadi programme in Madurai. Gandhi was pleased by seeing the activities of some prominent personalities there like Vaidyanath Iyer, A. Vedarama Iyer etc. They were members of the Spinner’s Association and they had keen interest in the khadi movement. Activities of George Joseph for promoting khadi movement were another happiest moment for Gandhi during his visit in Madurai. He had full praise for Mr. and Mrs George Joseph for their dedication. Gandhi used the term ‘guide less soul’ for Mrs. George Joseph. She was more dedicated than her husband for the programme of promoting khadi. Gandhi wrote that, Mrs. Joseph is responsible for any interest in spinning khadi and George Joseph continues to have this interest. She became a member of the women’s spinning club in Madurai. Gandhi gave a silver charka to each member of that club for their dedicated work for promoting khadi. For Susanna Joseph it was a precious gift and she kept that with her with much care till the end of her life. She collected money for the promotion of khadi movement. She took an active interest in carrying on the spinning propaganda among the women. During her propaganda she made friends in the lowest
sections of the society. She made friendship even with the devadasis. She made some of them the members of the spinning club. For Gandhi she was one of the truest representatives of real charity.  

George Jeseph was the president of the Swadeshi Prachar Sabha in Madurai at the time of Gandhi’s visit in Madurai in 1921. He conducted various campaigns to get the support of the people for khadi. He worked hard to create awareness among the people about the importance of the khadi programme. He advised the people to buy khadi. On that visit of Gandhi in Madurai he stayed in George Joseph’s house. On that occasion, Gandhi started wearing only a loin cloth and a small towel for the first time. From that day onwards that became the dressing style of Gandhi.  

By promoting the khadi movement George Joseph became part of Gandhi’s constructive programme. Even though he pointed out some defects associated with the production of khadi he never turned against the khadi programme. With the dedicative participation in the khadi issue George Joseph proved himself as a true nationalist.  

After resigning from the Congress, George Joseph wanted to be away from the national politics. But he could not keep such a distance for a long time. He attended the All-India Congress Committee meeting in 1927, held in Bombay. The main issue
discussed in this meeting was the Hindu-Muslim problems. Pothan Joseph, younger brother of George Joseph was also present in this meeting. At this meeting George Joseph asked whether a compromise promoting Hindu – Muslim harmony, allegedly agreed to by the Congress Working Committee with a Hindu Mahasabha leader, M.R.Jayakar, was little more than a window-dressing exercise? This turned out to be a perceptive observation since Jinnah, the leader of the Muslims, some years later, held Jayakar mainly responsible for the final ‘parting of the ways’ between the Hindus and the Muslims. In that meeting George Joseph made a proposal that Muslims should be allowed the entry into the committee. This resolution was passed with a huge majority. In George Joseph’s opinion, that would be a good idea for reducing the Hindu – Muslim tension for some extent. A resolution for drafting a constitution of India also was issued in this meeting. George Joseph had his whole hearted support for this proposal also.77

By this time, the revolutionary terrorism was spreading to each nook and corner of India. South India was not exempted from this. In such a situation, ‘The Indian war of Independence’, a famous book by V.D Savarkar in 1907 was brought to Madurai. V.D Savarkar was a revolutionary and had an important place in the history of freedom movement in India. Savarkar reached London in June 1906 to study law. There he started some revolutionary activities. He spread his revolutionary ideas among some Indian students, who were having their studies there. Savarkar taught them
to prepare and assemble bombs. It raised the fury of the British. This book was proscribed in India.

During the London days, George Joseph met Savarkar on some occasions at India House. He could not provide his full support to the ideas of Savarkar. He commented that Savarkar was a good example of a 'revolutionary without a cause'. George Joseph could not admit Savarkar's Hindutva argument. But when the book The war of Independence was brought to Madurai after several years George Joseph’s name was also listed among some persons who were suspected for hiding the copies of this book. George Joseph’s house was searched by the police to find if the copies of the book were hidden there. If we consider the attitude of George Joseph towards the ideas of Savarkar and his revolutionary activities, this search seemed really strange and ironic.

In February 1927, a satyagraha had started in Nagpur, against the Arms Act. This Act denied the common people, the right of carrying weapons. Only the authorized people were allowed to carry weapons. It made the people very angry. The Chairman of Nagpur Municipality General Avari organized a satyagraha against the Arms Act. He was arrested and imprisoned. But majority in the Congress were not ready to support this satyagraha as it was for the right to carry arms. It was totally against the principle of non-violence.
At this time a Congress meeting was held in Madurai. This meeting welcomed the satyagraha of Avari and called it as a heroic struggle. At this meeting a decision was taken to start a sword satyagraha in Madurai. George Joseph was unhappy with this decision taken by the Congress Committee in Madurai. He advised the members to wait for the consent of the All India Congress Committee. But the committee stood in their decision and started the agitation. They carried swords and conducted daily meetings in Madurai. George Joseph was not happy over such incidents. So he again kept away from active politics.

The unrest against the British government was rising all over India. The Indian nationalism during the mid 20’s was covered in utter terror like Hindu-Muslim riots, growing revolutionary terrorism and confusion and chaos within the Congress itself. The revolutionary terrorism raised a great threat to the British government. The Indian youth were greatly upset over the present political situation in India and they were not satisfied with the policies and functions of the Congress. They demanded an immediate change from the old policies. They could not wait for any progressive reform from the hands of the British. So they resorted to violent methods. Killing of British officials, throwing bombs, and plundering of the British money etc became the common practices followed by the revolutionaries.
All these violent and brave deeds of the Indian youth spoiled the peace of the British officials. The killings and plundering frightened the British government. They felt that they were unsafe on the Indian soil which compelled the British to take some steps to curtail this growing unrest against them. Thus the government took a decision to appoint a commission as per section, 84 A of the Government of India Act of 1919. According to this section a statutory commission should be appointed after 10 years to conduct an enquiry about the progress of the working of these systems. This commission consisted of seven British members of the parliament including the chairman. It was fully a ‘white’ committee, and no Indian was included in this committee. The appointment of this commission worsened the situation. Indians could not accept any commission appointed for the welfare of India without any Indian as its member. It was really a great humiliation to the people of India. The Congress members angrily protested against the commission on its arrival. The Congress leaders told the people to observe hartal whenever the commission visited.

The annual Congress meeting held in December 1927, in Madras had its main discussion on the Simon Commission. They took a decision to strongly protest the arrival of the commission. Gandhi was absent in this session. They decided to arrange mass demonstrations in various cities. There were several clauses for this resolution. Clause b of this resolution demanded that ‘non official members of the Indian legislatures and leaders of political
parties and communities of India and all others should not give evidence before the commission nor co-operate in any manner, public or private nor attend or participate in any social functions given by them’. George Joseph had some disagreements with this resolution. He commented that this resolution is unsuitable for the present situation of the country due to its violent communal issues. So he introduced another clause to substitute the clause b.

George Joseph had his own justification for this amendment,

“It appeared that there was a risk of the true purpose of the boycott being misconceived and a possible failure threatening them on the basis of that misconception. For, when all was said and done the matter that they should take to heart was that when this commission came and went about the country conducting examinations individually and in a body, interviewing people and holding informal conversations the thing that mattered was not the evidence that might be formally tendered before that commission. What mattered was the impression they would carry with them of the relationship between different communities, the tales that one party might say against another and one community against the other, the suggestions of injustice and of failure of fair dealing etc”

But the Congress leaders were not satisfied with this amendment introduced by George Joseph. They had the opinion that it would be improper to refer the communal issues in such a
resolution and it was rejected. His resolution had an important point regarding the communal issues that was going to affect severely on the future of India. All this reduced the enthusiasm of George Joseph to actively involve in the national politics.\textsuperscript{82} He became disappointed over the communal problems of India. It was an obsession for him. He could foresee the future of the country revolving on communal clashes. He was unhappy over the future problems of India which he could imagine on the basis of the present crisis.

The Madras session of the Congress had left with George Joseph another event in his life. A young British trade unionist had attended this session. His name was Fenner Brockway. He was a great supporter and friend of India. George Joseph provided his car to him for a trip. But unfortunately on his way he met with an accident and was admitted in the general hospital at Madras. This took away most of the time of his visit. This incident worried George Joseph. Fenner Brockway had great praise for George Joseph. He wrote about George Joseph in his autobiography ‘Towards Tomorrow’ as a ‘rare Christian among Congress leaders’.

\textbf{End notes:}

2. \textit{Ibid.}


12. *Young India*, dated April 10, 1924 (p. 118)


16. Young India, dated April 17, 1924, p.131.
17. Ibid.
18. P.K.K Menon, Op.cit., p.142. Also see ERTV, Cover Files on Vaikkom Satyagraha Vol 1 to III.
21. Young India, dated September 11, 1925.
24. Ibid.
25. Malayala Manorama, dated April 1,1924.
26. Young India, dated April 24,1924.
28. Ibid, pp. 165-166.
31. Malayala Manorama, dated April 8,1924.
32. Malayala Manorama, dated April 3, 1924.
33. Malayala Manorama dated April 12, 1924.
34. Letter to George Joseph, dated 6th April,1924.
35. A famous freedom fighter from Kerala who along with T.K. Madhavan pleaded to Gandhiji for anti-untouchability campaigns in temples in Kerala. It was based on this plea the Kakkinada Congress allowed the Vaikkom Satyagraha. In independent India, Sardar Panikkar as a historian-intellectual played a pivotal role. His mettle as a diplomat in UNO, is inestimable. See details in Tarasankar Banerjee, Sardar Panikkar, Passim.


37. Selected Works of Gandhi, vol XXVI, January April, 1925.


40. Malayala Manorama, dated April 12, 1924.

41. Maya Thomas, Barrister George Joseph; A Memoir, Passim.

42. Telegram, dated 11th April 1924.

43. The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi xxiii, March 1922 to May 1924.

44. Telegram, dated 11th April 1924.

45. Letter to George Joseph, dated 12th April 1924.


47. Malayala Manorama, dated April 12, 1924.


50. Ibid. Also see Maya Thomas, Op.cit, Maya Thomas is the daughter of George Joseph; see Interviews with Maya Thomas by the present author, on 11th May 2007, 13th May 2007 etc.


52. Malayala Manorama, dated April 6,1924.

53. Young India, dated May 1, 1924.


56. Malayala Manorama, 20th May 1924.

57. Ibid, p.249.

58. Anitha Diehl, Periyar E.V. Ramaswami, A Study of the influence of a personality in contemporary South India, p.13.


61. Malayala Manorama, dated May 20, 1924.

62. R.P. Kapur, Kamaraj; The Ironman, p.70.


65. Ibid. p.173.
67. NAI, George Joseph’s Letter to C.Vijayaraghavacharyar, dated 17th November 1926.
69. *Young India*, dated March 13, 1924.
71. *Ibid*.
72. *Ibid*.
73. *Ibid*.
74. *Young India*, dated December 13, 1928.
75. *Ibid*.
76. TNA Periodical section, Newspaper Cover Files, Vol I -IV, *Passim*.
77. *Ibid*.
78. *Ibid*.
79. *Ibid*.
80. *Ibid*.
81. *Ibid*.
82. *Ibid*.