Chapter IV

POLITICISATION OF COMMUNITIES: THE STRUGGLE FOR POWER, 1932-1947

The four decades from 1890 saw the possibilities of upward mobility for Nairs, Ezhavas and Christians in Travancore. There was an irresistible force working among the communities to gain social acceptability through the civil services, and modern education. For that, a more rational social outlook buttressed with an ethics of thrift and hard work was necessary. The social consequence was the shattering of traditional occupational boundaries. No more certain occupations were considered 'taboo' for some communities or were the exclusive domain of some other communities. The dawn of 'individualism' was basic to this type of occupational mobility. Thus, essentially a 'manifest experience' for achieving social status on a higher scale came into being and the aspiring communities could not but clinch it.

The level of consciousness of the people was rising through the works of communal organisations. They began to increasingly realise that political power was important to enhance and consolidate their status. Although monarchy was the accepted and unquestioned form of political authority, demands for a share in those instruments which had an access to the centres of power was the substance of the working of these communal organisations. In short, political consciousness began to germinate even when people were organised on the primordial level. The quest to reach nearer to the instrumentalities of power was the
visible manifestation of the three dimensional framework of class, status and power. In course of time 'power' got an upper hand in the collective movement for status. Legislative Assemblies, though with very restricted base and functions helped this process.

When in 1888 Travancore had its first 'Assembly of the people' (Legislative Council) it directly and indirectly helped to awake the political consciousness of the people. Sri Mualm Maharajah the then monarch established it with the aim of enabling the representatives of his subjects to offer their suggestions and constructive criticism in the promulgation of laws. For the first time in the history of any Indian state, this Legislative Council was constituted by Regulation. It had only a deliberative function. The members were to be nominated out of whom not less than two were non-officials. In 1898, the minimum number of members was raised from 8 to 15, the proportion of non-officials being 2/5 of total number. It was believed that the number of non-official members was enough to secure representation of the important communities residing in Travancore. There were restrictions on the legislative powers. Certain subjects were taken out of its jurisdiction. For instance, religion was excluded from it. Naturally the legislative council had representation only for the upper castes including Nairs and a few wealthy Syrian Christians. From 1911, the planters of Devikulam got representation.

In 1904, on the initiative and advice of the Dewan Sri
V. P. Madhava Rao, another institution, the Sree Mulam Popular Assembly was inaugurated by the Maharajah. This was constituted by the representatives of the land-holders and merchants of the state. It was a body of rich and professionals to express directly to the government their grievances and wishes. The land holders who paid on their own account an annual land revenue of not less than Rs.100/- and land holders or traders whose net annual income was Rs.6000/- or above had two representatives in the Popular Assembly.

What is important from our perspective is that it marked the decadance of a socio-economic system viz feudalism and the recognition of capitalist mode of production on the basis of political representation. The recognition accorded by the state to the up and coming occupations like trade, plantation; breaking the monopoly of traditional symbols of status like land ownership or priestly professions needs our attention. This must be seen as a turning point in the existing social relationship and slowly undermining the rationale of the social system itself. However, at that time the representatives of only one or two communities (Syrian Christians for instance) could avail of the new opportunities and thereby the new status. Our contention is that, although in substance the Sree Mulam Popular Assembly was neither popular nor an assembly because of its high property qualification for voters and candidates; it was an acknowledgement of the new social forces. Also, it marked at least theoretically a small step in people's participation in the government of the day. The Council and Assembly underwent
several changes in its strength and base for franchise. The proclamations of 1919 and 1922 by the King enlarged the voters base to those paying less taxes. However, there were popular discontent about the way these changes were brought about. That is, the King did these by his will through royal proclama-

mations. The dissidents said these reformatons ought to have come out of discussions in the existing assembly and councils. However, till 1932 the functioning of these two bodies went ahead without many eventful happenings. P. K. K. Menon is of the view that "though based on restricted franchise, the Council and the Assembly with their limited powers helped to arouse political consciousness among the people."

But once political participation and thereby the social leadership was seen as a manifest experience to enhance status not only of the individual who represented an interest but also of the primordial collectivity to which he belonged; then, there was an open for all situation in the competitive claims. Religion, 'caste' or clanniness determined the social unit which should compete for the political participation so as to climb the status scale. In this way, the work of the two 'representative bodies' - Council and Assembly meant politicisation on the community level.

In this process the vision of the communal leaders sharpened and political ideas crystalised. Since the status was mainly for the community, they began to analyse how many of their members were in the two political bodies. That served as an index for their status and power in society. But the quali-
fication of voters and candidates was based on property, high education and membership in 'new' professions and because of that the discriminated communities found themselves at the bottom of the scale and in many cases drew a blank.

**Table X**

**Elected members in the Travancore Assembly 1922-1931**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Total elected members</th>
<th>1922</th>
<th>1925</th>
<th>1928</th>
<th>1931</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total elected members</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nairs</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ezhavas</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christians (all denominations)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslims</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other higher castes (Savarnas)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Backward castes</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: **SNPD Yozam Golden Jubile Souvenir 1952, p. 228.**

The social development had reached such a stage that the affected communities - their leadership were not willing to take things lying down by the beginning of 1920s. They began to question sharply the near monopoly of certain communities like Nairs in public services and Assemblies. Since the flood gates were opened in 1891 through the Malayali
Table XI

According to the census of 1931
Population and voters, communitywise

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Voters</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hindus (total)</td>
<td>31,34,888</td>
<td>96,414</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Nairs</td>
<td>8,68,411</td>
<td>52,936</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Ezhavas</td>
<td>8,69,883</td>
<td>52,936</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christians (total)</td>
<td>16,04,475</td>
<td>40,844</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslims</td>
<td>3,53,274</td>
<td>8,288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>50,95,973</td>
<td>1,45,546</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: SNDP Yogam Golden Jubilee Souvenir 1953, p. 227

Memorial the onrush could not be stopped midway. The leaders found that it was easier to mobilise people on the communal grounds because the known medium of articulating the rights in quest for power was the community. There was an increasing public consciousness; but it could only be channelised through communal organisations by the respective community leaders.

When the Regency came to an end on 6 November 1931, Balarama Varma Maharajah became the ruler. He announced in 1932 a reform of the Sree Mulam Popular Assembly, on popular demands. The Popular Assembly was placed on a statutory basis with enlarged powers and functions according to the regulation passed on 28 October 1932. The Council and Assembly became the
two chambers of a legislature. The new reform came into force with effect from 1 January 1933.

The franchise qualification for the Popular Assembly (Lower House) was opened up to those men and women who paid land tax of Rs. 5/- or more, or income tax or municipal tax of Re. 1/- or more per annum. Graduates and retired or pensioned military officers residing in the state were also entitled to vote. The Council voting had a higher qualification; paying of land tax of Rs. 25/- or more. With these only 3 per cent of the state's population could vote. There were provisions for the reservation of seats in general constituencies for Ezhavas, Muslims and Latin Catholics, so as to assure their representation by election.

The reform did not evoke positive response from the people in general except perhaps the Savarnas (Nairs). The Christians, Ezhavas and others realised that both the houses were constituted on the 'feudal theory' of franchise.

The deprived communities knew very well that because of the religious prejudices they will not get representation in the legislature. Ezhavas represented through a series of memorials and deputations to improve their position in the Assembly. On 23 May 1928, SNDP Yogam in a deputation before the Simon Commission pleaded for adult franchise and proportionate representation. On 18 March 1932, the Ezhava members of Sree Mulam Popular Assembly submitted a memorial to the Dewan requesting adult franchise, special electorate for Ezhavas without prejudice to contest the elections from general constituencies. On 31 July
1932, the All Travancore Ezhava Political League met at Quilon and asserted their demands on the above lines. Muslims were equally alert. Wajanathul Muhammadiya Association met on 21 August 1932 under the leadership of Saheb Bahadur Dayed M. Bava and demanded separate electorate. Christians were not silent. The Travancore Latin Christian Mahajana Sabha presented a Memorial to the Maharajah on 4 September 1932 and wanted representation according to their numerical strength. They could not in the past return a single representative. The Travancore State Catholic Congress submitted a Memorial on 15 October 1932. They wanted reservation of seats based on numerical strength of their community. The scheme they submitted was intended to confine the communal rivalries to the representative body and not broadcast with disastrous results among the masses.

On 27 November 1932, the Ezhava Mahajana Sabha under the auspices of the SNDF Yogam met at Alleppey. K. Ayyappan was the Chairman. The meeting formed a committee to chalk out the future programmes of action, in consultation with other communal organisations. As a culmination of all these an Ezhava-Christian-Muslim (axis) coalition came into existence in Travancore. The atmosphere was surcharged with communal feelings. Ezhavas, Christians and Muslims found their common enemy in Nairs.

Suddenly, communal organisations became active and began meetings frequently. Ezhava Political League met at Quilon on 5 November 1932. Next day the Catholic Congress recorded their protest at Kottayam. They were followed by protests from all Travancore Muslim League and Latin Christian Mahajana Sabha.
There were also public meetings of Christian at Trivandrum. On 21 November 1932, Christians of all denominations in Trivandrum met and two sub-committees were appointed to study the representative aspect of the new legislation. One sub-committee (E. J. John, Joseph Padiyara and K. T. Thomas) said in their report that representation to be effective must be based on the numerical strength of different communities. To quote:

Government had recognized the different communities as separate entities for various administrative purposes, the same principle should be reasonably extended to representation in the legislature as well.... Ezhavas might not succeed in returning any candidate from the general rural constituencies. Proportionate to their numerical strength, the Christian community was entitled to return nineteen members to the assembly and nine to the Council and on the same basis the Nairs could claim only one-sixth of the 56 seats in the Assembly by election or by nomination and any favour extended to them would be only at the expense of the other communities.12

The ultimate result was different sections of the Christian community joining and organising themselves to protect their common interests. This itself was a matter of sociological significance because the different Christian communities had very little interaction among themselves. They were behaving as if they belonged to different religious communities. The All Travancore Christian Political Conference was formed. The Catholic Congress, the Latin Christian Mahajana Sabha, the Kerala Christian Service League and the South Travancore Indian Christian Association came to the forefront. A deputation of the Christian Political Conference met the Dewan on 19 December 1932 and presented a memorial. E. J. John was the spokesman of the deputation. He pointed out that the Christians formed nearly
one-third of the total population but ever since election by general constituencies had begun, they never secured their due share of representation in the legislature. Worse of all, the Ezhavas number 8.69 lakhs did not get a single seat by that form of election. The reservation of seats was the only practicable method of obliterating communal discord in the state which was favoured by the continuance of vested interests in the political field. No community should be permitted to labour under a galling sense of injustice.

17 December 1932 was a watershed in the communal agitation in Travancore. It was on that day the All Travancore Joint Political Conference was launched at a meeting of representatives of different communities. A report published in Dasan, 31 December 1932, says that Muslims, Ezhavas, Latin Catholics, Syrian Catholics, Jacobites, Mar Thomites, Protestants attended. Representatives of other communal organisations were also present. Three weeks later a deputation of the Joint Political Conference submitted a Memorial to the Dewan on 9 January 1933. N. V. Joseph, the President of the Travancore State Catholic Congress was the spokesman of the deputation. According to N. V. Joseph, Travancore was witnessing the clash of two principles - the existing exigency of communal aspirations and the developing tendency of territorial nationality. An adjustment between the two leading to social harmony would be possible in Travancore only by the reservation of seats on communal lines.

On 25 January 1933, the representatives of the constituent organisations of the All Travancore Joint Political Conference
met in the LMS hall in Trivandrum and decided to abstain from
the election. The important resolution on abstention was that
the members of the various political organisations of the Chris-
tians, Ezhava and the Muslim communities should abstain from
taking part either by voting or by standing as candidates in the
elections or by accepting nominations to the reformed legisla-
tive bodies, so long as the government do not make provision for
the representation by election of all concerned communities, pro-
portionate to their population in the legislature.

The ultimate aim of the abstentionists was to secure
places in all the representative institutions and public ser-
vices in proportion to the population of the respective commu-
nities.

A movement of far reaching consequences began. Suddenly
the churches, SNDP Yogams, Muslim assemblies became hot bed of
politics. All communities stood behind their leaders solidly.

The 'abstentionists' held public meetings to educate
public opinion. The resolution was approved by the Catholic
Congress meeting held at Palai, attended by nearly 3000 Catho-
olics and presided over by John Nidhiry, the Vice Patron of the
AKCC. The Board of Directors of the SNDP Yogam supported it
which was later ratified by an extra ordinary general meeting
of the Yogam held at Changanacherry on 14 March. A mass meeting
of the Christians, Ezhavas and Muslims was held at Tiruvalla
supporting the resolution. Popular meetings were held at
Kozhencherry, Kottayam, Chengannur, Kottarakkara, Quilon, Kai-
pattur, Vaikom and Kalkulam.
The joint political conference had the suspicion that the Nairs might, on strategic considerations withdraw their candidates in certain constituencies and give other communities a chance to be represented merely to perpetuate the reformed electoral system very much favourable to Nairs.

Government had unleashed repression on the movement. The authorities were under attack on the charges that they indulged in terrorism to compel the citizens to vote for the 'anti-abstention candidates'. The elections were held under prohibitory orders and the result showed the success of abstention movement.

Table XII

Results of general elections conducted under prohibitory orders on 1 April 1933

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Population in lakhs</th>
<th>Seats in the Legislative Assembly 48; Council 22; Total 70</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Christians</td>
<td>16.04</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ezhavas</td>
<td>8.09</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nairs</td>
<td>8.68</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Savarnas</td>
<td>4.79</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslims</td>
<td>3.53</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Depressed classes</td>
<td>9.17</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europeans</td>
<td>(587)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Those elected were not public men of any standing and the
number showed the non-representative character of the electoral reforms as far as the major communities were concerned. P.K.K. Menon observes: "It was tragic irony that the constitutional reforms of 1932, acclaimed as progressive, had to be worked out in an atmosphere of political mistrust, communal vilification, police shadowing, intimidation and the gagging of mouth".

From June 1933, when the elections were held, till February 1938, Joint Political Congress of the abstention movement kept aflame the political awakening of the state. But of course its roots were communal. "At no time in the history of Travancore", comments C. Narayana Pillai, "did communalism stride like a colossus over the whole country and inflame baser passions and encourage fissiparous tendencies."

The communal war was evident. Towards the end of January 1933, Nairs met at Trivandrum and passed resolutions against the movement. The government and the savarnas were pitched against the avarnas. The abstentionists believed that Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, the Constitutional Adviser to the Maharajah was mainly instrumental in the reforms of 1932. This was considered as an indicator of Sir C.P.'s support to the near monopoly of power by Nair community. It was alleged that the Associated Press of India agency in Trivandrum, established with a government subsidy was being utilised by Sir C.P. for the propagation of his own views and that he was giving secret encouragement to the Nair community.

Several meetings of Nairs, Ezhavas, Christians and Muslims were held in different parts of the state kindling intense commu
passions. Communal bitterness ran high. The minds of younger generations were also poisoned. Battle lines were drawn with Nairs on the one side and the aggrieved communities on the other. At a conference of Nairs held in Trivandrum in September 1933, an appeal was made to all the members of the Nair community to defend and maintain their predominant position in legislature and public services. There were memorials, deputations, representations and public meetings from the Christians, Ezhavas, Muslims and unitedly from the Joint Political Congress. Anything and everything happening in Trivandrum had a communal colour. At this time Mr K. George, Chief Secretary to the government was made the Land Revenue Commissioner against precedent and this was interpreted as a mark of the government's hostile attitude towards Christians. But the fighting spirit of the communities could not be dampened. C. Kesavan's speech at Kozhencherry on 13 May 1935 challenged the monopoly in general administration enjoyed by the Nair community. He also hinted that Ezhavas will leave the Hindu fold. C. Kesavan was the General Secretary of the SNDP Yogam. The arrest of C. Kesavan made the aggrieved communities, especially Ezhavas all the more determined to fight for the recognition of their rights.

The government meanwhile appointed a Franchise and Delimitation Commissioner to solve the problem of representation in the legislature with special reference to the Ezhava, Muslim and Latin Catholic communities. Though there were no definite assurance to Syrian Christians, the Executive Committee of the
Joint Political Congress expressed their satisfaction and withdraw all attempts in the furtherance of agitational approach. They appealed to the government to withdraw repression.

By now the idea of a political party began to take shape among the leadership. They expected that a magnificent edifice of a political party above the communal limitations will evolve. Each community's suffering in the agitation was an asset in that expectation. It must be conceded that this was an important stage in the thinking and work of communal organizations. Those who pioneered the agitations began to realise that beyond a stage this clamour for communal representation cannot go.

Moreover, this stage marked the rise of the western educated elite. They were aware of the political institutions and their functions in a democratic framework. This was a direct push to the process of secularisation which had begun to work several decades ago. Western liberal political ideas contributed in a significant way to accelerate this process within the traditional-religious framework. There was a contradiction, and however the elite leadership who were western educated, tried to solve the contradiction the conflict between tradition bound communal approach and secular oriented universalistic liberal approach began to sharpen. Therefore, it was but natural that instrumentalities other than communal - like political parties were sought after from the experience of
communal approach itself. This was true, not only of Kerala but of most south east Asian countries. In his study of Buddhism and Politics in South East Asian countries, Houtart comes to the conclusion that a contradiction arose when the western secular ideology of the state internalised by the westernised groups encountered the traditional concept of the link between religion and social organisation and its ramifications on state. In the merging new secular ideology of the state, party system was the best way to transcend mere communal loyalties and to usher in democratic politics.

On 16 August 1936, the Franchise and Delimitation Commission's report was submitted and orders were passed by the government by which voting to Assembly was extended to everyone who paid one rupee or more as tax. Constituencies were delimited. Obviously when 'abstentionist communities' were happy, the Nairs were sore. The Nair Vigilance Committee submitted a Memorial to Dewan on 7 November 1936 outlining their position regarding the new reforms. They were dissatisfied with the electoral arrangements made by the government to satisfy 'abstentionists'. In April 1937, general elections were held and eight Ezhava candidates for the Assembly and two for the Council, put up by the SNDP Yogam got elected. This was the first success of the Abstention movement as far as Ezhavas were concerned. The executive committee of Joint Political Congress submitted a 'Kesavan Memorial' with signatures on a mass scale. When C. Kesavan was released from jail, grand receptions were held at Alleppey, Shertallai, Tripunithura, Pathanamthitta, Kayalkulam
and so on. T. M. Varughese, K. C. Mammen Mappillai and other Christian and Muslim leaders came together. T. M. Varughese welcomed C. Kesavan on behalf of the fifty-one lakhs of people of Travancore. The government was angry with Varughese and he was sought to be removed from the Deputy Presidentship of the Legislative Assembly.

With the inception of the abstention movement, the state saw memorials, signature campaigns, deputations, public meetings, arrests, processions, protests, newspaper writings for and against communal demands. There could be no better way of politically awakening the people who were entrenched in traditionalism. No doubt, politicisation of Travancore society reached its peak. This period of abstention movement saw how through a traditional primordial instrumentality (communal demands) a modern secular value (political consciousness) came up. The traditional instrumentalities cannot go on in this direction indefinitely. When their goals were achieved more or less, the joint political committee weakened. It had outlived its mission and it was necessary to look for the next stage in the social development. It was at this point that a joint meeting of the citizens of Trivandrum was held on 16 February 1938. There it was resolved that an organisation for the protection of the interests of minorities and for the establishment of responsible government in the state be formed. This consciousness was the result of the secularisation process which paradoxically enough, gathered momentum through the communal struggles of different
communities to reach the centre of power. It had other
secular attributes also. For example, it was a threat to the
theocratic administration. As the Regional Records Survey
Committee has put it, "The Abstention Movement, grossly communal
in complexion represented yet a challenge to vested interests in
administration." The objective of the Travancore State Congress
which was born on the 23 February 1938 was to secure responsible
government; adult franchise and protection of minorities through
just and peaceful means. On 4 July 1938, leaders of the Joint
Political Congress met for the last time and resolved to dis-
solve that organisation and join the Travancore State Congress.
State Congress had a wider objective and was more progressive
in outlook. This wider outlook was possible because of the
impact of a secular ideology; however crude it had been. This
was an inevitable consequence of the emergence of capitalism and
liberal political ideology.

The State Congress flourished. When India got independ-
dence and Travancore joined the Indian Union, it was this
organisation which was the main political force in the state.
One of the main reasons for its influence was that it was born
in the fertile ground of communal feelings and it fully utilised
the primordial sentiments. The point we are making here would
be clear if we discuss the history of the Indian National Congress
in Travancore. When the 'abstentionists' formed the new organi-
sation - The Travancore State Congress in 1938 - under the
leadership of Changanacherry Parameswaran Pillai, Indian National
Congress was inaugurated. The first meeting in Trivandrum had resolved to work for a united Kerala - the very concept was not only radical but dear and appealing to every Malayali in those days. Parameswaran Pillai was himself a man of broader vision. But neither the leadership of Parameswaran Pillai nor the radical resolutions of the organisation were sufficient to build up a political party. The branch of the Indian National Congress did not take roots in Travancore while the state Congress did. The simple reason was that the latter invoked the primordial loyalties of the people - their demands like protection of minority interests, responsible government and so on. Whereas the demands of the Indian National Congress were not immediately touching the lives of the people; they were distant and remote.

The Travancore State Congress, because of its peculiar circumstances of inception could not escape the communal colour. Nairs and the Dewan Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar dubbed this organisation as a communal organisation of Syrian Christians. The facts were otherwise. There were a number of enlightened Nairs in the forefront of the organisation. The very first meeting was held in a hotel room, where A. Narayana Pillai Vakil had his office, in Trivandrum. Except C. V. Kunjuraman, the Ezhava leader, who presided, T. M. Varughese and Annie Mascreen, all others - Pattom Thanu Pillai, Puthupally Krishna Pillai, Kettoor Kunja Krishnan - were Nairs. There was need for spade work for such a meeting. The people who had worked hard to
prepare ground for such a meeting also included prominent men of all communities - Pattom Thanu Pillai, T. M. Varughese, C. Kesavan, A. J. John, P. K. Kunju, K. T. Thomas, E. V. Krishna Pillai, C. V. Kunjuraman and M. M. Varkey. Still the NSS, the official organ of Nairs and Sir C. P. could not consider this beyond a Syrian Christian affair. They had their reasons too. To protect the vested interest of a community and to reinforce communal interests it was always convenient to brand and attack the enemy as communal.

The demand for a responsible government was a threat to the autocratic powers of the King and the Dewan. Moreover, since the 'abstentionists' wanted to challenge the monopoly of Nairs in public services, any organisation led by the enlightened leaders belonging to the same community (Nairs) will threaten the monopoly of power enjoyed by Nairs. The Nairs and the Dewan wanted to reinforce and sustain the existing power relations. So, no wonder, there was a need for an understanding between Sir C. P. and the Nairs to block the rising tide of power and discontent of the Christians and Ezhavas. 'Divide the dominant communities and rule' was C.P's policy. By promises of favours to the Nairs the Dewan could keep at least a section of that community under his thumb.

The propaganda of C.P. and Nair community that the State Congress was a Christian organization, had reached different parts of the country in an attempt to discredit the movement. For instance, in Calcutta Sarat Bose said in a meeting at the Indian Association Hall defending the Congress thus:
I have some information of the activities of the state officials. They have been trying during the last few months to drive a wedge between Hindus and Christians in the state. I hope that Hindus and Christians of Travancore will combine in giving the lie direct to that insinuation. From all accounts I have received, the movement is not confined to the Christian movement.

In fairness to the pioneers of the Travancore State Congress, we must say that it was an honest attempt to rise above the narrow communal boundaries for the sake of the state. By then they had identified the autocratic Dewan as the enemy of the people. The leaders had realised by that time that the agitation which whip up communal feelings, though advantageous to a certain extent, had its venomous results too. During abstention movement, of course, there was no escape from it whatsoever.

The very fact that in the early days of the State Congress the members had to pledge that they would rise above narrow communal loyalties showed a remarkable progress in the secular outlook. The pledge read:

I will always consider the common good of the country above all communal interests. At any time, if a clash happens between my communal interests and the interests of the country, I will always sacrifice my communal interests except when I have to protect the interests of minorities and weaker sections. I will not demand any special rights by virtue of being a member of a particular community. It shall be my constant endeavour to make the existing communal organisations to accept the broader interests of the country.

The working committee of the State Congress had made it clear in its statement that it will not encourage communal demands but will protect the interest of minorities and weaker sections. A statement issued by Pattom as the President of the State Congress on 25 April 1939 said that State Congress had taken up an
attitude of opposition to any change in the electoral arrange-
ment now existing except for the purpose of establishing res-
ponsible government because any change will revive the communal ill-feeling that was ripe in the state before the formation of the State Congress and nobody who desires communal concord and amity would do anything that will revive old communal distrust and ill-feeling.

However clear the pledge of the Congress members were the Travancore leadership was not free from communal thinking and narrow religious loyalties. Each leader used to think first how a particular problem will affect his own community. How adversely that affects the totality of the state and society was not his concern. Whenever there were collision of national and communal interests, the leadership was prepared to sacrifice the interests of the state rather than that of the particular community. They were blindly following the principle: the whole is the sum of its parts; that when each community progresses the state will progress. It took many more years for the people to realise that the whole is not just the sum of its parts. Even after the pledge there were serious cleavages and rifts within the organisation in the name of communal interests. As C. Narayana Pillai succinctly puts it, Congress President Shri Pattom Thanu Pillai, in the final analysis was a communal (Nair) leader. T. M. Varughese and E. John Philipose were seen as leaders of Mar Thoma-Jacobite interests. A. J. John was a protector of Catholic interests, C. Kesavan and V. K. Velahudhan were the spokesmen of Ezhava interests. "It was not surprising",
says C. Narayana Pillai, "that a generation which fought between themselves on communal platforms and threw mud on each other, seeing all actions from the eyes of the community till yesterday, could not become staunch nationalists with broad national outlook".

Therefore, although when Sir C.P. accused the Travancore State Congress, as a Christian organisation he was wrong, certainly the State Congress was constituted and led by a bunch of communalists. The argument that the State Congress was not a firm unified organisation cemented on national secular interests but a loose federation of different religious and communal interests was, therefore, correct. But under the given circumstances, anything better was not possible. However, it is important to stress here that the velocity of the movement was towards secularisation although it was taking shape on a subliminal level.

Mannam repeated C.P.'s chorus. He used to accuse the Nairs who joined the State Congress saying that they were just a handle of T.M. Varughese's axe. He also ridiculed Pattom as a big fish around T.M. Varughese's (Christian) fishing hook. The other Nairs were just small fishes. So Mannam's conclusion was that all the Nairs who joined Congress were enemies of the Nair community. It was to a great extent true that the wealthy Syrian Christians helped generously the State Congress. When C.P. came to know of the Christian power behind the movement to dislodge him, he was vindictive. He took measures to liquidate the National
Quilon Bank and close down the Malayala Manorama - both had Christian ownership.

It must be noted here that the communal organisations did not look at the movement for responsible government with favour when the idea was mooted and as it progressed. We have seen that the NSS had its own reasons as it might challenge Nair supremacy.

But Christians were also not free from fear and prejudice. They thought that if a system of one vote for every adult citizen come into force, the united strength of Hindus will overpower and oppress the Christians. It is on record that T.M. Varughese and K. G. Mamman Mappillai had characterised it by saying "Responsible government idea is madness". Paradoxically enough, on the other hand, C.P. and Nairs also feared that responsible government will lead to Christian domination of the state. Fear of domination of one community by another is reciprocal and continuous one in any plural society. But it assumes dangerous proportion when the society is in a transitional stage. A letter written by C. Ramachandran, the Congress leader, to the Dewan C.P. Ramaswami Aiyar brings out this dimension. Referring to the fear of Christian domination in Travancore under responsible government, C. Ramachandran wrote:

I have no doubt that your fears are unfounded. I know important Christian leaders who imagine that there will be Hindu or even Nair domination if full responsible government is established immediately. Even if your fears are well founded, there will not be slightest difficulty to frame a responsible government constitution with such safeguards as to present any one community from dominating over another.
The deep rooted attachment to the Community and religion in which people were born and brought up cannot be wished away. To suit the occasion, depending on the reward mechanism inbuilt in the society, it showed its head. There were occasions in the history of Travancore when the communal organisations stood separately and supported the despotic dewan from time to time hoping that, such a strategy will ensure more access to the resources of the state and power of the government for the respective communities. A telling instance was when the NSS, the bishops and even Ezhava leaders supported the move to erect a statue of the dewan on his 60th birthday in a bid to please him. The SNDP and Sankar, its leader, changed positions on several occasions. SNDP which was with the State Congress through thick and thin changed its stand when Dewan offered foils to them. But later, when they knew that State Congress is going to be powerful and Travancore will join the Indian Union, enmasse the leadership of NSS as well as SNDP joined the State Congress. Mannam became its champion against Sir C.P. Ramaswami Aiyar, the Dewan. For his speech against the Dewan at Muthukulam, he was arrested. He admitted that he was a convert to the State Congress. Thus after 9 years of the inception of the State Congress, it embraced in its fold all the conservative communal leaders. There is a general tendency for the communal leadership to be loyal to all the existing power structures in turn because their interests will be served by the people at the helm of the affairs.

The community leadership will incite its members to
protest only when their own interests are hurt or seemingly so.

**Educational Institutions: Secular Structure But Communal Process**

The rapid increase of the number of educational institutions in Travancore at the dawn of independence was the main instrument for the spread of secular ideas, democratic values and liberal humanism. Although it was run by the communal organisations with a communal outlook, it was the main source of ideological proliferation which the management of these institutions did not like very much. The schools and colleges became hot beds of political discussion, exchange of ideas as well as agitations. This had the potential of threatening the legitimacy of the very existence of such institutions.

But the first threat to the communal management of schools came from the government — which could not overlook the secular forces at work. The entire issue was bogged in a fierce ideological battle; its essence was primordial loyalties (religion) on the one side and secularisation on the other.

Sir C.P. Ramaswamy Aiyar decided that the government must take over the entire control and management of primary education in Travancore in 1945. The government issued a special gazette on 12 September 1945, which said

> The government decided to assume the control and management of Primary Education with the definite object of making such education both free and compulsory within a short period as practicable. (48)

It was a desirable reform, progressive in nature and its future consequences were many. But it could not be a smooth sail.
Various competing communities had developed educational institutions which were the social symbols of their pride, power, prestige and enhancing status. Essentially it meant control of material resources and the most important instrument of occupational status mobility. It was inextricably connected with the religious instruction of certain communities like Catholics.

By 1945, of the primary section, about two-thirds of the students were in private schools.

Table XIII

The government and private management control over the primary school education

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PRIMARY STAGE - NUMBER OF SCHOOLS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total 3052</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private management</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government department</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2169 (71%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>883</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9503</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5448</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pupils</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>363336</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>191568</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Catholic sources claimed that out of 2169 private schools over 80 per cent were run by Christian educational agencies. Because of their control over the educational institutions, the literacy rate among the Christians were high. Out of a population of 5,192,505 (excluding children under 5 years of age
percentage of literacy among Christians was 65.2 (Hindus 53.5, Muslim 35.7) while the state average was 55.04. The following table shows the literacy among various communities in the age group 15-20 for 1901, 1911, 1921, 1931 and 1941.

Table XIV

**Proportion of the Male and Female Literates of the different Communities in the Age Group 15-20 from 1901 to 1941**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1901</th>
<th>1911</th>
<th>1921</th>
<th>1931</th>
<th>1941</th>
<th>1901</th>
<th>1911</th>
<th>1921</th>
<th>1931</th>
<th>1941</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All communities</td>
<td>26.4</td>
<td>31.8</td>
<td>43.7</td>
<td>53.0</td>
<td>79.3</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>22.6</td>
<td>27.4</td>
<td>58.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindu</td>
<td>25.4</td>
<td>30.5</td>
<td>42.3</td>
<td>51.5</td>
<td>79.6</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>19.4</td>
<td>23.7</td>
<td>56.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslim</td>
<td>15.3</td>
<td>19.6</td>
<td>22.7</td>
<td>31.8</td>
<td>64.8</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>25.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>38.2</td>
<td>61.8</td>
<td>60.6</td>
<td>84.9</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>33.7</td>
<td>39.7</td>
<td>74.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census of India, 1941, vol. XXV, Travancore (2 parts), p. 163.

Note: Tiruvalla, Kottayam, Changanacherry, Meenachil where Christians are in majority have the highest percentage of literacy in the state. Christians had proudly believed that the progress of education in the state had been because of the efforts of Christians in that field.

This high literacy was a stepping stone for gaining control over the new forces of production as well as power in the administrative machinery.
Table XV
The role of Christian community in education in 1943-44

Management and Control

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category of Education</th>
<th>Total number</th>
<th>Government department</th>
<th>Private other than Christian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Colleges</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English High School</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English High School for girls</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English middle School</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>18 in both government and private other than Christians</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English Middle School for girls</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malayalam and Tamil Schools including primary</td>
<td>3233</td>
<td>978</td>
<td>237</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Travancore Education Reform

Among the Christians, by this time, Catholics had more schools. From this predominant position the Catholics were not willing to budge. This reminds one of the resistance put up by Nairs when all other communities unitedly opposed their power and privileges during the abstention movement, though there were significant differences in the substance of opposition. Our argument is that when a community is entrenched in power, privilege and status, irrespective of the route through which they achieve that position - ascription or achievement - they rarely facilitate to promote newer ways of progress or
very seldom share their resources with other communities. Religion becomes handy to legitimise their position, power and status. When 'foreign' Brahmin supremacy was questioned during Malayali Memorial, they invoked the precepts of Hinduism, so did the Nairs after 1900. Christians also followed suit.

In fact, the government had appointed in 1943 an Education Reorganisation Committee which submitted its report in 1945. It had 43 members. The communal leaders had analysed the communal complexion of the committee. They knew that there were 25 Hindus, 16 Christians and 2 Muslims. The Catholics immediately drew the conclusion that "the government as well as the Hindu community stood well entrenched on the committee". They calculated that out of 16 Christians there were only 5 Catholics "a number wholly inadequate in view of the educational activities of Catholics".

The leadership began a series of programmes to arouse the communal feelings and loyalty of the Catholics against Sir C.P's programme of nationalisation of primary education. On 16 August 1945, Bishop of Changanacherry, Rt. Rev. Dr. James Kalacherry issued a pastoral letter to his fold condemning the move of the state in the case of primary education. He called the attention of Catholics the danger it posed to their rights and reminded them of their duties as Catholics in the matter of the education of their children. Ten days later a special session of the AKCC was held at Thathampally near Alleppey and passed resolutions against the nationalisation of the primary education. *Deepika, Malabar Mail and Pauradhwani* the Malayalam
dailies owned and managed by Catholics played up the case of Catholics. The government promptly asked the Bishop of Changanacherry to withdraw his pastoral letter. That made the AKCC to protest against the action of the government in challenging the right of the Catholic hierarchy to exhort the faithful on religion and morals. The Catholics observed 16 September as the education day. There was a spontaneous response of the Catholics of Travancore and Cochin - more than a thousand meetings were held all over Kerala against the proposed monopoly of state and the intended 'secularisation' of education. Nine bishops of the Catholic church sent a joint letter to the government. The AKCC decided to submit a mass memorial to the Maharajah protesting against the move to take over their primary schools. There was a massive signature campaign and 2,55,313 signatures were obtained. The mammoth memorial was submitted to the Maharajah in September 1946.

The argument of Catholics on religious grounds was that in all Christian schools religious instruction is conducted in strict conformity with the conscience clause of 1903. Not only Catholics, but all Christians insist on maintaining an atmosphere consistent with the religious belief of the management to whom the schools belonged. The presence of hundreds of Hindu students in Catholic institutions showed that they welcome and appreciate the moral atmosphere prevailing in the schools, they argued. In essence, the storm was created to oppose the onrush of state monopoly and secularism. "If Catholics choose grant, their religion will be in danger; if they
choose their religion, their schools will be in danger. Therefore state monopoly and secularism in education are detrimental to Catholic religion and Catholic schools. The use of the term 'secularism' by the Christian leadership is significant. It was abundantly clear that they counter-posed religion and secularism and were afraid of the monopoly of the state into the realm of educational activity which they thought would promote secularism in educational institutions and would mean the death-knell of religion.

In fact, after the state assumed a semblance of secular colour, all the conflicts between the church and state in Kerala have had this essential basis behind it.

The position of Catholics vis-a-vis their educational institutions generated venomous communal hostilities and accusations. The Hindus, it was told, wanted to protect themselves from the religious propaganda being carried out in Catholic and other schools. On 14 September 1945, P. Subramaniam, mayor of Trivandrum issued a call to withdraw non-Catholic students from Catholic schools because proselytisation happens in Catholic schools. Christians claimed that not a single child was withdrawn from these schools.

Following the declaration of the new policy of the government and Christian community's reaction to it, Mannam and other spokesmen of the Hindus started campaigns against Christians. Catholic hierarchy was singled out for attack and abuse by calling them spiritual monsters. Malayalaraiyam, Bharathi and Kerala Kaumudi the three dailies owned and managed
by non-Christians also joined the campaign. Christians believed that C.P.'s speeches and writings had given the lead in this organised anti-Christian propaganda. They quoted an interview CP gave in 1938 to an English daily in which he said "Travancore would cease to be a Hindu state if the Christians 64 are allowed to have a free hand".

Summing up the situation, the Catholic community gave vent to their feelings thus:

There is now a new ideology and a new technique. Only those who follow the Hindu way of life are eligible for political power and the business of the state. Hindu spokesmen and newspapers carry on with complete freedom a malicious propaganda against all that the Christians hold dear and sacred. By the new educational policy, right of Christians to impart religious instruction is penalised by withholding state aid from primary schools conducted by Christians. (65) (emphasis added)

The foregoing account shows that education had emerged as a double edged sword: on the one hand it became an instrument of secularisation and on the other that of communalisation. When it moved to one side, the sharpness of the other was not lost. In other words, the simultaneous development of the communalisation and secularisation process is the crux of the sociological character of educational development, of which communal struggles and conflicts, the tussle between the church and state, were only the overt manifestations. The intensity of this push and pull mechanism was shaped by two other variables in Travancore: the threat of conversion and emigration. We turn to these aspects briefly.
Threat of Conversion - Function of Religion for Ezhavas

The religious factor played a crucial function till independence with the Ezhavas. 19th century saw large scale conversions to Christianity from the Ezhava community in the north, central and South Travancore. This was mainly to escape from the crushing social disabilities. They succeeded too, in this regard. They got access to English education public services and freedom from discrimination. Material and social advantages accrued to the converts to Christianity.

Sree Narayana Swamy's emergence into the social and spiritual leadership of the community slowed down the conversion to other religions. However, the idea got resurrected by the beginning of 1930s. T.K. Madhavan, the SNDP Yogam Organising Secretary (1926-1929) was against conversion to any religion. He wanted to fight for the rights of Ezhavas within Hindu fold. So he took active part in the temple entry movement.

Attempts for full recognition of Ezhavas within Hinduism was a frustrating experience, and many notable leaders wanted to leave Hinduism. Buddhism had an appeal for the Ezhavas. It was an emotional appeal because of its egalitarian values and human compassion. Kumaran Asan drew his inspiration from Buddhism for his poetry. His poems were revolutionary. Earlier, Muloor, a distinguished Ezhava poet had translated Dhammapada into Malayalam. An All Travancore Ezhava Youth League was formed and at its first meeting on 31 July 1933,
they resolved to request SNDP Yogam to declare Ezhavas as non-Hindus. In August 1933, the resolution was discussed and the league was entrusted with the responsibility of obtaining public opinion. The Ezhavas wanted to give vent to their frustrations by rejecting Hinduism lock stock and barrel. Sahodaran Aiyappan at the second meeting of the Youth League at Karunagapally asked the Ezhavas to abandon Hinduism as it was impossible to overcome their deprivation and humiliation within that religious fold.

C. Krishnan was an admirer of Buddhism and Brahma Samaj. But that did not prevent him from associating with the teachings of Sree Narayana Guru whose teaching had the elements of secularisation like that of Buddha. From 1922, through *Mithavadi*, a weekly publication he actively involved in the propagation of Buddhist teachings. He invited Buddhist monks and participated in the meetings held in the state and outside. At a meeting in May 1926 at the Ernakulam College Hall, C. Krishnan and K. Ayyappan (Sahodaran Ayyappan) declared in public that they have accepted Buddhism as their religion.

The special issues of *Mithavadi* were propagating Buddhism. C.V. Kunjuraman wrote an article "*Thiyvarku nallathu Budham mathom thanneyanu*" (For Ezhavas it is Buddhism that is good). C. Krishnan took the initiative of building Buddha Viharas in Malabar. The Yogam favoured the conversion resolution at its meeting held in July 1934. Christians, the Buddhists and Muslims were ready to receive the Ezhavas into their fold while Hinduism was apathetic to their feelings. Some Ezhavas
embraced Sikhism.

Ezhavas invited Ambedkar to Kerala. They liked his approach more than that of Gandhiji. All this showed their determination to abandon Hinduism. It may be recalled that through his historic speech on 13 May 1936 at Kozhencherry, C. Kesavan had hinted at the decision of the Ezhavas that they will leave the Hindu fold.

Sir C.P. Ramaswami Aiyar was a staunch Hindu. Christians alleged that with the advent of Sir C.P. as Dewan, the government had begun to openly help Hindu Sangetham Movement and encouraged it by liberal financial assistance. Many Christians were reconverted to Hinduism. Sir C.P. saw the danger to Hinduism if numerically strong Ezhavas left it. That will only strengthen Christianity. So it was better to accommodate the Ezhavas within Hinduism than allowing them to leave. For Ezhavas the right to enter temples was basic to their demand. The government promptly granted it. The temple entry proclamation of 12 November 1936 changed the attitude of the Ezhavas to the upper caste and Sir C.P. SNDP arranged a big reception to C.P. at Shertalai as a gratitude to his generosity in opening the temples for them. The temple entry was considered a great victory - religious in nature but social in consequence for the Ezhavas.

Thus the Ezhava leaders used a religious instrument to get a secular end. The secular end was to get equality principle accepted by the arch conservative section of society in everyday life. It is not correct to think that the entire
Ezhava leadership wanted the common people to join either Christianity or Islam or Buddhism or Sikhism. But their deprivation was so serious that when they got a new social vision, it became a sharp weapon to face their detractors. That did pay. The authorities and high castes were forced to relent before the massive conversion threat was executed. It clearly shows that though apparently clothed in religion, the changes and differentiation that take place within a religious community may have the seeds of secularisation in it.

**Emigration**

Malayalees are a highly migratory community. Prior to 1931 Malayalees went outside their states - Travancore, Cochin and Malabar - to different parts of India. According to a study on the emigration patterns of Kerala, from Travancore as early as 1911, people went to work in the British plantation companies in Malaya. The first Malayalee organisation in Singapore is 60 years old now. Mannam in his travelogue 'our EMS Journey 1926' speaks of Nairs who reached Malaya 26 years ago, i.e. 1900. The World War I was an opening for Malayalees to go westward. In the 1921 Census 469 persons born in Cochin state and 147 born in Travancore state were enumerated in Bombay. There was a semi-permanent nature to the emigrants from Kerala because they wanted to come back and settle in their home land. This had led to the maintenance of a close connection with their homes through frequent visits, letters and money remittance. The stories and experiences of those who went outside the state had evoked great interest among the
villagers. They were powerful enough to challenge their traditional attitudes and arouse curiosity about people and cultures outside.

Conclusion

The abstention movement and the formation of a political party were signs of increasing politicisation. It began on a communal line but other forces of secularisation like increased contact of the people with outside world; increased educational opportunities and articulation of ideas and ideologies helped to blunt the sharpness of communalism taking a disastrous turn. The Gemeinschaft orientation was questioned but not overthrown. The sum total of the competition of the communities to own secular instrumentalities produced a secularisation process on a holistic level in the society; the clock could not be turned back.
This does not mean that other communities like Muslims and untouchables (e.g. Pulayas) did not make use of the possibilities. They were also organised and made beginnings to climb the social ladder. The work of Ayyankali the leader of Pulayas and their organisation Sadhujana Paripalana Sangham need special mention. See K. Saradamoni, Emergence of a Slave Caste, New Delhi: People’s Publishing House 1980; K.C. Alexander, Social Mobility in Kerala, Pune: Deccan College, 1968.

For a detailed discussion of the origin and development of bicameral legislatures in the princely state of Travancore, see M.J. Koshy, Constitutionalism in Travancore and Cochin, Trivandrum: The Kerala Historical Society, 1972.

The first rubber estate came into existence around 1900. Mammen Mappillai, a Syrian Christian, was nominated to the Legislative Assembly as the planters’ representative in 1917. Mammen Mappillai, Gruh Padhanam (Mal.), edited and published by the Convenor, Mammen Mappillai Birth Centenary Celebrations Committee, Kottayam, 1973, p. 68.

Freedom Movement in Kerala, p. 59.

P.S. Velayudhan, op. cit., p. 273; see also appendix No. 22, p. CLVI; C. Kesavan, op. cit., 1971, p. 36; C.V. Kunjuraman was the General Secretary of SNDP Yogam at that time.


Freedom Movement in Kerala, p. 335.

Ibid., pp. 335-6; M.J. Koshy, op. cit., p. 104.


P.S. Velayudhan, op. cit., p. 284.


Ibid., p. 340.


The then communal organisations represented at the meeting were, SNDP Yogam, Wajanathul Muhammadiya Association, All Travancore Muslim Service League, Hidayatul Islamiya Sabha, Travancore State Catholic Congress, Travancore All Christian Political Conference, Latin Christian Mahajana Sabha, South Travancore Indian Christian Association, Kerala Christian Service League, All Kerala Catholic Congress.


17 The leaders of the movement were not willing to antagonise the British. Non-cooperation launched by Gandhiji was taking the shape of a mass movement all over British India and if Travancoreans used this word for their movement, naturally, the British authorities will think that it is part of Gandhiji's movement. To avoid this and to bring home the fact that it is independent of the all-India non-cooperation movement, the word abstention was hit upon by a scholar Shri I.C. Chacko. In Malayalam it was translated as *Niyarthana Prasthanam*. In essence, it meant keeping away from the bodies which make administrative reforms. However, Sir C.P. Ramaswami Aiyar, to bring the wrath of British on the agitators, insisted that Abstention is the same as the non-cooperation led by Gandhiji. See M.M. Varkey, *Ormakalilude*, pp. 95-96.

18 P.S. Velayudhan, *op. cit.*, pp. 304-05.


21 C. Narayana Pillai, *op. cit.*, pp. 82-83.


23 Ibid., p. 64. *Travancore Today: Her Struggle for Freedom*.


28 Freedom Movement in Kerala, p. 372.


31 Freedom Movement in Kerala, p. 375.

32 Accamma Varkey, op. cit., p. 31.

33 Ibid., p. 31; C. Narayana Pillai, op. cit., pp. 55-57.

34 Ibid., p. 171.


36 Amrita Bazar Patrika, 7 November 1938 and Hindustan Standard, 7 November 1938 (Pattom Thanu Pillai Collections, NMML).

37 C. Narayana Pillai, op. cit., p. 264.

38 PTP Collections, NMML.


40 Ibid., p. 266.

41 Ibid., p. 186.

42 C.P. Mathen, I Have Born Much with a foreword by Mr. Noel Barwell, Madras: Amthill, 1951; Accamma Varkey, op. cit., pp. 55-56; C.P. Mathen founded the Bank in 1919.

43 C. Narayana Pillai, op. cit., pp. 19, 176.

44 The Hindu, 19 March 1939 (PTP Collections, NMML).


46 C. Narayana Pillai, op. cit., pp. 1015, 1016ff.

47 Ibid., pp. 1145-6, 1063-4.


51 Census of India, 1941, vol. XXV, Travancore, 2 parts (by A. Narayanan Thampi), Trivandrum: Government Press, 1942, p. 155. The following table also is revealing.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class/Community</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hindus:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scheduled Caste</td>
<td>26.8</td>
<td>9.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>62.6</td>
<td>36.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslims</td>
<td>44.8</td>
<td>16.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christians</td>
<td>63.1</td>
<td>48.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tribes</td>
<td>13.4</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


52 Joseph Thaliath, Truth about the Travancore Education Policy, Trivandrum, 1945, p. 2.

53 Travancore Education Reform, p. 7.

54 Ibid., p. 13.

55 Pastoral Letter No. 123 of Dr. J. Kalacherry, Bishop of Changanacherry dated August 15, 1945 on the beginning of state socialism in Travancore, Ernakulam, Mar Louis Memorial Press, p. 8ff. This letter was first published in Vedapraptha Madhavasthan (September-October 1945) (P. Raghavan Collection).
Notice by the Government of Travancore issued to H.E. the Bishop of Changanacherry on 6 September 1945, R.O.C. No. 3824/45/Edn. to withdraw the pastoral letter since it causes communal bitterness and strife. Or else government will have no alternative but to take such action as they may be advised. On September 14, 1945 Bishop replied: "I do not find any reason either to withdraw my pastoral under reference or express regret". See Joseph Thaliath, op. cit., pp. 33-35.

A copy of the original documents with the signatures bound in 26 volumes is kept in the AKCC office, Nagampadam, Kottayam.

The notification said:
"There are clear cases of proselytisation in Christian Schools before, but they were ignored or tolerated.... People should be allowed to follow their beliefs unmolested. So I appeal to all my Hindu, Muslim and non-Catholic friends to withdraw their children from Catholic Schools immediately and request government to make immediate arrangements for accommodating them in government schools".

Quoted in Travancore Education Reform, p. 25.

Ibid., p. 25.


The Hindustan Standard (Calcutta), 22 December 1938. Interview with the Editor Dr. Dhirendra Nath Sen.


Palpu's Letter to Dewan dated 13 May 1895. Quoted in Yogacharitram.

See C.N.N. Madhavan Pillai, Christ the only Salvation for Ezhavas, Alleppey, 1930.


72 Ibid., p. 233.

73 Ibid., p. 235ff.

74 Freedom Movement in Kerala, p. 369.

75 Before and After Parliamentary Delegation and Travancore, Ernakulam, 29 January 1946, p. 3.

76 Accamma Varkey, op. cit., p. 23.


