CHAPTER I

SOURCES AND HISTORIOGRAPHY

Though the SIS was founded by Gokhale in 1905, it began to function in Kerala only after the Malabar Rebellion of 1921-22. But in the books dealing with the historical developments of the period following the Rebellion, there are no adequate references to the work done by the SIS in Kerala. The Society's activities in Kerala were mainly confined to the Malabar region for historical reasons. They began their work in Malabar as a relief agency serving the victims of the Rebellion. But in course of time they extended their activities to other equally important areas like education, rural reconstruction and social reform. The work of the Society continued for about four decades, with some measure of work extended to the Travancore-Cochin area also.

Nevertheless, it was quite intriguing that the role played by the SIS continued to remain a desideratum in the historiography of modern Kerala. Apart from a few papers, which partially deal with the work of the SIS, there is so far no serious full length study on the activities of the SIS in Kerala. The Society's work in Kerala remained for all practical purposes a forgotten chapter in Kerala history.
The SIS was an organisation formed by Gokhale on the ideology of constitutionalism. The constitutionalists were wedded to a programme of peaceful agitation ranging from petitions and appeals to passive resistance including non-payment of taxes. The appropriate constitutional method in a given conflict situation was to be derived or chosen on grounds of practicability or expediency. The early leaders of the Indian National Congress were liberal nationalists who hoped that by constitutional means or constitutional agitation it would be possible to exert pressure on the British government to concede responsible government to India. Leaders like Sir. C. Sankaran Nair advocated constitutionalism. Almost a decade after Sankaran Nairs Presidential address at the Amraoti Session of the INC in 1897, it was left to Gokhale to clear the doubts about constitutionalism. In 1907 at a public meeting at Allahabad, Gokhale defined constitutional agitation as one which the Indians were "entitled to adopt to bring about the changes they desired through the action of constituted authorities". It was therefore opposed to direct mass action involving open and violent or even non-violent defiance of the legally constituted government. Unlike the revolutionary nationalists who sought to achieve independence by overthrowing the existing government, the constitutionalists aimed at the reform of the existing system.


of government, which according to them would gradually bring about freedom for India.³

It was only after many decades of agitating for political reform that nationalist leaders realised that economics and politics were largely interdependent.⁴ It became obvious to them that British policy was keeping India unindustrialised, and that economic decisions were based on the assumption that India would export raw materials and import British manufactured goods. As this was increasingly being felt, the arguments in favour of Indian Independence seemed more imperative than ever. From this emerged a stream of Economic Nationalism, which was asserted through the Swadeshi Movement.⁵ Especially after the 1905 partition of Bengal, a form of "constructive swadeshi"⁶ became a genuine movement for promoting Indian products and industries. The Bengal swadeshi programme was a valorized autonomous self-help effort in indigenous enterprise, education and village organisation over the politics of both moderate and extremist varieties,

³ Ibid.
⁴ McLane (ed), The Political Awakening in India, New Jersey, 1970, p. 86.
⁵ Ibid.
⁶ Sumit Sarkar, Modern India 1885-1947, Delhi, 1983, pp. 111-21; Sumit Sarkar, Swadeshi Movement in Bengal, New Delhi, 1973, Chapter II
and was embodied most notably in the writings and activities of Rabindra Nath Tagore and Sathish Mukherjee.\footnote{Ibid., Sathish Muckherjee was editor of \emph{Dawn}, founder of Dawn Society and key figure in the national education movement of Swadeshi years.}

In Kerala the programmes and activities carried out under the aegis of the SIS, especially through the DMRT could be viewed as coming within the purview of constitutionalism and economic nationalism, or constructive swadeshi. But the DMRT programme in Kerala has the distinction of being much less valorized, with the exception perhaps of the great recognition by the British officials of the \emph{modus operandi} of its activists, who never went for a confrontation with them in their passion for amelioration of distress, healing the sick and feeding the starved. Thus, it appears, partially accounts for the fact that their programmes were subsumed in oblivion. The DMRT workers were disinclined to fame, popularity or publicity by their very nature and outlook. Most of what they have done unassumingly though seminal for the country's development remained outside or beyond the immediate gaze of scholars for quite a long time and still lie buried in the archival records, awaiting objective examination. Even academic history with all its claims for objectivity and impartiality has not taken kindly to a host of dedicated workers who were arrayed by the SIS for the cause of the country and its people.
The relegation of SIS work in Kerala into unknown recesses of history is a serious lapse in the mainstream history of nationalist movement. As Sumit Sarkar points out the aporia of historiographical approaches and schools in Indian history are not exciting, for what is born out of them were merely bibliographies, surveys of trends or movements within the academic guild. "What is neglected is the whole question of the conditions of production and reception of academic knowledge its relationship with different types of commonsense. We lack, in other words, a social history of historiography". What is ignored in the process is the central Marxist emphasis, namely, dialectical search for contradictions, within structures. Consequently questions of exploitation and power have been collapsed into a unitary vision of the modern bureaucratic state as the sole source of oppression.

Writing as early as 1983 Sumit Sarkar complained, "in view of the veritable field of recent detailed studies particularly on the national movement",

Social history unfortunately still remains a very neglected subject in India, often being virtually equated with the study of social reform endeavours. Work on the formation of classes and class-consciousness is only just beginning, and while the development of vernacular literatures is obviously one of the

really crucial features of modern Indian history, there is little sign as yet of such things becoming the subject of scientific historical or sociological research.  

Many of the Marxist historians also are not able to fully integrate their treatment of the primary anti-imperialist contradiction and the secondary inner contradictions and tend to counterpose the anti-imperialist struggle to the class or social struggle. In so doing they see the movement as a structural bourgeois movement, if not the bourgeoisie's movement and miss its open-ended and all-class character. This narrows down their view. "Many of the Marxist writers also do not do an actual detailed historical investigation of the strategy, programme, ideology, extent and forms of mass mobilization, and strategic and tactical manoeuvres of the national movement".  

The colonial period was also a period of transition from administrative politics to agitational politics and to the politics of nation building. The transition process varied greatly from region to region and from group to group, but compared to other colonial countries the process in India was smooth rather than disruptive, evolutionary rather revolutionary. It was first in places like Bengal, Bombay and Madras, where the British presence was the oldest and most pervasive that attempts at political mobilisation and the

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formation of voluntary association occurred". Earliest participants in these political developments came from the higher castes that had been exposed to Western education and culture.

A similar process of transition also occurred in the realm of historiography during the colonial period. By the late 19th and early 20th century, historiography came to be punctuated by an absence of dynasties and wars. Instead, especially in and around the Swadeshi years, the notion of Swaraj (society, community) came to be counter posed to Rashtra or Rajshakthi (state, political domain). In this perspective the real history of India was located in the first, not the second, for Swaraj embodied the distinctive qualities peculiar to the genius culture and religion of the Indian people.

So far as Kerala history was concerned the historical period of the developments under study come under a major phase of transition from feudal, bourgeois consciousness to intense political consciousness, which favoured drastic changes in society. A wave of socio-religious reform movements initiated by S.N.D.P, N.S.S., Sadhu Jana Paripalana Sabha, Namboodiri Yogakshema Sabha, Atma Vidya Sangam, Malabar Muslim

Association and Kerala Muslim Association, \textsuperscript{15} Cochin Pulaya Mahasabha, hectic Congress activities and Temple Entry Satyagrahas, the emergence of the Communist movement \textsuperscript{16} and trade union movement were all taking place, radically effecting Kerala society.

It is instructive to notice that inspite of the above progressive developments Kerala society especially the social life of Malabar continued to be vitiated by evils practices like pollution, untouchability, unapproachability and even unseability. Forms of exploitation and oppression at the hands of landlords and of state machinery was also rampant. Over and above these conditions causing miserable experiences, the people were also agonised by natural calamities, epidemics, famine, illiteracy, unemployment and a host of social customs and traditions. The progressive ideas put across by the above socio political movements had not however percolated into the masses, especially of the depressed classes. It was such a strange state of affairs which provided space for the SIS activities in Kerala, mainly in the Malabar region. Though they had done highly creditable work since the Malabar Rebellion for about four decades, proper space for their service to the people


of Kerala has not been earmarked in the academic histories pertaining to that phase of Kerala history.

It has been pointed out that the methodological parameters set for regional history writing, more or less reflected the overriding concerns of national historiography. In that process several local and remembered histories embedded in folk memory got neglected. Similarly while the socio-religious reform movements spread egalitarian and progressive ideals, they also perpetuated caste exclusiveness and caste chauvinism. Thus caste-based socio-religious reform movements brought about caste-based social structure, which still play a very important role in reinforcing orthodoxy.

This became clear when the socio-religious movements came under the grip of sectarian upper class interests of the concerned caste groups. The reformist faith could not shift the focus of authority from communal, casteist traditions to enlightened individual conscience. For instance, the Church institution was as a model by the leaders of SNDP and NSS. But though men like G.K. Devadhar were greatly appreciative of the work of the Christian Missionaries, the SIS/DMRT work never bordered on this distinction. It was quite non-

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sectarian, secularist and democratic in letter and spirit. This fact isolates the SIS/DMRT work in Kerala from other socio-religious reform Movements.

The Servants of India Society was a movement, which rendered yeoman services to a people who on the one hand was affected immediately by the rebellion, and on the other was subject to age-old inhuman customs and practices. Congress leaders of Malabar were in the forefront of relief operations for the victims of the rebellion. Some of them became active workers of the DMRT, which functioned like a movement in areas such as relief operations, education, rural reconstruction and social reform. Its exemplar in Malabar was V.R. Nayanar veteran social worker and freedom fighter.

In the early 1930's especially in Travancore, the level of popular consciousness was rising to newer heights through the work of community organisations. But soon a shift in the role of community organisations was evident because attainment of political power was crucial to enhancing and consolidating their status. At the same time there was a counterveiling power emerging in the Kerala society, namely, a growing class-consciousness. Emergence of a militant working class as well as an organised agrarian movement, (stronger in Malabar than in Travancore) contributed to the

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19 See Chapter II of this work.
growth of class-consciousness, which received an added impetus through party politics. In the same way the SIS/DMRT work in Malabar, being non-communal and secularist was in fact instrumental in preparing the ground for the emerging class-consciousness in Malabar, without perpetuating any inclination for political power game.

The regions, which encompass Kerala today–Malabar, Travancore and Cochin had different historical experiences till their integration in 1956. Malabar was part of the Madras presidency and its people were involved in a direct relationship with the British and their institutions. The Muslims who were a numerically strong community were mostly small peasants and agricultural laboures, who suffered under the exploitative system of land tenure introduced by the British. The Moplah uprising against the exploitation in the hands of the Janmies changed the political complexion of the region. The alienation of Muslims from the British as well as the Congress helped the Muslim League to make inroads in to the Muslim community. Thus a consciousness oriented towards the community rather than the welfare of the Malayalees as a whole was a significant development in the growth of communalism in Kerala. One manifestation of this was the formation of caste organisations like SNDP and NSS. These two organisations are weak in Malabar as compared to South Kerala. The

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SIS/DMRT work helped in the secularization of the outlook of the people of Malabar, as its workers were drawn from the various sections of society, Hindu, Muslim and Christian, who were committed to humanitarian work without any sectarian leanings.

Unlike the reform movements among the other communities or castes, the socio-religious reform movements among the Muslims lacked cohesion, and there was no central organization or leadership. However, a new breed of ulemas who had their training in secular as well as religious education began to emerge by the turn of the 20th century. These progressive ulemas took the initiative in introducing reforms in the community. In Travancore it was spearheaded by Vakkom Abdul Khader Moulavi and in Malabar it was Syed Sanaulla Makti Thangal, who both emphasized the need for secular education, especially of women. But owing to the low level of literacy among Muslims, the message of reform could not reach the masses. These reforms were also strongly opposed by the traditional ulemas who exercised considerable influence on the community. Sanaullah even condemned the Mappila riots and thus reduced the possibility for communal solidarity.24 The DMRT in Malabar paid special attention to the cause of the education and rehabilitation of the Muslims who were uprooted by the rebellion. It also worked among them to foster a sense of communal harmony.

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While the traditional Mappila intellectuals did not attempt to revolutionize the community politically and culturally, the Hindu community remained yoked under a feudal and colonial ideology. The Hindu traditional intellectuals were allied with the landlords. The Mappila organisational ideology encouraged the community to stage protest from a religious system and authority. It persuaded the people within its fold to follow and abide by everything that were imposed as ordained. As a result, following the rebellion, the entire cultural fabric of the area was torn asunder. Thus the revolt could be seen as a moment in the historical process of domination/resistance.\textsuperscript{25}

It has been argued that in the social and religious spheres, Indian nationalism proclaimed the principles of individual liberty, equality and self-determination. In the process it attacked the undemocratic principles of birth and exclusive privileges based on birth in which such institutions as castes were reared. Thus Indian nationalism developed into an essentially democratic movement, which struggled against both medievalism and foreign rule. The socio-religious reform movements were the expression of the national awakening in India and aimed at a revision of the medieval social

\textsuperscript{25} Ranajith Guha and Gayathri Chakravorty Spivak (ed), Selected Subaltern Studies, New York, 1988, p.380.
structure and religious outlook from a democratic outlook and based on the principle of individual liberty and human equality.\textsuperscript{26}

An important historiographical assumption, of the present study is the one developed by Bipan Chandra. According to him the analysis of colonialism and its impact is closely linked to the choice of strategies and policies of development followed in a post-colonial society. In this view historical roots and causes of backwardness, the inherited pattern of underdevelopment and the consequent obstacles to development are determining features in framing strategies and policies to tackle those problems. Therefore in a post-colonial society every major economic, political, social, cultural, and intellectual development can be understood only with reference to colonialism as the constant historical backdrop.\textsuperscript{27}

During the later phase of colonialism competition for resources and benefits mounted between European and Indian investors, which led to distress and political unrest. Between the years 1921-41, these became sharper, when the average increase in population had more than doubled, from 255 million in 1871 to 390 million in 1941. As a result growth was uneven. The sharpest increase in population between 1921-41 were in Eastern and Central India, while the South lagged well behind at less than one percent.


per annum. The lower rate reflected the famine mortality of the late 19th century and the greater incidence of morbidity from cholera, malaria, smallpox and dysentery. Poor health and poverty went together with inadequate development funding. Southern India received a smaller proportion of public investment in railways, roads, power and irrigation than other parts of British India. The significance of the activities of the SIS in the areas of distress relief, rehabilitation, rural reconstruction, education and social reform can be gauged, against the above state of affairs.

It is also instructive to notice that the period to which the present study is related was also one of intense politicization and unionization in Kerala. In the decades after the Malabar rebellion especially after 1930, there was a steady growth of class-consciousness among the various occupational groups like the peasants' and teachers' among the unemployed youths' and the students. Malabar was very much in the thick of these activities. Though these movements championed the interests of specific groups, they were also allied to the national movement, especially in their formative phases. The

Socialist wing of the Congress was always on the forefront to promote the cause of the exploited. As a matter of policy the Servants of India Society kept away from direct agitational politics. However, men like Suryanarayana Rao and V.R. Nayanar were associated themselves with the organisations of teachers and tile workers of Malabar. The spirit of egalitarianism, secularism and general welfare and communal harmony, which they strove to foster throughout their activities, were all conducive to the development of an enlightened political consciousness, especially in Malabar.

It was in such a socio-political scenario of disharmony and distress especially among the Hindus and Muslims, on the one hand, and of protest and confrontation between the aggrieved sections of the society and the government, on the other hand, that leaders of the national movement and other reform movements had to undertake their work though an important chapter of the national movement, the work of the SIS in Kerala remains an unexplored area. In the studies pertaining to Kerala history between 1920-1957 there are only isolated references about the Servants of India Society. Though they made remarkable contribution to the history and culture of Kerala no serious study has been undertaken so far.

There are of course a few books, which give scant information about the SIS work in Kerala. These books are either eyewitness accounts,

reminiscences or mere narratives of contemporary events. With the exception of very few instances many of them lack objectivity and chronology, two basic parameters on which rest the authenticity of a historical work. An earliest work which gives a short description of SIS activities in the wake of the Malabar Rebellion was C. Gopalan Nair’s *Moplah Rebellion 1921*.\(^{35}\) The author describes the arrival of G.K. Devadhar in Malabar, the function of Malabar Central Relief committee and the formation of the Devadhar Malabar Reconstruction Trust (DMRT).

K. Madhavan Nair’s classic work *Malabar Kalapam (2002)*\(^{36}\) is primarily an eye witness account of the eventualities of the rebellion. He makes a brief reference to the relief work undertaken by the SIS. But the book gives a reliable picture of the socio-political and economic conditions of Ernad, which paved the way for the rebellion and the manner in which it distorted the erstwhile harmonious co-existence among different communities.

Two important works which give a little more information about the SIS activities were the reminiscences of C.H. Kunhappa\(^{37}\) and Thikkodiyan\(^{38}\). C.H. Kunhappa who was for several years editor of Mathrubhumi, the

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nationalist daily published from Malabar, was intimately associated with some of the activities of the DMRT, especially at its Gopalapuram centre. He gives a portrait of V.R. Nayanar, some of the important institutions, personalities and socio-political developments of Malabar figure in his work. Almost in the same vein, Thikkodiyan, who worked as office secretary of V.R. Nayanar, scribbles out a portrait of his master and describes the miserable conditions of Malabar where the DMRT provided great consolation to the people in distress. Both these works give an idea about the hostile conditions of Malabar during the period in which SIS rendered their services. But they are uncritical hagiographical works.

Dr. K.K.N. Kurup in his *Modern Kerala: Studies in Social and Agrarian Relations* (1988) discusses among other things the educational and social progress, socio-religious and reform movements and agrarian problems in Kerala. While he is very eloquent about the developments in Malabar he remains quite silent about the educational and social reform activities of the SIS especially in Malabar.³⁹

The Kerala State Gazetteers Department published a book entitled * Perspectives on Kerala History* (Part II, Vol. II)⁴⁰ which in its unit III "Modern Period" deals rather extensively with peasant revolts colonial

economy, social change political consciousness and social reform movements. But there are only two passing references to the SIS in the Kerala context in the above book.

The works of EMS Namboodiripad have been recognised as very valuable in the study of Kerala history and society. However, the work of the SIS in Kerala does not figure in his analysis. The subject is also absent in Dr. M. Gangadhar Menon's work on the Malabar Rebellion 1921-22. But in a biographical work on Muhammed Abdurahiman there are some references to the SIS work in Malabar.41 Similarly the book Mathrubhumiyude Charithram has paid some attention to the SIS activities in Malabar.42

Kelappan Smaraka Grandham (1972),43 contains accounts by various persons on certain aspects of SIS/DMRT work. Apart from this, a major historical text which gives a very brief account of the DMRT work in P.K.K. Menon's History of Freedom Movement in Kerala Vol. 2 (1885-1938).44

Another book, which mentions the SIS in Malabar, is the biography of Kelappan written by Prof. M.P. Manmadhan.45 The book describes the

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44 Prof. P.K.K. Menon, op cit, p. 520.
founding of the Gopalapuram school and colony, which was an important centre of SIS work in Malabar. The biography of Vydyaratnam P.S. Varrier, eminent ayurvedic physician, mentions the visit of G.K. Devadhar in Malabar soon after the rebellion and some of the relief operations organised by the SIS. In addition to this, there are a few articles, which deal with certain works of DMRT.

In works dealing with the history of the Indian National Congress in Kerala the role of the Servants of India Society and the DMRT Movement has not been adequately described. Perunna K.N. Nair's book Kerelathile Congress Prasthanam, for example, describes several important events and movements which took place in Malabar as part of the freedom struggle but makes no mention of the activities of the Servants of India Society and DMRT. Similarly the souvenir published by the Malabar Committee of the Freedom Fighters organisation (1972) provides a long list of freedom fighters of Malabar and gives an account of the major events in Malabar, but is

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conspicuously silent about personalities associated with the SIS and DMRT like Suryanarayana Rao and V.R. Nayanar.49

K.N. Panikkar's book *Against the Lord and State* (1989) deals with the role of religion and the character of peasant uprising in Malabar during 1836-1921. The book gives a detailed account about the socio-political condition of Malabar before 1921, which eventually led to the rebellion. But the book does not consider the consequences and the impact of the revolt of 1921. The value of the book lies in the fact that it is a well-documented work on the erstwhile peasant uprisings in Malabar, which culminated in the rebellion of 1921. In the short section on the aftermath of the rebellion Panikkar states,

The relief and reconstruction activities undertaken after the rebellion also underlined the communal divide. Not only the help offered by individuals, but even the relief measures organised by the Khilafath Committee and the Congress tended to run on communal lines; the former for the Mappilas and the latter for the Hindus. This was probably not so intended, but it inevitably took such a turn in the circumstances then prevailing. Congressmen on their part were not free from religious bias either; they appeared to be more concerned with the welfare of the Hindus than of the people as a whole.50

49 Souvenir or the Freedom Fighter's organisation, Malabar Committee, Calicut, 1972.

This observation is not wholly based on facts. For there was first, the Servants of India Society and later, the Devadhar Malabar Reconstruction Trust (DMRT) in which both Hindus and Muslims worked together in the true secular spirit. Most of its workers were either Congressmen or sympathizers of the Congress programmes and a few of them did not profess any explicit politics. Archival records and experiences of several elderly persons of Malabar bear ample testimony to this fact. It is a serious lacuna that such a remarkable event was bypassed by most works dealing with contemporary history. And it is quiet unwarranted and tantamount to a grave error that communal touch was attributed to such a secular venture.

A few souvenirs are important source of information on the activities of the SIS in Kerala. The *V.R. Nayanar Smaranika* (1984)\(^{51}\) has been a guide to the work of DMRT especially under the leadership of V.R. Nayanar. It has thrown considerable light into the various aspects of the personality of Nayanar. *Harijan Sevak Sangh Gandhi Janma Satabdhi Souvenir* (1969) has been found very useful especially in respect of anti untouchability programmes.\(^{52}\) Another such source is the Golden Jubilee Souvenir of Kerala

\(^{52}\) *Harijan Sevak Sangh Gandhi Janma Satabdhi Souvenir*, Palakkad, 1969.
Branch of Harijan Sevak Sangh (1985), which draws the contours of social reform work among the depressed classes of Kerala.

A potential source of information on the topic is the back volumes of *Mathrubhumi* daily. The back issues of the paper from 1923 to 1957 have been found very helpful in tracing the various events and developments during the period under study and thus to maintain chronology. The *Mathrubhumi Weekly* from 1933 to 1950 have also been made use of. Some of the articles of V.R. Nayanar are available in these volumes.

Several issues of the *Vettom* Magazine published by the Sanchara Grandhalaya, Tanur contains reminiscences of some of the DMRT workers which could be used in reconstructing a history of the movement. Its founder late Tanur Parameswaran was a DMRT worker and a disciple of V. R. Nayanar.

Since the activities of the SIS in Kerala has been an uncharted area, quite a lot of information had to be gained from the memory of men who were both witness and subject to many of the developments of the times. Therefore several persons have been interviewed and the information gained from them correlated at appropriate points in the study. This technique, recently recognised as oral history have a significant place in the socio-political and

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historical studies. It has democratized the historical and anthropological study of the past by recording the experience of people who have been marginalised and "hidden from history". Oral history thus complements archival or documentary sources. The scope of oral history has been well brought out by Paul Thompson, an authority in the area:

Oral history is a history built around people. It thrusts life into history itself and it widens its scope. It allows heroes not just from the leaders, but from the unknown majority of the people... It brings history into and out of the community. It helps the less privileged, and especially the old, towards dignity and self confidence... equally oral history offers a challenge to the accepted myths of history; to the authoritarian judgement inherent in its tradition. It provides a means for radical transformation of the social meaning of history.\(^5^4\)

The experiences of interviewees have attested the role of the SIS in the socialisation and politicisation process of Malabar life as part of the nationalist movement. Thus they have brought out a down to earth sense of the process of socio-political transformation in Malabar, during the period under study. The Chapter II of the present study, "Socio Political Background" has, therefore, to be corroborated to the historiographical

assumptions presented above. Such an approach, it is hoped, would clearly underscore the historicity of the activities of the SIS in Kerala.

The following are the centers visited for consulting the materials required for the present study:

Several important primary materials available at Nehru Memorial Museum and Library New Delhi, have been consulted. These include *Devadhar Papers*, *Sastri Papers*, *Gokhale Papers*, *Assorted Diaries of Sreenivasa Sastri*, *Bombay Chronicle*, *Sradha* (A Hindi daily) *Servant of India* and back volumes of *Malayala Manorama*. Books on Gokhale, Sastri and Devadhar available at the Museum Library were consulted. In the National Archives, New Delhi *Gokhale Papers* and *B.S. Moonje Papers* are available. Correspondences of G.K. Devadhar, Mahatma Gandhi, books by J.C. Kumarappa and on Gandhian thought were consulted at National Gandhi Museum, Rajghat. Books on Gokhale and on SIS are available at Servants of India Society Library Lajpat Nagar, New Delhi.

Files and records preserved at the Regional Archives Kozhikode have been consulted. These include DMRT files, relief work files, Harijan Sevak Sangh files, files on Nayadi rehabilitation, Madras Museum Bulletin, *Al Ameen*, Correspondences of Sastri, Suryanarayana Rao, A.V. Thakkar, H.N. Kunzru, V.R. Nayanar and of SIS (Madras). A very potential source of information was the *Mathrubhumi* Archives Kozhikode and Sanchara...
Grandhalayam Tanur. Private papers of DMRT workers and records of Nayanar Balika Sadanam Kozhikode were consulted.

Books available at the Library of the Department of History, Calicut University, CH.MK Library Calicut University, Malabar Institute for Research and Development, Vatakara, Vagbhanananda Library Eranjipalam, Gandhigriham Kozhikode, Desaposhini Library Kuthiravattam; Deseeya Vayanasala Mannamangalam, Koyilandy; Kelappaji Smaraka Vayanasala, Goapalapuram; Vallathol Library, Keezhariryur and Mahatma Grandhalayam Chemmarathur, Vatakara were extensively utilized.