INTRODUCTION

The name Travancore is the anglicized form of ‘Thiru-vithamcode’ or ‘Srivalumcode’, the abode of prosperity. The state had several names like, ‘Vanchidesam’ and ‘Dharmarajyam’. Vanchidesam means the kingdom that was ruled by the ancient Chera Kings who had their capital at Thiruvanchikulam. ‘Dharmarajyam’ denotes that it was a land of piety, truth and charity. The state was also known as Venad; a derivative of the word ‘Vanavanad’, the land of celestials.\textsuperscript{1} The land was also known as ‘Thiru Adi Desam’.\textsuperscript{2} The land lying between cape Comorin and Purakad was called Travancore.\textsuperscript{3} Travancore was bounded on the north by the Cochin state and the British Indian district of Coimbatore. Bounded on the east by the Western Ghats and the district of Madurai, Ramnad and Tirunelveli. The Indian Ocean and the Arabian Sea form the Southern and Western boundaries respectively.\textsuperscript{4}

1. Land and the People

Situated between $8^\circ 18'$ and $12^\circ 48'$ north latitude and between $74^\circ 52'$ and $77^\circ 22'$ east longitude, Travancore shares with the rest of India a tropical

climate. The breadth of the state varies from about 50 km in the extreme north and south to about 30 km in the middle and still is narrow in the south. The average rainfall is eighty nine inches per annum. It receives maximum rainfall in the month of June and minimum in the month of January.

The numerous mountain ranges add the scenic beauty of Travancore. Anamudi is the highest peak in Travancore having 8841 feet height. The next important peak is Karinkulam or Sholeamalla, ranging to 8455 feet height. The high ranges have become an abode of planters. In the high ranges spices, rubber, coffee and tea are cultivated and they increase the income of the people of that particular area and Travancore in general. Besides these, shrubs, vines and roots of high economic value are found.

Travancore is intercepted by numerous rivers flowing from the east to the west. Of all the rivers Periyar is the longest river in Travancore. There are forty four rivers running throughout the length and breadth of Travancore. The numerous water systems and rivers made the soil fertile and thus converted Travancore predominantly an agricultural country.

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5 *Travancore Directory for 1939*, Part II, Trivandrum, 1938, p.3.
12 Kareem, C.K., *op.cit.*, p.3.
most important agricultural products are paddy and spices like pepper, ginger, cardamom and cinnamon and cash crops like tea, arecanuts, tapioca, pineapple and coconut are also cultivated in Travancore.\textsuperscript{13}

The extensive coastline of Travancore made it one of the largest maritime states in India. The length of the coastline is one hundred and sixty eight miles. People of the coastal areas adopted fishing as one of the important industries. Alleppey, Quilon, Trivandrum and Colachel were the important ports. Among these Alleppey emerged as the key port of Travancore. Colachel was a port of historical importance.\textsuperscript{14}

The total population of the state according to the census of 1931 was 5095973.\textsuperscript{15} The people of Travancore form a more or less homogeneous community. The different communities are the Nayars, the Ezhavas, the Chetties, the Brahmins, the Nadars, the Namboodiris, the Mudaliyars, the Puluiyas and the Parayas.\textsuperscript{16} About twenty nine languages are spoken in the state.\textsuperscript{17}

\textsuperscript{13} Nilakam Perumal, \textit{The Truth about Travancore}, Madras, 1939, pp.iii-iv.
\textsuperscript{14} Velu Pillai, T.K., \textit{pp.cit.}, p.69.
\textsuperscript{16} Travancore Administration Report, 1941-1942, Trivandrum, p.3 (here in after referred to as T.A.R).
\textsuperscript{17} Velu Pillai, T.K., \textit{op.cit.}, p.397.
The population of the state is composed mainly of the Hindus, Christians and Mohammedans. Besides these there are a few minor sections like the Jains, the Zorastrians, the Buddhists and the Sikhs.\textsuperscript{18}

2. Political History

Travancore had a long and continuous history even at the commencement of the Christian era. The ancient history of Travancore is obscure. The ruling family of Travancore traces its descent direct and unbroken from the old Chera dynasty, one of the three great dynasties of ancient Tamilnadu. In latter times Travancore was divided into a number of small states and principalities. The Portuguese, the Dutch and the English established their commercial relations with these states. Travancore, however, attained its territorial configuration during the reign of Maharaja Martanda Varma who ruled from 1729 to 1758. He consolidated the kingdom by conquests and dedicated the state to Sri Padmanabhaswami, the tutelary deity and ruled as Padmanabhadasa.\textsuperscript{19}

In order to run the administration on sound lines, Marthandavarma appointed a Chief Minister called Dalawa and re-organised the administration. He improved the army. Agriculture, irrigation and

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\textsuperscript{18} Velu Pillai, T.K., \textit{op.cit.}, pp.367-397.
\textsuperscript{19} \textit{Travancore Directory for 1938}, Part II, p.47.
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communication received special attention. His period saw developments in religion, literature and art.\textsuperscript{20}

Karthiga Thirunal Ramavarma, better known as Dharma Raja, 1758-1798, succeeded Marthandavarman. In a bid to maintain administrative efficiency, he divided the State into three revenue units, viz. \textit{Thekkemugham}, \textit{Vadakkemugham} and \textit{Padinjaremukham}. An officer known as \textit{Sarvadhi Karyakar} managed each division. There was marked improvement in the collection of revenue and accounting.\textsuperscript{21}

Balaramavarma succeeded Dharma Raja in 1798. He entrusted the administration in the hands of his evil ministers. They raised contributions from the people and assisted the king by collecting a huge amount as tax. The burden of taxation created panic in the minds of the people. The enraged people prepared for a rebellion under the leadership of Veluthampi. Realising the seriousness of the situation the Maharaja dismissed the

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\textsuperscript{20} Sreedhara Menon, A., \textit{A Survey of Kerala History}, Kottayam, 2008, pp.281-283. \\
\textsuperscript{21} Dharma Raja divided the kingdom into three revenue division, i.e. Thekkemukham, Vadakkemukham and Padinjaremukham, which is commonly known as southern division, northern division and western division. Each division was put under an officer called Valia Sarvadhikaryakar. Each of these units was again divided into districts and placed under a class of officers called Sarvadhikaryakars. The districts were sub-divided into taluks, each under a Karyakar or tahsildar. Manimas, adhikaroms and proverthies were small units placed under the charge of Maniakkaran, adhikari and proverthikar respectively. Nagam Aiya, V., \textit{op.cit.}, Vol. III, p.377.
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unpopular and corrupt minister and appointed Veluthampi as the Dewan\textsuperscript{22} with the approval of resident\textsuperscript{23} Mecaulay.

The regency of Rani Lekshmi Bai (1810-1815), witnessed improvement in trade and she enforced market regulations.\textsuperscript{24} The next ruler Rani Parvathi Bai (1815-1829), abolished export and import duties and issued a proclamation permitting the people to have tiled roofs for their houses.\textsuperscript{25} Swathi Thirunal who ruled from 1829-1847, reformed the judiciary by establishing Munsiff’s Courts and by framing a code of regulations. He introduced English education and conducted a revenue survey in 1837 A.D. His successor Uttaram Tirunal Marthandavarma (1847-1860), issued a royal proclamation in 1853, for the emancipation of Slaves. Ayilyam Tirunal (1860-1880), reduced the land tax, opened schools and hospitals and improved irrigation and communication facilities.\textsuperscript{26} The next ruler Ramavarma Visakham Tirunal (1880-1885), re-organized the choice force and reformed the judicial department.\textsuperscript{27} The period of Sri Mulam Tirunal (1885-1924), witnessed remarkable developments. He formed the Legislative

\textsuperscript{22} Dalawa: Dalawa was a title used in the 18\textsuperscript{th} Century to designate the head of the administration. By the later half of that century he came to be called as the diwan.

\textsuperscript{23} The British Government exercised its influence over Travancore through a political officer called the Resident. Col. Mecaulay was the first Resident. Sreedhara Menon, A., \textit{op.cit.}, p.326.

\textsuperscript{24} Velu Pillai, T.K., \textit{op.cit.}, Vol. II, p.512.

\textsuperscript{25} \textit{Ibid.}, p.533.

\textsuperscript{26} Sreedhara Menon, A., \textit{op.cit.}, pp.329-331.

\textsuperscript{27} Velu Pillai, T.K., \textit{op.cit.}, Vol. II, p.634.
Council in 1888 and he was responsible to constitute the Sri Mulam Popular Assembly in 1904.

Maharani Sethu Lekshmi Bai (1924-1931), was proclaimed regent during the minority of Prince Chitra Tirunal Bala Ramavarma. The notable reforms of her period were the formation of the Village Panchayats, opening of highways in the High ranges, the abolition of animal sacrifices in the temples\(^{28}\) and the Devadasi System.\(^{29}\) The reign of Sri Chitra Tirunal Bala Ramavarma (1931-1948), was a period of constitutional, administrative and social reforms. The Legislative Reforms Act of 1932-1933, provided a bicameral legislature to Travancore.\(^{30}\) The Temple Entry proclamation of 1936\(^{31}\) and the University Act of 1937 were the other important reforms of his reign. The reign of Chitra Tirunal was a period of unprecedented political unrest.\(^{32}\) C.P. Ramaswami Aiyar was the Dewan of Travancore from 1936-1947.


\(^{29}\) *Devadasi system*: Devadasis were dancing girls attached to the temples. They raised funds for temples by performances in music dance and other fine arts. Inscriptions like the Tiruvalla Copper plates of the 11\(^{th}\) Century A.D. and the Tiruchur inscriptions mention about the Devadasi system. It existed from ancient times and was abolished in 1930.


\(^{31}\) Caste system and social distinction prevailed in the Hindu Society from time immemorial. The low castes were not allowed to enter into the temples. After a long series of social revolutions the Maharaja issued Temple Entry Proclamation on 12\(^{th}\) November 1936. The Regulations and Proclamations of Travancore, Vol. IX, Trivandrum, 1937, p.21.

3. The Coming of the European Powers

The first European power that reached the soil of Kerala was the Portuguese. Vasco da Gama arrived at Calicut in May, 1498. He was followed by Cabral. On the second Mission of Vasco da Gama the Zamorin of Calicut opposed the policy of expansionism in Malabar. He invited the King of Calicut for his support. But, he did not support the cause of the Zamorin. But the prolonged war made the Portuguese successful. They brought Cranganor an ally of the Zamorin under their control. The Portuguese established commercial establishment at Quilon and other places in the far South. The Portuguese were more interested in religious propagation than political expansion. Catholism spread to the far South due to the Portuguese impact. The effect of Portuguese contact led to some changes in the society and economy. The products of Kerala were popularized in the eastern countries. They founded Seminaries and colleges. The Portuguese power declined due to their inability to build a strong base in any part of Kerala and Dutch conquest of strongholds of Kerala such as Quilon, Purakkad, Cochin and Cannanore.33

The Dutch were the first protestant nation of Europe to establish trade contact with Kerala. In 1603, the Dutch sent Admiral Steven Van Der

Hagen. He reached Calicut and concluded a treaty with the Zamorin.\textsuperscript{34} It provided a mutual alliance of friendship between the two to fight against the Dutch. In 1619, the Dutch and the English signed a treaty of friendship to fight against the Portuguese. The Dutch slowly expanded towards the South and in 1658 conquered Quilon. The rise of Travancore was an eysoirs to the Dutch. Marthandavarma inflicted a crushing defeat in the famous battle of Colachel in 1741.\textsuperscript{35} He annexed Kayamkulam, Purakkad, Thekkamkur and Vadakamkur and brought them under his rule.\textsuperscript{36} In 1748, they entered into an agreement by which both the parties agreed not to interfere in the affairs of the English East India Company’s possessions at Anjenjo, Vizhingam and Edava. The treaty of Mavelikkara signed between the Dutch and Travancore marked the complete humiliation and eclipse the Dutch as a political power in Kerala.\textsuperscript{37} The most important cause for the decline of Dutch power was the rise of Travancore as a military power under Marthandavarma and the Mysore invasion to Kerala.\textsuperscript{38} The French also established their stronghold at

\textsuperscript{34} Poonen, T.I., \textit{op.cit.}, p. 45.

\textsuperscript{35} \textit{Battle of Colachel}: The battle of Colachel was one of the historical battles fought between the Dutch and King Marthandavarma in 1741. The war was won by a trick. As the Dutch forces surrounded Colachel, the king cut of Palmyrah trees and mounted them on carts. Seeing this, the Dutch took it as cannon and surrendered. De. Lannoy, the Dutch commander was arrested and kept in Udaygiri Fort, near Thuckalay.

\textsuperscript{36} Poonen, T.I., \textit{op.cit.}, 1948, pp.80-191.

\textsuperscript{37} Sreedhara Menon, A., \textit{A Survey of Kerala History}, p. 211.

\textsuperscript{38} \textit{Ibid.}, p.213.
Mahe in 1725. Ultimately, the political development which was beyond control of the Dutch led their decline.\textsuperscript{39}

The rise of British power in Kerala begins in 1615 with the arrival of captain keeling. The British power was growing steadily from that time onwards. In 1723, a treaty was concluded between the English East India Company and the king of Travancore. Under this treaty, the port of Colachel was constructed for the English East India Company. This treaty laid the foundation for the British to spread the snare to devour Travancore. In 1723, the English informed that they were willing to help the Raja to suppress the Pillaimars, who were the feudal nobility. Thus, the policy of friendship between the English and Travancore was further deepened. The Mysore invasion of Hyder and Tippu Sultan enabled the British to move further to spread the snare. By the Treaty of Sringapatam, 1792 the whole of Malabar came under the English.\textsuperscript{40}

After, the Mysore War the English East India Company demanded that the Raja should defray the entire expenditure of the war. But, the Maharaja appealed to Lord Cornwallis for lenient view. Consequently, a treaty of friendship was signed in 1795 between English East India Company

\textsuperscript{39} Sreedhara Menon, A., \textit{A Survey of Kerala History}, p. 213.

\textsuperscript{40} \textit{Ibid.}, pp. 252-258.
and Travancore. The British promised to help in the event of external aggression. Consequently, Col. Macaulay was appointed as the Resident. By 1805, a fresh treaty was signed with the British. By this treaty Travancore became a member for the subsidiary alliance of Lord Delhousie. The treaty conferred on the British a specific power to interfere in the internal problems in the event of internal problems. This treaty vested the whole of Travancore in the hands of the British. The English East India Company became the decider of the political affairs of Travancore.

The coming of the European powers changed the Socio Economic life of the people in all respects. While, Travancore was progressing, the First World War broke out. Travancore, being an ally of the English East India Company, was compelled to jump in the First World War.

4. Socio-economic Background

The society in Travancore generally presented a picture of social disabilities and inequalities, because Travancore was a land of multi-religions and castes. The caste rules operated in an irrational manner. The

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41 Sreedhara Menon, A., A Political and Cultural History of Kerala., p.57.
42 Ibid., p.58.
43 Sreedhara Menon, A Survey of Kerala History., p. 58.
44 Sreedhara Menon, A., A Social and Cultural History of Kerala, p.66.
Hindus who constituted the majority of the population were broadly divided into the Hindus or Savarnas\(^{46}\) and non-caste Hindus or avarnas.\(^{47}\)

In the society the Nambudiris occupied an important position. They came and settled in different parts of Travancore in the 5\(^{th}\) Century A.D. and became educational experts. They rose to the status of a dominant group between the twelfth and the nineteenth centuries.\(^{48}\)

The Brahmins enjoyed certain rights and special privileges. They were exempted from capital punishments.\(^{49}\) The Kshatriyas who were related to the ruling families, also enjoyed a lot of privileges. They had conjugal relations with the Nairs.\(^{50}\) The Vellalas remained loyal to the rulers and acted as the bodyguards of the kings.\(^{51}\) Traditionally the Nairs were soldiers and had a special place in the society.\(^{52}\)

The Ezhavas constituted a powerful community among the avarnas. The traditional view is that they came from Ceylon and settled down in Travancore during the early centuries of the Christian era. Being immigrants

\(^{46}\) Savarnas: Savarnas included the Nambudiris or Malayala Brahmins, non-Malayali Brahmins, the Kshatriyas, the Tamil Vellalas and the Nairs or Malayali Sudras.

\(^{47}\) Avarnas: Avarnas included the Ezhavas, the Nadars, the Parayas, the Pulayas, the Kuravas, the Christians and the Muslims.


\(^{49}\) Yesudas, R.N., Peoples Revolt in Travancore, Trivandrum, 1975, p.12.


\(^{51}\) Ibid., pp.375-377.

\(^{52}\) Sreedhara Menon, A., A Social and Cultural History of Kerala, p.66.
the natives treated them as caste inferiors.\textsuperscript{53} They were experts in toddy tapping from the palm trees and were experts in agriculture also.\textsuperscript{54} The Nadars formed another prominent group among the avarnas.\textsuperscript{55} They were a peasant community with learned men, warriors, merchants and toddy tappers in their fold.\textsuperscript{56}

The Brahmins were to pay no tax but the Nadars were subjected to oppressive exactions. They were forced to work for the princes in the streets and water courses for the Nairs in their fields and for the Brahmins in the temple premises. By force and violence, the state required them to work in the formation of roads, repair watercourses and construct public buildings. They had to feed the temple elephants and cultivate temple lands. Yet they received neither any compensation nor any consolation. They were ruthlessly kept out of public services, public roads, public wells and places of worship. They could wear no cloth above the waist and hold no umbrella and use no chappal. If any untouchable dared to go near a Nair, he was immediately cut down.\textsuperscript{57}

The Parayas and the Pulayas formed the lowest section of the society. They were the agriculturists. The living conditions of the non-caste Hindus

\textsuperscript{53} Velu Pillai, T.K., \textit{op.cit.}, pp.857-858.
\textsuperscript{55} Yesudas, R.N., \textit{op.cit.}, p.19.
were deplorable. They were deprived of even to open their mouth in front of the higher class. The evils of untouchability, unapproachability and prohibition of entry into temples were rampant in the society. The prevalence of these systems restricted their movements. They were not permitted to walk through public roads. The higher castes imposed on them innumerable restrictions such as the manner to dress, ornaments, mode of conveyance, use of domestic vessels and the manner of construction of houses. They kept a prescribed distance of approachability between the various castes. The caste pollution denied them education or public employment. The existence of feudalism still worsened their condition. The landlords or janmies collected feudal levies from the tenants. Slavery and serfdom prevailed. The cost of a slave was fixed from three to fourteen rupees. The upper castes were exempted from land tax, punishments were severe to the lower castes. Thus the conditions that existed in the society throughout the 19th Century were no better than that of a primitive society.

61 Augur, C.M., *Church History of Travancore*, Madras, 1903, p.75.
Travancore being an agricultural country the people cultivated paddy throughout the state. Coconut formed the chief money crop. Tea and rubber constituted the chief plantation crops. Travancore produced one third of the world’s pepper. They commonly cultivated tapioca in the plains and valleys. The people of Travancore were prosperous and contented to a large extent while poverty and unemployment haunted their counterparts in the Madras Presidency. More or less satisfactory economic condition prevailed in Travancore in the beginning of the 19th Century.

Even from 1883 the government made attempts to foster industries. The major factories that existed during that time were coir, sugar, match and rubber. Steam Machinery came into use in factories. Cottage industries developed on a large scale which provided subsidiary occupation to the agriculturalists. The most important cottage industries were cotton, weaving, coir making, wood and ivory carving. By this time the volume of exports and imports also increased. Travancore enjoyed all the natural advantages essential for the development of trade and commerce. The commercialization of the agricultural products led to the establishment of a stable and sound economic order.

65 Ibid., p. 3.
66 Ibid., p.42.
economic order by the close of the 19\textsuperscript{th} Century.\textsuperscript{68} Coconut palm, pepper, ginger, turmeric, arecanuts, cardamom, rubber, cashewnut, timber and minerals formed the chief articles of export.\textsuperscript{69} The chief items of import were paddy and rice. Travancore also exported large quantities of eggs and fish to other countries like Burma and Ceylon.\textsuperscript{70} The population increased 10\% between 1875 and 1891. From 1921 to 1931 the population increased by 24.8\%. The cultivated areas increased only by 9.6\%. In order to meet the demand of the increased population rice was imported from other countries like Burma and Siam.\textsuperscript{71}

The outbreak of the First World War brought about potential changes in the economic situation. The war created great demand for Indian goods and it led to the development of many swadeshi industries.\textsuperscript{72} The decade that followed the war was marked by high prices for agricultural products. At the same time the economic depression of 1930’s badly affected the economy of Travancore. The prices of the agricultural commodities like paddy, pepper, coconut, rubber and tapioca fell abnormally. Comparing the general trend the prices of the agricultural products fell by 60\%. It affected all sections of the

\textsuperscript{68} Mahadevan Nadar, S., \textit{op.cit.}, p.223.
\textsuperscript{69} Velu Pillai, T.K., \textit{op cit.}, Vol. III, p.15.
\textsuperscript{70} \textit{Ibid.}, p.75.
\textsuperscript{71} \textit{Ibid.}, pp.15-22.
people. The cottage industries that developed in the previous decades also declined.

The period following the First World War was marked by industrial strife, political and administrative problems. Prices of the commodities went up. Working class demanded higher wages. The employers opposed their demands. Strikes became the common features of the day. Under such circumstances the trade unions came into existence.\textsuperscript{73} The economic depression again aggravated the problems of the workers. A large number of Travancoreans, employed in Malaya, Burma, Ceylon and other countries were sent out of their jobs. They reached Travancore and remained unemployed. The rubber and tea estates also disbanded a number of workers.\textsuperscript{74} The disbanded labourers were suffering for want of employment. About 125,000 people were engaged in the coir industry in Alleppey and Shertalai region. Due to depression the exports of coir yarn fell. The value of coir exported fell from Rupees 125 lakhs in 1924-1925 to Rupees 64 Lakhs in 1932-1933. Wages of the workers were not paid. Majority of the workers engaged in coir industry were thrown out of employment. This created acute

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\textsuperscript{73} Ramachandran Nair, K., \textit{Industrial Relations in Kerala}, New Delhi, 1973, p.92.

\textsuperscript{74} Velu Pillai, T.K., \textit{op.cit.}, Vol. III, pp.61-62.
\end{flushleft}
labour problems. This unrest paved the way for the growth of trade union movement in Travancore.\textsuperscript{75}

Further the western education that was introduced by the Christian missionaries enlightened the people and created a sense of reasoning among the people. The enlightenment about the social and political institutions of the west further made them to compare the western political and social institutions with their own institutions. A sense of reasoning also came to their mind. They began to think about the classifications in the society of the Savarnas and the Avarnas. How the Avarnas were excluded in the temple administration, and the government jobs from religious, political and other state administrative departments. They began to resent this attitude of the government bureaucrats. The high castes did not permit them to enter into the temples to worship the gods and goddesses. The high castes went even into the sanctum sanctorum of the temples whereas the Avarnas were restricted entry beyond certain distances. These things, the depressed class resented very much. The people were restricted to enter into politics. They were denied voting rights. The voting right was exclusively the right of the rich. The poor depressed class especially the Christians, the Ezhavas and Muslims were also denied franchise. Hence it created a tendency to oppose them. Thus the popular movements under their leaders began to grow and

\textsuperscript{75} Robin Jeffrey, \textit{Decline of Nair Dominance in Society and Politics in Travancore, 1847-1908}, New Delhi, 1976, pp.159-60.
carried out the fight. The culmination of their fight reached the zenith in 1938 and the government could not restrict the popular risings but to yield. Consequently after a prolonged fight they won a signal victory only after independence.

5. The Sources

For the history of the World Wars and Popular Movements in Travancore, 1914-1939, the Archeological Reports, the Government records pertaining to various departments constitute the primary sources of information. The official reports on the proceedings of the Travancore Legislature, the Acts and Proclamations of the Government, and the Administration Reports, form another section of important sources. State Manuals, Gazetteers, handbooks, directories and other publications prepared by public and private agencies on Travancore, Newspapers and Journals largely form the secondary sources.

The records of the Travancore Government kept and preserved in the Record Office, Public Department, Kerala Secretariat, Trivandrum, contain large number of records pertaining to our present study. They provide us with the wide range of information for our study. The Kerala State Archives, at Nalanda, Trivandrum also contain large number of records. These records contain political, social and economic developments in the state. All the
records treated under a single section called Confidential Section contain various matters of political, social and economic developments.

The confidential section records contain the proceedings of the government such as orders of notifications, press notes and press communiqués, instructions issued to the police and the District Magistrates to maintain law and order and other Government measures, that needed to tackle the political situation since the formation of Travancore State Congress.

The Government Orders issued at the appropriate time, the copies of the reports and letters that related to the State Congress Movements, activities, organizing meetings sent from the various departments of government from various places to the Chief Secretary and the Dewans are preserved in the confidential section. The letters and reports that were sent to the District Magistrates from the Commissioners and other police officers from Kottayam, Kollam, Changanassery and other important places of Congress activities are the valuable information for the present study. These explain in detail about the work of the Congress Volunteers, the organisational works of the Congress leaders, the protest meetings convened then and there. These reports and letters explain in detail about the popular sentiments and support to the struggle of the Congress. Among these, special mention should be made to the Travancore police reports, daily bulletins, weekly notes and fortnightly reports. These police reports contain
mines of information such as the arrest, detention imprisonment, release of political leaders arranging and holding of public meetings, conferences in different places, instructions given to the volunteers and the resolutions passed by the Congress Party. It further deals with the movements of the Congress leaders, labour leaders, students and others.

Other than these records, the confidential section contain the copies of reports sent by the District and Assistant Police Superintendents, the C.I.D. officers and the Commandant, Travancore State force form part of the sources preserved in this section. These records bring to light the matters pertaining to separation of Devaswom from the Revenue Department, the problems pertaining to temple entry proclamation and abstention movement.

The copies of reports of the Police officers stationed at various places to study the situations, despatched letters and reports to the higher official are highly useful. They always reported about the actions of the congress leaders and closely watched their next move. They are highly interesting to read. Sometimes they create sadness in the minds of the readers because the pains that the Congress leaders underwent to safeguard the interests of the Travancore State Congress. The reports sent by the subordinate officials to the District Magistrate, the C.I.D. reports, the Commandant Travancore State Force are highly interesting. They are highly useful for the present study. If anybody attempts on any topic of this period or political situation justice
cannot be done. Any attempt on the political development of Travancore cannot be satisfactorily written without consulting these sources.

The letters, correspondences between the subordinate officers give a good account of the separation of Devaswom from the Revenue Department. These sources are highly useful to make an in depth study on the temple entry revolt and the abstention movements. Whenever there was popular revolts and resistance to obtain their rights, the government acted on the basis of the reports of the police officers and subordinate judicial officers. They clearly stated the movement of the revolts, their plan of actions and other information were sent. That is why there were ups and downs in the popular movements because the officials acted on the confidential and daily reports. Thus, the confidential reports fortnightly reports and other reports form the important source for the depth study of this topic.

Next comes, the Memoranda, Memorials and the letters of the Residents, Dewans and the Kings that were kept and preserved in the State Archives, Nalanda and Trivandrum are highly useful to our study. The Devaswom Proclamation of 1922 is an important one. It was promulgated in 1933 under popular pressure. The formation of Civic Rights League, and the demand for the equal rights to include the Muslims, Christians and the Ezhavas in the appointments of Revenue department and the separation of Devaswom from the Revenue Department and the formation of Mixed
Committee enabled the agitators to get the Devaswom separated from the Revenue Department. It was a relief granted to those who fought for it.

The Memoranda and Memorials were appeals made by the communal leaders, politicians and Christian missionaries to redress the grievances of the people. In these Memorials, the attitudes of the bureaucrats, the sufferings of the backward classes from state appointments are mentioned. Thus the Christian missionaries and the communal leaders focussed through Memorials and sometimes through Memoranda all social flaws. Consequently, the people could gain entry into the temples and were permitted to go upto the sanctum sanctorum of the temples. The abstention movement was started to fight for their right. This fight was focussed in the Memorials, the Memoranda and on the other relevant records. They always bring first hand information about the problems related to the temple entry and the abstention movement.

Next in order comes the proceedings of the Travancore Council which consists of two parts namely Sri Mulam Assembly and Sri Chitra State Council. The various statements made by the Dewan in the State Assembly on public issues adjournment motions moved by political leaders and the general discussions furnish in detail about the controversy between the government and the Congress leaders. The administration reports are published annually. They deal with the administrative policy and other
developments in the state. These primary sources furnish needed information for the study.

Of the secondary sources, special mention should be made to the Hindu. The Hindu was started as an English Weekly in 1878. It became a daily in 1889. Newspapers are mirror of daily life. As the dictum stands they portray the day-to-day happenings of the country. This enables the people to decide as to what should be done regarding the agitations. As they carry, the daily happenings, in a way, they made propaganda to the Travancore State Congress. The information that they carried were highly useful for the study.

There are many published works on the subject. They come for the rescue of the historians to join the disjointed areas of study. The Travancore State Manual by T.K. Velupillai has direct bearing on the subject. The Travancore State Manual compiled by Sadasyatilaka, Sri. T.K. Velupillai is a monumental work in IV volumes. Born on February 8, 1882, he got his B.L. in 1913. He was elected as a member of the Travancore Legislative Council 1914-1917, 1917-1920 and the Reformed Legislative Council for a term. Then he was elected as the first elected Deputy President of the Sri Mulam Popular Assembly. He served the Sri Mulam Assembly for a second term in 1937-1944. It was during this time the Travancore State Government decided to revise the State Manual written by V. Nagam Aiya, the former Dewan of Travancore. The responsibility of revising the State Manual was
entrusted to T.K. Velupillai and he compiled it into four volumes in 1940. The book contained social, political, economic, cultural and religious history of Travancore. It serves as a useful book to any writer on the subject. There are other valuable books too which have direct bearing on the subject. C.M. Augur’s *Church History of Travancore*, Matteer’s *The Land of Charity*, K.K. Pillai’s *Suchindram Temple*, T.K. Ravindran’s *Eight Furlongs of Freedom*, Asan and Social Revolution in Kerala, K.K. Kusuman’s *Abstention Movement*, K. Damodaran and Narayana Pillai’s *Keralite Swatantriya Samaram*, Desai Mahadev’s *The Epic of Travancore*, Keraliyans, *The Father of Political Agitation in Travancore*, Kovoor, E.H., T.M. Varghese, P.K.K. Menon’s *The History of the Freedom Movement in Kerala*, P.S. Raghavan’s *History of Freedom Movement in Kerala*, Sankara Pillai’s *Democracy in Kerala* and Pattom A. Thanupillai are some of the books used in writing the thesis. They have direct bearing on the topic of research. They are highly useful to write the disjointed units.

Thus, the above sources yield facts for the present study. The sources should be cautiously handled because they are not free from bias. Much caution should be given while handling these sources. After the formation of Travancore State Congress, there were mutual accusation by the government and the Congress leaders. There were false charges of speeches made by the Congress leaders. Sometimes these were presented on personal consideration. These differences should be cleared with a comparative study
of the other sources to get into right perspective. Analytical, historical methodology is applied in the thesis. Footnotes are cited at the bottom of every page for the convenience of the readers.

In writing the thesis analytical and descriptive historical methodology is applied. Published works are cited in italics and original sources are cited in ordinary letters. The sources cited at the bottom of every page to enable the readers to refer easily.

The period of this title is limited between the two World Wars, i.e. from 1914 to 1984. Necessary hypothesis such as the necessity of the leaders to create awareness among the people about the causes for the denial of their rights and the tactics that were employed by the leaders to resist the Government’s efforts and achieve their ends.

The thesis is organised in to seven chapters excluding the introduction and conclusion.