CHAPTER IV

IMPACT OF THE CENTURY OF TRANSITION

Impact on the socially underprivileged classes

Impact of the social movements upon the backward communities had been wholesome. It gave them a new consciousness. This changed consciousness manifested in different ways. It was more conspicuous in their demand for more facilities, social rights and altered interpersonal relationship.

There was a time when ill-treatment was considered as due to ill-fate and destiny. The establishment taught them so. But later it became no more valid than an old story like 'once upon a time ---'. A fair and equal treatment was demanded on the basis of their contribution to the State as tax payers and producers of wealth. Their claims were also based on numerical superiority and social equality. They criticised the undue favours given to the 'upper ten' while they were suppressed, exploited and neglected.

A change in the tone of demand first appeared among the Ezhavas. While demanding admission in the Sirkār schools, through a memorial by the 64 signatories of the Popular Assembly, Ezhavas raised the claim not as a favour to the backward communities but the right of the largest tax paying section. Their demands were supported by the other aggrieved communities also. One of the journals commented on
unapproachability that "If His Highness cannot remove these meaningless, unjustified and retrograde barriers, if he cannot mete out an impartial treatment of his subjects and if they should perpetuate caste bars even in public service, we think in all fairness to the unfortunates that they should be exempted from the ordinary obligation to the State, that no taxation should be imposed on them, at least they should be relieved of a part of the burden which they now seem to carry for the benefit of the "upper ten". They also claimed their right on the basis of productivity to the Government and the society as the largest labour force.

While discussing the question of educational facilities N. Kumaran Asan drew the attention of the Government, "I do not think this House needs to be told the position which the Ezhava community occupies in the economy of the State. Most of the industries and handicrafts are in their hands. They are not drawn in society but real producers of wealth besides contributing their own share to the coffers as other communities do". This claim was visible among other communities also, that they were the descendants of the original inhabitants of the State and worked day and night for the material welfare of the society, and hence so deplorably backward they became. In one of the budget session of the Council, demands for equality of rights of the backward communities were brought before it. They accused the Government of forgetting their right that they were like any other members of the society, who contributed their share to the prosperity of the State by hard labour and
complained of being utterly neglected for hundreds of years and concessions allowed simply represented the inadequate penalty for the sad neglect. In one of such petitions they claimed, a majority of them belonged to the agricultural labourers and they were not getting enough wage for their subsistence. They claimed without their dedication agriculture, especially paddy cultivation would have been almost impossible, because the Sambavars constituted 832 and Kuravar 838 out of every thousand males of the agricultural labour force of the State, but at the same time due to fall in the price of rice male labourers could get only 3 annas and a female only ½ anna a day. They became conscious of the fact that they were being exploited by the landed aristocracy, that rubber plantations of the high range to seasonal crops in the remote villages materialized due to their labour alone. They were no longer in a mood to accept it as a fate. They were filled with the idea that barren lands were made golden by their sweat and labour. Backward communities felt that they were degraded and denied of the basic rights by treating them as chattels through the inactivity and partiality of the Government. They complained so much so that even after their hard labour they were prevented from taking education due to poverty and educational concessions were asked because in the past generation everything was denied to them.

By 1920's one can see a tremendous change in the tone of demand for the basic rights. While discussing the budget, a member belonging to the backward community commented,
"Neither the Government nor any other community had in former times looked upon the depressed classes as human beings. For centuries they had been downtrodden and admission was denied to them in educational institutions, public offices etc. None of these disabilities had changed since then. Whatever concessions and facilities were given could not be considered as a penance for what was done to them in their past generation". Complaint was also raised against the inadequacy of wages they were getting as agricultural labourers\textsuperscript{11}. The entire question cropped up when the Government decided to impose fees upon the backward communities. They complained that depressed classes had got neither land nor land tax nor franchise to enforce their claims.

In order to give them educational facilities they suggested impose of educational cess on their land lords for whom they were working. It was alleged that Kamkalah were not allowed to be educated because of the fear that it would decrease the number of labourers in their profession\textsuperscript{12}. T.T. Kesavan Sastri criticised the budget of 1941 and land assignment that there must be some change in the entire social structure\textsuperscript{13}. Another member said that while a majority found it difficult to meet the bare existence a minority were living in affluence, and that it was the duty of the privileged classes to find means and measures for the removal of such inequalities\textsuperscript{14}.

In one of the prayer meetings held at Aiyarkala in the presence of Kaviyoor Sadhu Janayogi on 30 Chingam 1122, they decided to memorialize the Maharaja. Tone of the memorial,
though with customary salutations, showed the resentment and indignation of the Chettiar towards the exploiting suppression and injustice done to them in the name of religion by the Hindus by making them slaves and unapproachables and by the Christians as Christian untouchables. The memorial lamented the half-hearted way of amelioration work like assignment of land and establishment of untouchable’s colonies.

Another stock argument of which none could deny the validity was the claims of numerical strength. Reasonableness of the claim of contribution to the economy of the State was the greatest resource at their disposal against caste status, religion and precedence. On various issues and occasions claims were raised for certain odd lakhs which constituted a community. Kerala Bharati, a newspaper doubted the validity of the unified administration of the Revenue and Devaswom Departments, whether the perpetuation of the disabilities meant the claims of the 26 lakhs of people in Travancore trampled under foot by the remaining 9 lakhs of the privileged people and observed that thoughtful people should consider how long the boldness of the Darbar could continue to support disabilities and how long the boiling blood of the 26 lakhs of citizens would put up with such injustice. On many subsequent occasions claims of numerical superiority was raised.

Parasitic precedence of the minority was often questioned. The Government had not been kind enough to allow them similar privileges that were allowed to higher castes. They regretted overlooking their claim for educational facilities and Government service. The Government was cautioned by N. Kumaran that it was to make amends for the past sins
of commission and omission perpetuated by the Government for generation" and to be responsible for their past conduct. Claims for equal privileges meant equality of treatment and request to discontinue favouritism and exclusion.

On the basis of the concept of equality of citizenship demands were raised for financial assistance to education, registration of land for habitation and cultivation, increased wages, industrial training, representation in political bodies and appointment in Government service. They complained to the Dewan "— apart from the absurdity of referring to the Christian population of Travancore as a whole as converts to Christianity. What does the exclusion mean? It cannot surely be in the interest of education. Why, then, are thousands and thousands of coast Christians who are perhaps the most backward people in the State, denied the benefit of concession? Are, for instance, the Christian Pulaya and Paraya superior to the Hindu Ezhava in point of education? The only conclusion, therefore is that the Government really care nothing for the educational advancement of the State. They have only inaugurated a crusade against Christianity."

In the annual conference of the Mariathuruthu branch of the S.N.D.P. Yogam Union under the chairmanship of C. Kesavan, C. Kuttan of Shertallai said, "Our Government have forgotten us. The Sirkar and its kinsfolk have trampled down the Ezhavas. It is keeping us at a distance without allowing us to approach the Government service. We have not been allowed in the two houses of the Legislature. That is the fault of those who formed the Legislature. We must act for our
legislative rights and powers. The persons in power may succeed at first in check ing us in their attempt. But in the end the subject may stir in commotion. However it is dearest to the citizens than life. There is likely that communities with a sense of self-respect may not bear long. When we asked for our rights the Government is displaying mailed fist — we must strive standing on our feet. Never join the Nairs. They will deceive us. They are not our well wishers”.

While discussing the fee concession schemes to the economically weaker sections of the society K. Gopalakrishnan informed the House that, "They are not given equal condition by the imposition of equal fees. It is for keeping them behind that you were going to impose fees. If college education is a luxury, it should better be totally abolished and men should not get it. The children of upper class alone should not be educated at the expense of the general tax payer. Attempt is now being made by the chosen few, by the upper class, not to allow the depressed classes and women to come up". This attitude was more evident in an all party conciliatory meeting convened by the District Magistrate to discuss the question of opening of public road at Alleppy for conducting the procession in connection with the birth day of Sree Narayana Guru. The Ezhava leaders argued that, 'the public roads are maintained by public fund and are intended for all classes of people'.
Exclusiveness imposed on the basis of caste criterion was no longer considered infallible. By the last decade of the 19th century, resistance to the pride and prejudices of caste superiority began to appear. The Brahmans of Vaikkom locality in one of their petitions to the Government informed that because of their order conferring rights to enter public places Ezhavas had been more self-assertive even saying that there was no difference between them and that they too could have the cord (meaning the sacred thread) by paying a Chuckram. In other words it meant Brahminical status was not more valid than a Chuckram. The Government officials also had to face the spirit of self-assertion of the socially underprivileged classes, when unjust orders were passed. The Inspector of Police, Agasteeswaram, informed '--- the attitude of the Paravas indicate a spirit of aggression in frequenting that tank heedless of the authorities prohibiting it---22.'

There was also allegation that social higher ups were not in favour of educational development of the depressed communities. For instance, difficulties were felt by the Hindu Pulayas of Kidanganur and Aranmula proverty in the Tiruvella talook where the caste pupils of the school with the silent approval of the Head master and teachers harassed other pupils23.
At Shertallay by 1921, there were disturbances because of communal tension between the Ezhavas and Nairs. Main cause of the tussle was the use of a tank which was under the exclusive possession of the Caste Hindus. When a Potty and a Nair walked along the tank of the Ezhavas, the latter stopped the former and the Ezhavas compulsorily realised 5 Panams each for purificatory ceremony of the Ezhavas tank from the Caste Hindus. It was taken as an insult by the latter. It had to retaliation and fight. A good example of the changed mentality of the backward communities towards oppression can well be seen from the Paraya and Vellala riot at Ratnapuram. When the converted Salvationists retaliated the Vellalas felt considerable shame to appear before the authorities as complainant against those who were long ago practically their slaves. The Parayas wrote in one of their petitions to the Resident, "--- they wrongfully imagine that we were their original slaves - no better than cattle, now enjoying liberty through their kindness. --- Since we are Christians, we have no connection with demons and demon worship any longer --- ".

On civic rights issues they claimed that it was not the question of opening a few yards of roads or opening one or two tanks or buildings to a few more people but the question of self-respect and honour of the community that was involved.
While Vaikom Satyagraha was in progress, wife of T.K. Madhavan issued an appeal to all fair minded people that, "Here in Travancore, in the name of law, order and religion, real elementary rights of humanity are violated and hundreds and thousands of human beings are barred from free passage in the public roads. Brother man is refused admission where the lowly dog is quite free to roam about as it likes. Can there be anything more degrading and contemptuous. Anything more horrible and detestable? Anything more grievous and heart rending?" The Swaraj reported extracts from the speeches of E.V. Ramaswami Naikar on the claims of the Trippadithananam legend. The Mitavadi wrote, "Travancore does not, in fact, belong either to the Maharaja or to Padmanabha Swami or to any foreign Swami. (Tamil Brahmin, obviously aiming T. Raghaviah, the Dewan.) All such stories have come to an end. The country belongs to the people. The subjects of the State have not been created by the Raja, but the Raja has been created by the subjects from his subjects." The ill-feeling was so deep rooted that even responsible men were drawn to it. In one of the letters P. Palpu, to the Dewan wrote, "It shows the extent of respect you have somehow acquired here for the informal and iniquitous traditional policy of heartless vindictiveness and invidious distinctions, that had uniformly became long established now in the ancient 'land of Dharma'," he continued. "For it is unknown that when the responsible officers here in the past, had chosen under an informally heartless and perfidious
alliance and partnership, to vindictively and repeatedly rob and degrade the State and its loyal, affluent and useful people, to hold them down unjustly under disabilities of the kind, in the endeavour to reverse the condition here and create a 'Heaven on earth' for a few 'priestly traitors, thugs and usurpers of the worse type known anywhere', as well as their agents and their allies, and to permanently maintain therein the 'Sanctified' honourable and other forms of their malignant and inhuman business of touch-me-notism and vampireism in the guise of 'administering' and 'protecting' the people and country. The officers concerned were naturally displeased, at all legitimate complaints from the people, and that instead of remedying any of the actual wrongs represented they were subjecting the complaint to summary and vindictive persecution and even murdering them all secretly. That these achievements under an informal iniquitous alliance and traditional policy were being maintained even under the crown will further be clear from the fact that I myself had to undergo such ill-treatment and persecutions for a lifetime how, under every ingenious, heartless and perfidious means possible, and that it was only mere accident that the secret attempts on my life that were being made here repeatedly at one time, have not been successful". He concluded, "I hope moreover that it will be clear enough that even in case you could some how find ways and means to punish me further, and make even the state and people suffer in addition, it could in no way relieve you of the legitimate duties and responsibilities in your appointment and designation here
or enable you to continue to ignore or reverse such duties and responsibilities even under our present Maharaja in the special interest of our informal, vindictive and inhuman 'traditional policy', however successfully the policy may have been maintained so long.

An interesting feature to be noted is that a generation back when the socially privileged communities assaulted the backward and depressed communities they silently suffered it. But during the periods of increasing social equality much of the injustice was replied in equal terms. This happened in many communal riots in the State, whether it was between the Nairs and Ezhavas or Nairs and Pulayas or between any other communities.

Change in the attitude towards religion

The changed attitude during the period of transition influenced the concept of religion. Even as regards temple entry question they claimed it not as a concession or favour. In the S.N.D.P. Yogam meeting held in 1921 banners were kept to the effect that temple entry as a birth right of every Hindu.

Sahodaran Ayyappan, in course of his speech at Kaikkara advocated interdining as a challenge to religious texts were for the establishment of caste and differences and to set fire to such treatises. His attitude towards Brahminical superiority, social and religious values of Hindus religious texts were clearly expressed in his reaction to
the visit of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and his explanation of caste system, temple entry and such other socio-religious issues. However, in the Temple Entry Sabha, convened by the S.N.D.P. Yogam, Pandit Malaviya found it difficult to answer certain questions placed by the radicals and rationalists. On another occasion, Sahodaran Aiyappan made a radical differentiation between the Hindu temples and Christian Churches. His radical attitude was once again brought out during his discussion with Gandhiji on the eve of the Vaikom Satyagraha. He went to the extent of calling Lord Sree Krishna a 'regular murderer'. Innumerable petitions and memorandums were submitted by the backward communities to the Temple Entry Enquiry Committee for allowing equal rights to worship in the temples. These communities began to resent to their reference as low caste people in the Government proceedings as objectionable. Along with change in the attitude towards religious a new concept about the society began to take its shape.

Mrs. P. Palpu, pointed out in the Popular Assembly that presence of innumerable communities and castes were the main cause working against national progress and unity. She requested for an enactment so as to remove such differences and disabilities to bring the country as a single community.

One of the wholesome influences of these changes was that it awakened among the backward communities a self-consciousness of their own fault and weakness and stimulated in them
a desire to work for their salvation through their own internal organisation beside the external forces. This in turn led to a tendency among them for the fusion of sub-castes, for example Ezhavas were returned in the Census Report of 1891 with 21 Sub-divisions. But in the Census of 1931 they were returned as one caste. 35

Impact on the economic condition of the backward communities

What the backward communities had gained by their association with the missionaries was their inspiring example and their dedicated leadership which instilled in them a spirit of enterprise and enthusiasm in temporal matters. whereas other influential section of the community like Nairs, whose social condition, under the operation of many extraneous circumstances, was in a state of stagnation, the backward communities did easily brave the perils of forests and backwaters and managed to acquire ownership. By the application of sheer industry they succeeded in bringing those neglected regions into field of vegetation. Consequently the all-round development brought them into prominence in all the fields except Government service 36. Meanwhile the socially privileged remained stagnant.

The traditional hold of the jennis on the society depended to some extent on the size of the land he held and the caste status. As some of the jennis came to have much smaller areas of their own their prestige gradually began to decline with the weakened economic condition, tradition about the Nambudiris as representatives of God on earth had also practically disappeared. This led to
a shift in the criterion of social respectability. It began to be based on personal achievement and personality rather than on birth. This meant that possession of a few more acres of land was no longer so strongly connected with the leadership and predominance in the village. With the change in the agricultural economy the traditional occupations began to decline making scope for the mobility of labour force. Land legislation made eviction from land very difficult. Circulation of the ownership of land considerably improved the economic condition of many and the economy assumed a non-agricultural bias.

The Travancore Banking Enquiry Committee found that even though social legislation had affected Bahavas by way of fragmentation of property many of them had supplementary income from small industrial pursuits and consequently a better position than others. The Committee found each family a self-contained unit, and though there was not much wealth in the family, each member, man, woman and child earned his or her quota to keep the family in comparative comfort. The average annual income of a family of five never went below Rs. 200/-. The Industrial Survey of Travancore conducted by S.G. Baker found that many of the castes whose traditional occupation belonged to the manual labour had started to discard it for less arduous work as a mark of social elevation. This tendency was found among the potters, workers of Alangad and weavers of Parur talook. He said, "the present tendency is for the weavers to forego his calling after being educated, and the industry
is fast declining in the talook — education gives them a social uplift and their elevation now places them above manual labour and their old calling — This should be altered by Industrial Schools and departments. This tendency was visible among the Shanars of Eramiel, Agasteswaram and Patanapuram and a number of other places.

The following table show the number of factory workers and persons pursuing other occupations at different centres in the Alleppy district.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Centre</th>
<th>Number of families</th>
<th>Number of factory workers</th>
<th>Number of other workers</th>
<th>Average per family of factory workers</th>
<th>Average per family of other workers</th>
<th>Average per family of dependents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alleppy</td>
<td>515</td>
<td>869</td>
<td>280</td>
<td>1733</td>
<td>1.69</td>
<td>.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punnapra</td>
<td>238</td>
<td>193</td>
<td>273</td>
<td>328</td>
<td>1.40</td>
<td>1.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kanjikuzhi</td>
<td>201</td>
<td>277</td>
<td>279</td>
<td>560</td>
<td>1.38</td>
<td>1.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muhanna</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>215</td>
<td>274</td>
<td>353</td>
<td>1.40</td>
<td>1.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shertallay</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>249</td>
<td>332</td>
<td>502</td>
<td>1.34</td>
<td>1.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuthiathodu</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>1.58</td>
<td>1.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paravoor</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>306</td>
<td>1.47</td>
<td>1.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Centers</td>
<td>1409</td>
<td>2130</td>
<td>1765</td>
<td>3998</td>
<td>1.51</td>
<td>1.25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ref: Report of the Board of conciliation of Trade Disputes in the mats and matting Industry, Trivandrum, Printed by the superintendent of Government Press, Trivandrum, 1939, P. 213, Table 10.

Most of the factory workers belonged to the backward and depressed classes. Average per family of non-earning members was much less in each centre. These labourers
migrated from different parts of the State. Many of those were drawn to the industrial area from the agricultural field. This shift became more pronounced during and after the second half of the 1930's. Thus, the non-agricultural bias of the economy gave the leadership of the State to those engaged in service and in commercial pursuits. As agricultural economy weakened, caste lost its hold on the society and most of the high caste people found it difficult to maintain their traditional status. Several incongruities followed in the interpersonal relationship. Those behaviour patterns which were once automatically followed were less observed. For instance, A. Aiyappan says, "most people particularly the younger one, have not cultivated those patterns of behaviour. The olders who were reared by the 19th century generation may be found to act in the traditional manner in the situation to which they have been habituated, but even they deliberate and decide whether or not to do so towards new persons and in new situations, the idea that is not essential to conform having become part of the new attitudes of the older generation. Particularly in the matter of addressing each other, members of different castes having nearly equal economic and educational status experience embarrassment. Linguistic inducements of traditional status difference have gone out of vogue among educated people, in public offices and courts. But, occasionally one comes across instances of official subordinates, regardless of caste using respectful words in conversation with higher officers. The plural 'you' is used among equals,
singular you for inferiors. The superior is never the straight 'you' either plural or singular. Thus, a high percentage of change in the horizontal mobility of occupational status and a limited percentage of vertical mobility in economic condition made for close contact with different castes. One can see this varied condition in the life habits, dress and manners of the backward communities, especially Eshavas.

Many of the backward communities found education as the earliest and one of the short cut routes to a new life. It was something more than a means for living. The gradual flow of money to the lower strata of the society had kindled a new desire to acquire education. In one of their petition submitted for educational concessions they said, 'having come to realise the fact that education is the foundation and forerunner of all progress whether physical intellectual, moral, social, material or spiritual' they requested that 'unless the Government was also pleased to start schools for English education in the chief centers where the backward classes live it would not bear much fruit to them,' and complained of the limited facilities offered. When the depressed classes were given facilities they had shown considerable interest in self-improvement. The Assistant Inspector of Schools wrote, "an indirect result of the night school has been the construction of a tolerably large shed by the Pulayas themselves, at Melukkara where they occasionally meet together for concerted measures for the social and educational uplift of their community. They have
formed themselves into a sangham — There is besides much
general improvement in their common mode of speech. They
are also being more cleanly by their cloths and persons. Their
general deportment and character are also being slowly changed
for good. These are very valuable results and the Malukka
night school has been the cause and source of them. By 1943,
the depressed classes could produce a graduate in K.R.Narayanan,
who completed his B.A. (Hons) in first class first, for the
I.C.S. examination.

Development of Communist ideology

As different elements in the society changed the
feudal based relationship had to change. The beginning of
the activities of the Communist ideology is important in this
respect. The Communist ideology and the October Revolution
considerably influenced the younger generation who later took
leadership in various socio-political activities. K. Ram
Krishna Pillai was the first to translate the life and theories
of Karl Marx in an Indian vernacular language. He found
Marx not as an ideologist but as a prophet and deliverer of
millions of working class. Founders of the Communist
Movement in Kerala were C.P. Krishna Pillai, E.M. Sankara
Keralaeyan, N.P. Belaram, K.K. Varrier, P.Narayana Pillai,
K.C. George and a number of others.

The Communist Movement took its birth in the form of
Congress Socialist Party. In 1931, at Trivandrum a
Communist League was organised. Ponnara Sreedharan, N.C. Sekher, G. Sivasankara Pillai, Thiruvattar Thamun Pillai, N.P. Kurikkal etc. were its leaders\(^49\) and they organised the first labour union in Kerala. The Travancore Labour Association was convened on 4 March 1937, under the Presidentship of P.K. Kunju. They passed resolutions for the general strike of the coir factory labourers. Leaders like P.K. Kunju, R. Sugathan, V.K. Purushothaman and P.N. Krishna Pillai were taken into police custody\(^50\). Protest demonstrations were held in the place.

The Communist Party was organised in 1939, at the convention of the workers of the Congress Socialist Party at Pinarai\(^51\). However, by the 1940's, a tendency had been there among the labourer's tenants and working class to resent the feudalistic supremacy in the society on the basis of Communist ideology. In 1943, a meeting of them was convened at Poonjar\(^52\).

The Communist movement had to face adversity during the Deanship of Sir C.P. Ramaswami Iyer. Whatever might have been the remote and immediate causes, the showdown at Punnnapra-Vayalar, the two villages in the Alleppy District, ended in blood, taking the lives in thousands. The unusual armed agitation was carried out at the instance of the Communist Party. Leaders from the Malabar area were in the locality before the actual agitation took place and to give necessary training to the labourers. The general strike of labour union had already started in the area by the end of the year 1946. The agitation was suppressed by martial law.
More than 2000 workers were killed in the revolt. The majority of them were Ezhavas who formed the majority of the labourers of the area. Refering to the suppression, in an interview with the Associated Press of America, the Dewan said, "There is no point of going picemeal. I deliberately made a departure in this respect. Because till now the civil authorities had requested the assistance of the military. I do not want to say that I am not responsible for the measure taken by the military. That is why I requested the Maharaja to give the rank of Lt. General, so that I should direct the military myself. There can be no shooting there except directly under my orders. If the people want to blame any body for these measures let them blame me." 'Sir C.P.' issued prohibitory orders on all communist activities in the state. However, later they removed the ban on 'people's war' but issued strict warning against shouting 'prejudicial slogans'.

The social aspect of the Communist movement was that to a great extent they could remove the caste formation of the society. Only an absolutely insignificant minority believed that their position was due to the result of Karma. This indicates that the principle of Karma which had for centuries reconciled people to accept their places in the society and legitimised the social structure was rejected by the weaker sections. Instead they believed that their misery was the result of their being exploited by those who owned the means of production. Sahodaran Ayyappan also contributed much to the development of the Communist movement in the initial stage in Alleppy area. His slogans
centered round anti-caste, anti-religion, anti-God and anti-poverty. This movement was backed by the economically weaker sections and socially under privileged classes, though many of its leaders belonged to different castes, including higher castes. Recent research work conducted also shows that the Communist Party have got the highest percentage of backward caste Hindus (41.66%). The family background of the respondent influenced not only his choice of the party but also the level of leadership. Nuclear family type, urban origin, Hindu religion, lower education, non-traditional occupation and lower income of father were likely to form Communist ideology.

Impact on the socially privileged classes

During the 19th century feeling occupied a prominent position in the state in determining the policies of the Government and in interpersonal relationship. But by the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century there was considerable tendency to push back the dominant position of caste by the principles of fundamental rights of citizenship.

Because of modern education attitude of the fair minded Caste Hindus especially Nairs began to show some change towards the legitimate rights of others. During the last decade of the 19th century G. Parameswaran Pillai, brought the pitiable condition of Tiyyas and other backward communities to outside world through his prolific writings. He was successful in bringing the matter to the British Parliament through Herbert Roberts. K. Rama Krishna Pillai, criticised the policies of exclusion from the
Government service and other injustices done to the Ezhavas in social, political and religious aspects of life and advised the Nairs to be responsible in the matter. He never observed untouchability and even interdined with Pulayas. Progressive minded sections of them felt the importance of Pulayas and Parayas to the society as agricultural labourers and felt their degraded condition and believed that in order to develop a national feeling caste and pollution should cease. They found it extremely difficult to understand the sense and logic of such man made observances, superstitious and its blind adherence. This tendency was visible among some of the Government officers also.

When the question of the admission of Ezhava's in the Sirkar school was taken up for consideration, Inspector of Schools, wrote "But to deny admission into the schools on the above grounds especially the last (the existence of primary school in the locality where the backward communities could be admitted will not only be unjust but will eventually tend to perpetuate ignorance and superstition and to intensify a class feeling among the people, to gradual removal of which might be the aim of every enlightened and progressive Government. My individual opinion is that every school, Government and aided, should be thrown open to all classes of people without distinction of caste or creed provided they attend the school neat and clean."

An important feature of the impact was the change in the interpersonal relationship which could be seen in the
Council debates. On many occasions members of the socially privileged communities pleaded for the removal of those objections from the public life of Travancore and acceptance of the legitimate rights, unless it was doubted as detrimental to their interest.

When the Budget for the year 1923 was brought before the Council, one of the members said, as backward communities who turned up for education were small in number they could not reap its benefits, in proportion to their population to their numerical strength and he commented, for generations they worked for the material benefit of the state and the privileged classes and so it was their duty to give them proper education and to bring them up from the pitiable condition, as it would be useful to the general welfare of the country as a whole.\(^{67}\)

M.N. Pillai commented on the civic rights resolution of N. Kumaran, moved on the eve of the Vikom Satyagraha, that the freedom of movement in all public places is the birthright of every citizen in a civilized country.\(^{68}\) He continued, "No right-minded Caste Hindu wants to perpetuate the theendal and thodiyl". These ideas were entertained more or less in the same way by most of the councillors. On another occasion D.C. Joseph, said in the Council on the resolution moved by A.S. Damodaran Asan, a Nair member, "The claims for recognising the elementary rights of citizenship is a reasonable and just one. It is our bounden duty to see that by closing roads, tanks and satrums the Government do not deliberately promote untouchability. It is
monstrous creature which is responsible for so many heartburning question. This custom which does not secure the right of equality and justice loses its claim for obedience. The preponderance of this inhuman, dirty and crude creature must be viewed with condemnation. I do not understand when people are fighting for liberty, something like 15 or 16 lakhs of people are denied the elementary rights of citizenship for no fault of their own but simply to satisfy the will and fancy of the orthodox section of the so called Caste Hindus. He continued, "I want to emphasise one particular point. These are the things maintained by the public funds. To cite one instance the satrums at Cape Comorin is maintained with public funds. A dog or an ass can occupy that satrom. I am sorry that so called untouchables are not allowed to enter that place --- at our cost others are enjoying the benefit of our satrums". K.N. Kesavan Nambudiripad doubted whether it would harm any community. Where as it removes disabilities of a large section of the population. Many of the members who spoke against the resolution said that it would wound the religious sentiment of certain people. The non-acceptance of their resolution is wounding a large section of the population whatever might have been the mentality of the members who opposed the resolution. I am sure that we have advanced very far in these matters. Coming as I do from a community which is more conservative in the matters, I can assure that there is a large section in that community which is in favour of recognising the rights of other people. And removing
disabilities which stand in the way of their progress\textsuperscript{70}, and he calculated that their demands were reasonable and logical. Another Kshatriya Member related to the ruling family also favoured the resolution saying that the objection was merely sentimental\textsuperscript{71}. Members of the community wholeheartedly supported such moves unless it was detrimental to their interests. Pattam Thanu Pillai supporting the budget motion moved by A.S. Damodaran Asan to open the Law College hostel to all classes of people said, "The Nair members of the Council or the Nair community generally or at any rate the thinking section of the Nair community do not stand against the attainment of full citizenship rights by any Travancoren — I am really glad that this motion was brought by Asan, who himself a Nair. We really want to see that all sections of the people in Travancore came up to the same level in regard to their political and civil rights. That is the object."\textsuperscript{72} This attitude was shown in other aspects of life also.

The deep rooted jealousy and suspicion gradually began to vanish. Many among the younger generation found it not objectionable to interdine\textsuperscript{73}. Such men participated in the civic rights movements. In Vaikom satyagraha K.P. Kesava Menon, Mannath Padmanabhan, A.K. Pillai, and a host of others actively participated. A good percentage of witnesses belonging to the Nair, Nanjanad Vellalas and Tamil Brahmins were in favour of the temple entry and gave favourable reply to the Temple Entry Enquiry Committee.
12 out of 31 witnesses of the Ambalavasis, 17 out of 326 Malayala Brahmins, 43 out of 171 Tamil Brahmins, 12 out of 23 Kshatriyas, 401 out of 502 Nairs and 202 out of 208 Nanjanad Vellalas favoured temple entry of the so called avarnas. 74

In many of the Nair conferences resolutions were passed for temple entry. It is interesting to note that in one of such conference a day was devoted for the discussion on the condition of the depressed communities and a number of resolutions were passed. 75 The perverted social set up was understood as the basis of caste and communal distinction. One of the important impediment, for its removal was the lack of intercaste marriages which in turn was prevented by sectarian legislations. Hence, advices were forwarded to remove such distinction to form an independent community. 76 Caste Hindu sections did not feel any heart-burning, as they had once felt, in admitting the backward communities in the privileged areas.

When Caste Hindus of the Tiruvalla locality came to know that the Government had decided to shift the Vernacular Middle School for girls from near the temple to a locality accessible to the depressed classes they objected to the move saying that if it was their supposed objection which actuated the authorities, they assured that the Caste Hindus of the place had no objection what so ever to admit the depressed classes to the schools. 77
Questioning the Brahmin Superiority

One of the important impacts of the modern education was the tendency to question marumakkathayam and sambandham. Under the intellectual explosion formidable factors began to crumble down. When once the marumakkathayam and sambandham was questioned the inevitable result was the questioning of superiority of the Brahmins and other privileged classes right to form irregular alliances. The resentment to the social superiority of the Brahmins manifested in the form of Malayali Memorial. "Foreign Brahmins on the other hand are so comfortable as ever, a vast number of them have no taxes to pay, they are fed gratuitously at Oottupuras, and the increase of school fees means simply a little more exertion on the part to obtain more gifts and donations from the State and the people at large." The Hindu commenting on the Malayali Memorial observed, "We believe that there are 64 feeding houses in the 33 taluks of Travancore, maintained from the revenue of the State and intended solely for Brahmins. Whatever may have been the case formerly it is impossible that modern ideas of justice and principles of Government should approve of the pampering of a particular class out of the hard earned money wrung from others." The first generation of English educated Nairs began to feel that caste and communal differences were created by the exploiting minority for the subordination and subjugation of the majority. Commenting on the excommunication of Mr. Raman Menon, the Indian Social
Reformer said that the yoke of Brahmins was more in the Malabar Coast. They said it was the absence of proper marriage system which made them a potent factor in Kerala and made a critical observation of the whole system. 82

Because of the force of criticism the Government was forced to cut down its expenditure on Ottupuras in 1915. 83 The Challenge was made in other aspects of social life also. Brahmin predominance was felt in various departments of administration especially Education. Appointments were demanded to be distributed evenly and impartially among non-Brahmins also. 84 Answering to the Director of Public Instruction M.N. Pillai submitted "— the percentage of Brahmins in service is disproportionately large and that the appointments made henceforth should be confined to non-Brahmins, in order to equalise the proportion of appointments. Most of the schools and colleges are manned by Brahmins. The Head masters are mostly Brahmins. So they can very easily win scholarships for them. 85"

Another important impact was the changes occurred in the interpersonal relationship. Ceremonial respect observed by Nairr to the Nambudiris and Brahmins changed completely. Many of those who were not directly under the influence or control of the Nambudiris began to rebel against them. Many were inclined to treat them with disrespect. 86 In those days the cry of warning and superiority was accepted as the order of the day and way of life, but later it began
to be questioned. And I remember a case when a Pulaya, who was engaged by a Syrian Christian farmer was thus stopped from his work for several hours by Brahmins who were on that day busying to attend some feast, the enraged Syrian Christian resenting this, it led to a free fighting among the villagers. The changed attitude was felt by the Brahmins also. Thus the sacred thread began to be an object more of contempt than reverence and people were even advised to discard the poonumool mania.

Communal ill-feeling

One of the reason why there was no communal ill-feeling was that, there was no social imbalance on a large scale either by conversion or economic change. And, if at all there were any converts they were kept secluded and the low caste converts stood where they were in social, political and economic status. However, things began to change with the emergence of the Protestant missionaries who wished to improve their 'harvest' both in quality and quantity. This essentially created a negative reaction among the socially privileged including the Syrian Christians who was a part of the exploiting minority for they understood that it would be difficult to keep the other section in subordination. But, the table was turned when the Christians, especially the Syrian Christians began to claim more from the Government on the basis of numerical strength. It raised an alarm among the Hindus and their fast receding strength in the society.
As far as the Ezhava community was concerned they had obvious grievances against the Nairs. They believed that Nairs stood in the way of their progress in various fields like education, the Government service and a host of other rights. Communal ill-feeling was aggravated by the claims for Government service during the 1920's.

The communal ill-feeling due to social imbalance even led to riots, in the adjoining Trichur in 1921. Changes in the social and economic imbalance was sufficient to create a full-fledged riot. The immediate cause was the arrest of some political leaders connected with the national movement. But, it was the 'manifestation of a deep rooted animosity' subsisting between the Nairs and other classes — animosity between the immemorial landed interest and the process of levelling up that was in operation. A slight provocation or rumour was sufficient to raise alarm in one or the other community.

The misunderstanding was so deep rooted that during Regency it was focussed on her Highness. The Nairs feared in their memorial submitted to the Viceroy that "affairs is far from satisfactory, if not positively dangerous to the interest of the state as a whole". The counter memorialists summarised, "some of the progressive measures, particularly the grant of equality of political rights to all classes of subjects of the state have caused resentment of a few among the privileged classes who found their extensive privileges slipping from their hands". Criticism were
characterised as 'vituperation, vulgarity and indecent abuses'. The main cause was the 'loaves and fishes' of the government service\textsuperscript{93}. But there was not any particular grouping.

Attitude of the socially privileged classes to the backward community is clearly brought out by the proceedings of the Unemployment Enquiry Committee, "Most of the witnesses have questioned the wisdom of this policy (the wisdom of educating the socially under privileged especially the depressed communities). They admit that its effect are at present negligible but they deplore its ultimate consequence. They fear that it will tend to unsettle the labour market and disturb the economic equilibrium of the society by creating a serious maladjustment in the supply of labour as between different occupations. Education, we were told, given to the children of these classes, created a false notion of themselves and engender in them contempt for their less fortunate fellows. They decline to take traditional callings of their fathers — "socially privileged feared 'the cult of shirt' would become an inexorable bar manual labour. They even criticised the sanctioning of full and half fee concession. "Our witnesses were strongly in favour of putting a break on the education of these classes and devising means to check their tendency to abandon traditional callings\textsuperscript{94}". The Committee agreed with the criticism. It is interesting to note that the Committee comprised C.V. Chandra Sekharan the President, I.C. Chacko — both official—, and K.P. Nilakanta Pillai,
T. Kumaram Pillai and M. Subramania Pillai (Non-official) all belonging to the socially privileged sections.

In the grouping and alliances for the fight of social equality Ezhavas, Christians and Muslims were to take the lead and the depressed classes were pushed back, a typical example of which was the controversy over the constitutional reform of 1932, and the nature of its leadership.

The already overcharged communal spirit became more explosive by the arrival of 'Sir C.P'. The Government of Travancore was criticised for anti-Christian policy. The communal search-light focussed on 'Sir C.P.' Allegations were manifold. But the British Resident found the allegations baseless. Some of the criticisms were labelled as 'irresponsible and malicious'. These were carried by the 'official organs' of each community.

Thus the politics of the period was born out of communal misunderstanding and was aptly remarked as 'mud slinging' politics. "Arguments on both sides tend to transgress the bounds of decency and fair criticism, and it is contrary to the fact to suggest that Christians are the sole and innocent victims of journalistic mud slinging campaign. Immoderate language seem to be the rule; and from such extracts as I have seen, the Christian campaign tends to be the more vulgar and vituperative of the two." The Government had their own claims and arguments.
Commenting on the rules of churches and cemeteries, after assessing the whole situation, the Resident said—rules are necessary and they must be fundamentally strict.\textsuperscript{100}

One of the unfortunate results was the decline of the close association of various communities in religious matters. The association which was once considered as reciprocal almost died out from the society\textsuperscript{101}.

**Impact on the Brahmin Community**

The daily activities of the Nambudiris were once crowded with many religious observances. In fact their life was characterised by such religious practices. But, under varied conditions many of them found it difficult to observe all set religious practices amidst their more urgent activities of earning a livelihood and maintaining a family\textsuperscript{102}. Thus, even among them there was a change of attitude towards religious institutions and funds hoarded in them. To carry out the recommendations of the Education Reforms Committee additional fund was necessary. The Committee suggested to divert the funds of Devaswom. Though some opposed the move, K.N. Kesavan Nambudiripad supported the diversion of money hoarded in temples, churches and mosques\textsuperscript{103}. His view was supported by many. Such change of concept had influence over the ideas of pollution. In one of their annual conferences in 1933, they passed a resolution for the temple entry of avarnas.
In the year 1932, 3 Brahmins applied for admission to medical college. In 1933, there were among others Brahmins one Surgeon, three Deputy Surgeon, Three Assistant Surgeon, ten sub-assistant Surgeon, and in subsequent years also they maintained the strength.

As economic pressure mounted many had to enter public life and were compelled to give up their aloofness and contented village life. Economic pressure and disintegration of tarwads forced them to prefer nucleus family and brought them on urge to earn the livelihood by their own effort and to keep the self-acquisition for them, their wife and children. This was more quickly effected by the changed pattern of marriage, by their unceremonious ejection from the scene of marital relationship of Kshatriyas, Ambalavasis, Samantas and Nairs. Factors like reformation movement for caste marriages, growth of modern education and corresponding lack of respect for Sanskrit and Vedic education also worked for it. Moreover, the Kshatriyas, Samantas and Nair women did not prefer to contract sambandham with a Nambudiris which they considered as outmoded. A well placed Nair was preferred to an impoverished and illiterate Nambudiri, a tendency created by economic compulsions, existence and survival.

Impact on Kshatriyas

The Kshatriya Act passed had its adverse effect on the Kshatriya community. Thus an amendment Bill was
introduced because they found partition provision as the most mischievous often leading to ruinous litigations and fragmentation of agricultural property and worked out the ruin of the 'ancient aaristocratic nobility of the land'. They found it difficult to 'adjust oneself to the sudden altered condition' — from the 'pure marumakkathayam joint family to a radical and individualistic condition of partition' as a 'sudden jump'. Almost similar situation was faced by the Nanjanad Vellalas.

Impact on the Nair Community

Even by the last two decades of the 19th century one can see a marked aversion of the educated Nairs to Sambandham alliances which some described as, 'your wives are concubines and your sons are bastards'. Still in remote villages it was desired 'more for the honour than for the gains' to be united with Nambudiris and other Brahmins through Sambandham. But within less than a quarter of a century, the younger generation of the English educated felt a relation without responsibility as an insult to self-respect. The concept of 'self-respect' materialised into a Bill. In course of the discussion of the Bill, to the objections of Brahmins for putting a premium on their nocturnal habit a councillor replied, "I admit that this state of affair is a great convenience to Potti's community. But this is more disgraceful to Nair and also an inconvenience to them. The Nairs allowed the system for a long time and we are not to allow it any
longer. My community will not for a moment more allow its women to be sacrificed for the convenience of Potty's community. It should be better for Potty's community to meet the requirements in some other way. It would not be compatible with self-respect and future well being of my community to allow Nair women to be wives of the males of Potty's community without the rights of inheritance. My community feels it degradatory that its females should accept the position of wives without a chance of inheriting the properties of their husbands. It is wounding the self-respect and we are resolved to see that the system terminated as quickly as possible. The Brahmans can by adopting social reform, introduce widow remarriage or post-puberty marriages. The Nairs feel it an insult to be told that they should not change their law simply because the present state of affair is advantageous to Brahmans. Thus, what was once considered convenient became inconvenient, respectable became disgrace and degradatory, and honourable became an insult. This resulted in an unceremonious eviction of Brahmin element from the marriage system of the Nair community. When the Nambudiri Bill was introduced once again Nairs had to remind them that 'paternity carries with it some responsibility. And the fact that the father happens to be a Nambudiri is nothing for him to exemption from ordinary obligation attached to paternity."

Thus, the change from matriarchal and matrilocal to patriarchal and patrilocal increased the bond between
the husband and wife, and educated and refined never considered to change loyalty from one person to another as was in the past. It gave a new concept of responsibility and conjugal duties. Caste marriages considerably helped for sub-caste fusion and close alliance. No social stigma was attached to them. Though inter-caste marriages was not common it was not disfavoured.

Once most of the cultivable land of the state was controlled by the Nair Community. So they remained one among the richest section. But the hopes of Nair Regulation misfired. Thousands of families were infected with 'partition fever' and it did havoc to the community. The social legislations placed the communities like Nairs, Velilas and Sreevats on the threshold of a new life, partition of tarwads on an individual basis has turned away many landless.

The following table illustrate the extension of partition among the three communities.
Particulars of Partition deeds executed by the Nairs, Ezhavas and Nanjanad Vellalas in the year 1926-1930.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Extent of each share</th>
<th>Nairs</th>
<th>Ezhavas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number of deeds registered</td>
<td>Total extend of land partitioned</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 cents and less</td>
<td>1218</td>
<td>591.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 - 10</td>
<td>1658</td>
<td>2039.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-25</td>
<td>5518</td>
<td>14604.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-50</td>
<td>7092</td>
<td>37251.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51-75</td>
<td>4771</td>
<td>32427.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76 - 1 acre</td>
<td>2890</td>
<td>25976.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 - 2</td>
<td>5490</td>
<td>74163.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 - 5</td>
<td>3215</td>
<td>76787.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 - 10</td>
<td>735</td>
<td>35916.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>over 100</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>34891.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>32903</td>
<td>33299.75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The extent of shares worked out from the above figures comes to 83 percent for Nairs, 39 for Ezhavas and 123 for Vellals. Among the Nairs 16 percent of land partitioned had been divided into individual shares of 50 cents or less, while the corresponding proportion among Ezhavas was 35 percent. The proportion of share up to one acre each was about 34 percent among Nairs and more than 60 percent among Ezhavas. The Census Report found that 56 percent of the land in case of the Nairs and 80 percent in case of Ezhavas had been divided in such a way that it did not provide for a fair means of subsistence to the share holders. This paved the way for a new land distribution both dry and wet land. The proportion of owners having wet land below one acre among Nairs was 62.0, Ezhavas 71.7 Depressed Class Hindus 77.4, Syrian Christians 49.6, Muslims 61.6 and the percentage of those who held land between one acre to ten acres among the Nairs were 35.7, Ezhavas 27.6, Depressed Classes Hindus 22.0, Syrian Christians 46.3, Muslims 35.8 and the percentage of those who held ten acres or above among the Nairs were 2.3, Ezhavas 0.7, Depressed Class Hindus 0.6, Syrian Christians 4.1 and Muslims 2.6. Thus, among Nairs and Muslims more than 60 percent of the owners had below one acre of wet land. The average area of dry land per owner among different communities was Brahmins 12.89, Nair 2.95, Ezhava 1.95, Depressed Class Hindus 1.43, Other Hindus 1.42, Syrian Christian 3.90, other Christians 2.29, Muslims 2.29 and the average area of dry land per earner worked out as Brahmins 7.70, Nair 2.31, Ezhava 0.89, Depressed Class Hindus 0.30, Other Hindus 0.67 Syrian Christians 2.64, Other Christians
0.79, Muslims 1.44. The figures shows the new
distribution of land system among various communities.
This also reduced considerably the number of rent receivers
of land in each community. By the uneconomic fragmentation
many were forced to dispose of the property.

The following table shows the extent of alienation
among the Nairs, Ezhavas, and Nanjand Vellalas with the
total number and value.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of District</th>
<th>Leases of the other kind</th>
<th>Nair</th>
<th>Ezhava</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trivandrum</td>
<td>4093</td>
<td>518431</td>
<td>887</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quilon</td>
<td>5232</td>
<td>5655995</td>
<td>1642</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kottayam</td>
<td>8065</td>
<td>794905</td>
<td>726</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>17390</td>
<td>1879331</td>
<td>3255</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vellala</th>
<th>Other kind</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Value</td>
<td>Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trivandrum</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>12384</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quilon</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>54396</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kottayam</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>41340</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>220120</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ref. The Statistics of Travancore, 15th issue 1933-34, p.124, table No. 74.

The above table shows the extent of alienation among the
Nairs, Ezhavas and Vellalas in various districts. It
clearly shows the Nairs were the loosers in the game. It
considerably weakened the economic condition of the community.
The community was taken aback. The Intensive Survey conducted by the Banking Enquiry Committee in the Vayakkalam muri, Trivandrum Talook found that of the 59 Nair families none of them had taken to small industrial pursuits and were comparatively in difficult circumstances, and barring a few Government servants, pensioners land owners, small house holders had to content with Rs. 50/- or Rs. 80/- per mensum.\textsuperscript{117} The sudden leap failed to carry many. These dropouts turned to the Government service disregarding agriculture\textsuperscript{118}. In the run for Government service they were challenged by their competitors. Tribulance and communal ill-feeling was inevitable results\textsuperscript{119}. The break down of the old social system, at any cost, did not mean the complete disintegration of the Nair community. The process of reconstruction was simultaneously undertaken to readjust the impact of legislation.

The Nair Community was advised by its leaders to discard false prestige and come up by their efforts\textsuperscript{120}. Such measures were often discussed in Nair Conferences. Those who got a decent share had greater stimulus to work and improve their lot. This, when coupled with educational improvement rippled the placid life of the village\textsuperscript{121}. The break up of the joint families increased mobility among them. It increased personal responsibility, strengthened character and acted as a powerful incentive to give up traditional ways to seek 'fresh woods and pastures anew'\textsuperscript{122}. 
The social legislation indirectly assisted for the development of industrial pursuits by those decent share holders. The legislation actually affected only those tenants which were already in a precarious condition and those depended on feudal land lords or temples where they worked as supervisors of their estates. The major impact, however, from the social point of view was that, once caste status and the extend of landed property owned by one determined the social status. With the decline of caste and landed claims, a new more or less professional class came into prominence. The new criterion of social status remained at the disposal of all irrespective of low or high origin.

The Nair Act (Amendment) Bill can be taken as a part of the reconstruction work. To put a check to the too pronounced evils and to give 'sufficient safeguards to check the too frequent division of property', as they felt "it is not advisable further to accelerate the disruption of the shares of the individual members of the family into still smaller units as a result of partition among all the sons and daughters".

Impact on the Christians

As a result of the impact of various factors the traditional way of life customs, manners and usages which tended conservatism began to fall into disuse and called for modification if not radical changes. By 1924, Fr. M.P. Peter, along with Fr. P.T. Gheeverghese, made it his special
mission to work among the depressed classes and founded a monastic order 'The Servants of the Cross'. It was founded with the object of improving the religious and social welfare of the poor depressed classes in Travancore, Cochin and Malabar. The Evangelical efforts of the Syrian Churches had the effect of integration of various sections. Some from the backward communities were ordained as ministers in the Anglican Church, and even serving in the congregation of the Syrian Predominance, though a few of them had so far been ordained in other Churches. There was no theoretical objection but their absence proves the evidence of old difficulties. The impact of social awakening had given a general tendency to rethink about such relation of religious fellowship and social fellowship in the Church. It is to be noted that the objection on the part of the Syrians to have common fellowship in worship had died out completely.

Another major impact of modern ideas and education was the changes in interdenominational relation especially those related to the followers of various Churches. An instance can be taken in the relaxation of old rigid laws regarding marriage. Thus it widened the outer limit to which a man or women could be married.

Economically and politically, though the Christians occupied a reasonable proportion of population, their claims were never reckoned by the administration. But when Christians availed of modern education and economic opportunities it had to be recognised.
Position of women also increased considerably in Church and society. They were given same rights and constitutional position in the Mar Thoma Church and some Protestant Mission. The introduction of an amendment Bill by K.K. Karuvilla proves the new trend of the community to protect the rights of women to paternal property.

**Impact on the social condition of women**

One of the most important impact of the interaction of various factors on the social status of women in Kerala was the popularisation of education among them from the beginning of the 20th century. Total number of girls under instruction in the year 1910 was 53377, constituting 24.4% of the total female population of the school going age, and 26 percent of the total pupils undergoing instruction. They were distributed in various stages of education like 52001 in elementary schools, 801 in secondary school, 563 in special schools and 12 in colleges. Their standard of instruction was much lower than that of the boys. The gradual increase in the number of school-going girls shows the popularity of female education. The number of girls schools increased from 311 to 323 and strength from 63366 to 73832 for the year 1913-14 and 1914-15. This include departmental, aided and unaided schools.

A major difficulty found in the education of females in higher grades was, the lack of desire for education among them, as a means for livelihood. The consequence
was that parents showed little sympathy and interest for the education of girls. But, official sources were well aware of the importance of female education. The Education Expenditure Committee commented about its importance, "The majority of the women of our country continue to labour under the darkness of ignorance and superstition; they are generally wedded to many unhallowed tradition and their unbending conservatism stand in the way of all social advance. --- we are strongly convinced that in their own interest and in the interest of the community at large, it is highly important that much larger proportion of our girls should receive secondary education with the change in other aspects of social life there was a change in the attitude of female education.

After the enactment of various social legislations, which were responsible for the disruption of joint families, there was a sudden leap in female education. In the year 1927-28, there were 503 girls schools with a total strength of 190951. The female students under instruction in the same year was distributed among vernacular schools 178817, English schools 10428, Special schools 1503 and colleges 203. During the next year 1928-29, there was an increase of 13 schools numbering 516, with a total strength of 203699. This showed an increase of 12748. In colleges the total strength increased by 35 students to a total of 238. In English Schools the strength increased to 11150, showing a variation of 722 and in vernacular schools the strength increased to 190786 showing
a variation of 1969 girls.\textsuperscript{128}

However, the increase of female students in the higher grades of English and Vernacular schools was comparatively poor. This was case in the college level also. In 1932-33 only 388 were in colleges, and in the next year 1933-34 the number decreased to 359.\textsuperscript{129}

An important aspect to be noted during this period regarding female education among different communities was that, it was the economically weaker section of each community which came forward to attain more education. This had been the case with the conservative sections like the Muslims\textsuperscript{130} and Nambudiris.\textsuperscript{131} It was due to the impact of new factors which contributed for the decline of the privileged classes who once enjoyed an easy going life. By 1943-44 there was considerable progress in female education. The number of girls in different stages of education in that year was 350142. The corresponding figure in the previous year was 331548. The total expenditure incurred by the Government for female education in 1943-44 for departmental school was Rs. 453880/- as against Rs. 309202/- in 1942-43.

The total number of girls under instruction in all institutions in 1945-46 was, Government schools 166518, private schools 234671. In the Government schools the strength was increased by 28937 and in private schools by 5194 from the previous year. Of the total students
in the Government schools 50391 were in English schools, 347550 were in Malayalam and Tamil Schools and 3248 in Special Schools. Taken according to grades in Malayalam and Tamil Schools the strength was 166118 and 82954 in the first two classes and there were only 258 and 1090 in class 8 and 9 respectively. In class 8 the fall in the number of students was due to the admission in English Schools after passing the 7th class. Of the total 946490 pupils under instruction in 1945-46, 401189 were girls. Thus, the percentage of female scholars to the female population of the state was 13.2 as against 12.5 in 1944-45. Of the total number of pupils attending the schools in the age group of 5-10, 261829 were girls.132

In 1945-46, of the 25 candidates who passed the post-graduate examination 9 were women, 77 out of 308 graduates, 2 out of 57 law graduates, 32 out of 85 teacher trainees and 267 out of 1165 matriculates.133 During the next year 1946-47, 4 out of 31 post-graduates, 74 out of 301 graduates, 1 out of 55 law graduates, 43 out of 105 teacher trainees and 1867 out of 6880 matriculates who passed the examination were women.134

Another important feature, besides the development of education was the attitude towards co-education. In the initial stage it was completely disfavoured. As education began to progress association of girls with boys in the primary schools was not disfavoured. In 1910, out of the 52000 girls studying in elementary schools, 34948 were attending boys schools.135 Although, 41 new
elementary schools were started for girls in 1908/1913-13 as many as 23475 girls or 42.5% of the total girls under instruction were attending boy's schools. In 1915, of the total 49 girls in colleges, were in the Maharajas College for boys. Co-education began to accepted as a fact. They were freely admitted in classes I and II and were allowed in classes III and IV, where there was no special school for girls. The Education Expenditure Committee disagreed with opening separate schools for boys and girls in the same locality, when the strength were insufficient for both the schools. Though the Director of Public Instruction disagreed, the Government was to continue co-education as the parents expressed no disagreement.

As co-education was officially allowed the number of girls and boys studying together began to increase steadily. Number of girls studying in English Schools for boys in 1918-19 were 1080. It increased to 2511 in 1921-22. In 1927-28 it strength was 5122. In Vernacular schools, girls studying in boys schools showed considerable increase. In the college level also those co-educated increased considerably. The progress was maintained in subsequent years also.

When the question of co-education came up for discussion in the Council, some favoured it saying "The education of men and women together will help them in keeping them at the same level of efficiency and in giving them the fair competition in the life that is to come."
Even in the attitude of the conservative Nambudiris had changed. K. N. Kesavan Nambudiripad, commented on the Statham Committee Report, "I am of opinion that co-education should be made compulsory in schools and colleges. We know that in which direction the wind is blowing in social matters. I am sure within a few years compassionate marriage also will become quite common and co-education will only help the parties in the selection of their mates." Muslim members also favoured it with certain reservations," That may be encouraged in elementary classes. But so far as high school education is concerned, compulsory co-education is objectionable. So far as collegiate education is concerned, since our women prefer to enter into all activities of men, they must be encouraged in that direction. The best way to do this is to have common colleges both for men and women. By the time they come to the age of 16 or 17, and are no more mere boys and girls they will be able to realise the responsibilities.

As collegiate education was meant to a great extent for service and culture, and for social purposes encouraging co-education was favoured. But, a Tamil member of the House voiced his concern over the efficiency of co-education. "It is the popular notion here that for the formation of proper character girls must be married, that before they grew into womanhood. Mixed schools therefore may not be quite desirable and safe for Travancore --- The evil that may result from such a proposal is greater than the possible benefit is anticipated. In Sree Mulam Assembly also various members supported co-education on the
basis of equality of treatment.

As more girls were attending the boy's schools and there was no objection from the parents, the Government decided to accept the recommendation of the Statham Committee. The natural sequence was that mixed schools should have mixed staff. The result of the decision was that girls studying in boy's school increased considerably. Some significant change was also noticeable among the Muslims. In 1935, distinction between primary schools for girls and boys were abolished and co-education was accepted as a matter of department policy. The recommendation for the appointment of women especially in the lower classes of primary schools were also accepted. Though co-education was not accepted as a policy in the higher grades of Vernacular and English Schools it was prevalent in such classes.

In the year 1933-34, 48.3 percent of girls under instruction — in English Schools were reading in boys schools and for Vernacular High and Middle Schools the figure was 42.6. In fact, in the middle school stage there were more girls in the boys schools than in the girls schools. For the next two years the increase was continuous and steady. This tendency was detrimental to the Vernacular Primary Schools for girls. By the 1930's there was no such school except a few for the Muslim girls. Even in those Muslim girls schools boys were admitted in primary classes.
However the Catholic Bishops were against co-education. But the Government opposed their demand on social and religious grounds. In their subsequent meeting with the Dewan, the Government had decided to leave the matter to the discretion of the parents.

Women and Government Service

As women attained more education many of them entered into various professions. It was in the Education Department that women got their first representation. The Unemployment Enquiry Committee found that in Trivandrum a lady graduates association had been formed to press for the recognition of women's claim to appointment in all departments of public service. A deputation of them waited on the Dewan, and the Government decided to throw open to qualified women certain appointments for which they were thereto not selected. They analysed the major cause of rush for employment among women. Those who turned up for education and employment belonged to the socially privileged sections, namely the Nairs and Christians. The pernicious custom of child marriage and early marriage were dying in those communities. The later age, the more difficult it became to find suitable husband, and the women graduates rarely succeded in getting married, with the consequence that they had to search for higher education like men. Mrs. Accamma Verkey noted that men, especially Christians were unwilling to marry those who had higher education and she suspected that it would have
been prompted by the fear in the fall of male domination. In fact it was the hope of getting a well placed husband and getting a remunerative job that induced most of the parents to send their daughters to higher education, it was said, 'a degree makes the daughter as valuable in the eyes of the parents as a son'. However, the Unemployment Enquiry Committee was unfair when they commented, "we do not wish to deprecate the enthusiasm shown for higher education but we cannot shut our eyes to the plain fact of the situation. A change in the attitude of the parents towards female education is urgently needed." On all occasions women pressed for the recognition of their claims. Mrs. Elizabeth Kuruvilla, while discussing the resolution moved by A.G. Menon in the Council in 1929, complained that a number of representation had been made to the Dewan by the educated women for equal chances in employment with men. She requested to give chances in the public service. She said sooner or later the Government would have to do it in changing the social order. "This is a fact to be recognised", she pointed out, "Women's contribution to public life is also a fact which we have to recognise and gratefully acknowledge, we have to understand and, I am sure the House understands and public recognises that women along with men, contribute to the improvement of the social progress of the country and unless they are given equal chances with men they cannot contribute to its success satisfactorily."
She emphasised the importance "Women should be given an equal chance with men to play their part in public service. If they are duly satisfied and if they are competent for the work they must be given that particular work. All of us are aware that women have a very integral part to play in ordinary public life of the country. Even if the motion is lost now, the same question will recur again and again unless women occupy the legitimate place this question is not going to be solved and the country will not be poor for it." 150.

Male members snubbed at the resolution that it would acute the unemployment among educated men, and doubted the efficacy of women going for employment and pointed their finger towards home as the best suited place for women's work. The male dominated House was not willing to show their decision and the resolution had to be withdrawn by leave on the basis of a small favourable assurance from the Government. In the same year (1929) another motion was moved by Mrs. Elizabeth Kuruvilla in the Council to represent the lack of women in the Registration Department. 151.

When the Public Service Recruitment Committee came to the question of the selection of women, they resolved according to the suggestion of a woman member not to make any special provision for their communal representation but the reservation of certain percentage of seats in the Government service. But a resolution moved for the
exclusion of married women was put to vote and declared lost. 152

When the Report of the Committee came up for the discussion of the House, fixing a particular and limited quota was described as unfair to women 153. Some others criticised the limitation of 3 seats out of every 32, because when taken into consideration of population women constituted half of the population. So it was claimed as 50 percent reservation alone was just 154.

As the question of women's employment became pressing the Government had to make a policy declaration. "For a long time now women have been employed in the Medical and Education Department. In recent years there has been a demand that qualified women should be employed in other departments as well --- I am glad to be able to say that something has to be done to redeem the pledge by the appointment of women as clerks and typists in the Anchal Departments, High Court etc. One might say quite in the fitness of things that this expansion of the scope of the women's work in the public service should come while the country is being ruled by Her Highness the Maharani." 155

When the question of the employment of women in Public Service cropped up in the Council, Mrs. Anna Chandy became more critical and eloquent, "This question deserves serious attention. The cry for employment of more women in the Government service is becoming louder and louder — once we are given some education as men that befits us,
for nothing but to be job hunters, it is but fit that we should go in for the same posts as men. The Government ought to lay down the policy of appointing women as much as men. It is not enough merely to say, "You got education and be satisfied with that," she continued, "Government should understand that we stand on the same footing as men, we do not want appointments as concessions, we want them as right. Even if there is some competitive examination for entering service we can challenge others and will enter service. Such a policy should be laid down. I remember the late Devan, "Do women want employment in the police and Military Department". I do not think anything stands in the way of women being employed there. These departments should not frighten them. It is only fit that they are given their just due. There should be a general policy declaring that qualified women should be employed in all departments."

The Education Reforms Committee found that the opinion of women were not in favour of a separate course for girls in higher education for the reason that it would handicap them at competitive examination when competing with men. Because many women considered education not in its cultural value but as a direct means for securing employment in the open job market. And when the question of employment of married women in schools was taken in the Assembly Mrs. Anna Chandy pleaded not to make girls schools into converts and nunneries and complained against
the enforced and perpetual spinsterhood for the sake of Government appointments.

On 1 November 1939 there were 15 women in the Registration Department. They were distributed according to various communities as one Sub-Registrar, three Head Clerks and five Clerks to the Nair Community, one Head Clerk and three clerks to the Ezhava Community, two Clerks to the Vilakkuthala Nairs, and one clerk each for Latin Catholic, Other Christian, Marthomite, Nadar Hindu and Pulaya. By 1940's, the Government organised the women's Police. But, women never felt any inhibition to wear the uniform and march in steps in the rank of ordinary constables. They were distributed according to various community as Nair I, Kammala I, Ezhava 5, Cheramar 1, Other Hindus 3. During the next year, their number increased by the addition of one Head Constable belonging to the Ezhava Community and with one Muslim lady in the rank of Constable. Demand was also raised by women in the Assembly for the appointment in the judiciary as judges and Honorary Magistrates of Village Panchayats and Bench Magistrate Courts.

Economic Condition of women

Intellectual, moral and social progress was pointed out as the pre-condition for the development of the society and that would be in proportion to the progress of women.

The Malayali, a journal in one of its editorial commented
that even if the social reformers make a strenuous effort there would not be any change unless the condition of women improve. There was also a marked change in the attitude of men towards the rightful claims of women.

The Christian Committee said regarding the payment of reasonable share to unmarried daughters. "Any community whose law is such as permanently places its orphaned and unmarried daughter's solely at the mercy of their brothers will never be capable of raising high in the social scale. A majority of the witness expressed the same view. This attitude was noticeable when other social legislations were discussed.

When the Nair Regulation of 1925 was introduced in the Legislative Council, Brahmin members stoutly opposed to give any retrospective effect to Section 22 of the Bill and moved an amendment for the same. But it was opposed by the Nairs that it was illegal, unfair and unjust. It was rejected on the ground of acceptance of certain privileges, "very much was said by way of fairness and natural justice, equality and reasonableness, but I say fairness and justice should not be the monopoly of one particular community as said. It should be extended to both ways". They became conscious of the rights of their women. "The world is changing and the women and children who might not have expected rights at the time when matrimonial alliance was entered into now find that it is not in consonance with justice and not in conformity with their desire that
they should be deprived of the whole of inheritance.\textsuperscript{162} The Nair members strongly argued for the right of their women. "Every proposal, however moderate to recognise the legitimate claims of the Nayar wife and children would have to be fought for.\textemdash The task lies before the House is to pull down fortifications one by one and secure the barest justice in favour of the wife and children\textemdash No doubt the term 'contract' has been generally applied to the relationship of those who enter into matrimonial relationship but marriage is more than a contract. It is a status the condition of which one regulated for and by those who enter it. It is not mere contract; it is an institution.\textsuperscript{164} The contention that inheritance was not in contemplation of the parties was rejected without any force as inheritance was a matter of obligation which the State had to impose for the well-being of the society. Another member alleged that, "He (the non-Nair husbands of the Nair ladies) makes an unaccountable distinction therefore with respect to the devolution of his property when he has children by his caste wife and when he has children by his Nair wife. In one case he sees clearly the force of obligation and he argues that his property should go down to his children. In the other case he says exempt me and my property from any obligation towards my children in the Nair community. So he is urging a right or is he claiming a privilege.\textsuperscript{165} "When women were more educated they themselves claimed for equality of treatment.
The suggestion for the withdrawal of fee concession to women came up before the Council. It was doubted as an attempt on the part of the Government to ward off women from the Government service and competition with men in other fields. Mrs. Anna Chandy lamented the attitude of the men, "This is certainly not the proper attitude on the part of the men of the land who repeatedly assure us that they really want to take women along with them in all social and political activities." She said it was to make themselves equal with men that they were claiming fee concession and when once equality was attained they would not raise any claim. K. Gopala Krishna Pillai, an another occasion, criticised that many people were trying to check the progress of women and backward communities, he doubted whether it was with the active Government support. People were not unwilling to pass legislation to protect the property right of women.

This changed attitude was noticeable towards the claims of a widow, instead of compelling her to lead an enforced pious life. Hence, the Hindu Inheritance (Amendment) Bill of 1935 and Hindu Women's Right to Property Bill of 1939 were removed. When many of the social legislations were taken there was mass demand from women to keep them in same footing as men. Old treatises regarding the worldly existence of women was deemed as inapplicable in the competitive world. G. Narayana Aiyar, speaking on the occasion commented, "There are days when women were regarded
as chattels and slaves. But those days are over. When that is the position, when they are prepared to come forward in all walks of life, to say that the widows should occupy the very old position perceived in the Smrithi's cannot any longer be maintained. My friend submitted that the widows should only lead a life of Vrithanushchanam, that they cannot take one meal a day and follow certain other direction. These commands are no longer valid. Our High Court and all Courts in British India have held that the status of the widow and of her husband and her reasonable wants are the guiding factors in fixing the rates of the maintenance to the widows.

Women as earning members

The small industrial establishments like lace and embroidery work started by the missionaries had tremendous influence over the adherents. Their original aim was the liberation of women from the slavish condition and to impart Christian education. In the beginning decades of the century, respectable women considered it beneath their dignity to work, as their home provided a comfortable haven. With the break up of the joint families and diffusion of education a change in the attitude of employment of women set in. The Census of 1931, found that out of the female population of 2530900 in the State, 360603 were returned as earners, 768167 as working dependents and 402130 as non-working dependents. If the females below the age of 10 and above 55 were excluded as incapable, the ratio of
workers and non-workers came as 707 and 293 per 1000 families, and taking all occupations together, one can see that the number of female workers had doubled since the Census of 1911. The total strength of female workers in 1931 was 1128770, working out an average of 383 out of 1000 population, which was in 1921 only 429.169. Taken according to certain important communities it was the Brahmans who showed the lowest proportion of female earners to 1000 male earners. Brahmans returned only 99, the Kamalas 116, Veilalas 214, Ezhavas 330, Nair 425, Vannan 4880, Valuthedan 544, Pulayan 651, Kuravan 658, Pallan 792. It shows that the lower the social status higher was the ratio of female earners except Nair and Ezhavas. The new status of women as wage earners helped some of them to cope with the impact of social legislation.

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Social legislation and women

Social legislation especially, the Nair Regulation of 1925 had affected the economic condition of many women adversely. In one of the Nair conference it was commented as painful and sad enough to view the social and economic backward condition of Nair women, "It is a pity that their women folk in Trivandrum were mostly Domestic servants and some were leading bad lives and the Nairs were exhorted to do something to ameliorate their condition. The mamakkathayam system always recognised the supremacy of women. She had as much right as any other male member of the tarwad and was therefore on equal footing. Because
of the backward economic condition the Census Commissioner of Travancore for the year 1941 made certain comments. The disruptive tendency was attempted to be checked by the Nair Act (Amendment) Bill of 1945. These economic condition had its impact on the marriage life of women.

The Nairs changed from matrilocal to partilocal system. It became common that the husband had to set up a separate family of his own. Till then women remained in their tarmad house. In the new situation she became the partner of her husband's house. On the part of the husband, he had new responsibilities of maintaining the wife and children. Marriage bonds were began to be considered with sanctity. Though divorce was allowed it was rarely resorted to. After the death of the husband wife lived with her children. In former tarmads she was sent back as soon as her husband expired. Such occasions were began to be considered in the opposite way. Economic independence and education gave them a say in the selection of their husbands. They even questioned the breach of marriage rules. Since passing the Ezhava Regulation, 53 cases were charged till 1939 for bigamy, of which 47 were acquitted.

By 1941, though polygamy was not prohibited by law or custom among the Muslims public opinion had discouraged the practice. Among the Hindus, polygamy was prohibited by law among the Nairs, Ezhavas, Vellalas, Nambudiris and Kshatriyas. Among the Tamil Brahmins, though not prohibited by law it was tabooed by public opinion, but a
minority married for a second time to continue the generation. Social and economic condition had changed considerably that non-compliance with the civilized notions of marital responsibilities was rather an exemption than the rule. Restrictions were also created by the legislation.

The traditional way of contracting Sambandham alliances were declared illegal, and enforced responsibility made such exogamous marriages less attractive. Because of the persistent agitation Nambudiris and Kshatriyas also had their legislation providing for caste marriages. The relaxing of the rules though passed to meet the economic pressure had its impact on their women. Existence of unmarried women and the polygamous system ceased to exist when the younger members began to marry within the community. Another major impact on the marriage system was the gradual decline of child marriage and prevalence of widow remarriage.

The Census of 1921 found that not even a single person of either sex was returned as married at the age of 5 or below. The proportion of married people had been declining every year in the school going age on account of the spread of education. In the constituent conference of the All India Women's Conference on Educational Reforms, held at Ernakulam on 17 November 1927, they resolved to recommend the Government to declare the marriage of girls below the age of 16 as illegal. The Cochin Constituent Conference extended its full support to Hari Singh Gour's Bill for raising the age of marriage of girls.
The Census of 1931 found child marriage as extremely rare in Travancore below the age of 10 years. But, usually girls were married between the age of 15 and 20. Early marriage was thus more prevalent among the Brahmins and the Syrian Christians. The proportion of females married at 13-14 age group to the total married at all ages among the Brahmins was 45.4 percent. Syrian Christians 44.3, Depressed Class Hindus 28.2, Muslims 24.0, Nairs 22.7 and Ezhavas 9.

Number of married per 1000 of each Sex in the main religious groups of different age periods.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age group</th>
<th>Hindu Male</th>
<th>Hindu Female</th>
<th>Christian Male</th>
<th>Christian Female</th>
<th>Muslim Male</th>
<th>Muslim Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0 - 5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 - 10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 - 15</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 - 20</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>576</td>
<td>226</td>
<td>619</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>607</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 - 40</td>
<td>684</td>
<td>818</td>
<td>776</td>
<td>867</td>
<td>688</td>
<td>851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 - 60</td>
<td>822</td>
<td>549</td>
<td>893</td>
<td>658</td>
<td>926</td>
<td>526</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 60</td>
<td>748</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>724</td>
<td>290</td>
<td>794</td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The above table shows that the Christians, especially the Syrian Christians were more inclined to early marriage than others, and consequently there were more married among
them. The wide variation between the marital condition of different castes was due to peculiar customs of different castes.

The Census of 1931 found child marriage not a serious problem. Out of the total female population, only 2484 were married at the age group of 5-10 which was distributed as among the Hindus 1362, Christians 942 and Muslims 172. Among the Hindus the highest percentage was found among the Brahmins and Kudumbis. It was more popular among the illiterates. But in case of those unmarried girls per thousand of females at the age group of 7 and 13 the population was 45 among Malayala Brahmins, 87 among the other Brahmins, 9 among the advanced Hindus, 7 among the intermediate Hindus and 11 among illiterate Hindus, 175, 17 among Syrian Christians, 7 among Other Christians and 18 among Muslims.

The Census of 1941 found that under ten years of age no child of either sex were neither married nor widowed, but between the age group of 10-15 there were 7 and 195 married males and females respectively with one widow and three divorced girls. High percentage of literacy, economic compulsion, cultural contact and legislation contributed for variation in the age of marriage. However, there were some attempts to bypass the legislation by seeking exemption.

Till August 1941, the number of applications received by the Government for exemption from the operation of the child marriage was 20. Out of which 11 were exempted on
the basis of previous arrangements made. Total number of persons exempted from the operations of the Child Marriage Restraint Act till July 1943 was 36. Till 1943, they received 95 applications for exemptions, and it was granted due to serious ailment of the parent or legal guardian. In 1945 also they received 33 applications for exemption from the Act and 11 were granted due to special circumstances. However decade after decade the mean age of marriage increased in Travancore. During the decade of 1941-51, it was 19.35 for females. The Census of 1931 found that widow remarriage was not very common in any of the religious group and the proportion of widows that remarried if at all, did not vary much. This happened especially among those who passed the middle age. Inspite of the legislative sanction widow remarriage remained as an exemption than a rule. Among the Brahmans social stigma had infact nullified the liberty given by law. Even among non-Brahmins a widow with children was not welcomed.

Increase in dowry rate

One of the unfortunate consequence of modern education was the ever increasing dowry rates. Some old consideration of the bride's qualities had gone out of vogue. The Christian Committee found that with the progress of time the tendency to attach undue importance to dowry became more conspicuous. "It is not rare to come across with instances where proposals of marriage have been broken off simply because the parties cannot agree as to the amount of dowry."

The parents of educated boys seems to be the worst sinners
in this respect. 'Market value' of the grooms increased in direct proportion to his education and financial condition. Their view was supported by the evidence of the witnesses also. When the Bill was taken before the House, they lamented that it was, 'one of the chief attractive feature in bringing the contracting parties together'. Consequence of this suicidal tendency was the virtual ruin of many families. The community was also well aware of the evil.

Dr. E. Poonnen, in his Presidential address to the second session of the Travancore and Cochin Christian Congress remarked that even though the dowry system had originated out of the good intentions the original concept had entirely lost sight of. 'The dowry that is now being demanded by the bridegroom is out of proportion to the value of the estates of the father or the share of his sons, if he has any. The measure of dowry is the merit or bargaining power of the bridegroom and not the means of the brides part— the amount of dowry sets the marriage. A girl however eligible has not the ghost of a chance of winning the husband unless a handsome dowry is paid — The marriage take the form of auction. If there is more than one party negotiating for a bridegroom, the latter is knocked down to the highest bidder. This is debasing.'

The Banking Enquiry Committee found the adverse consequence of the dowry among the Syrian Christians. Nine percent of the debt incurred by the Syrian Christians of
Kuravilanged was reported due to dowry\textsuperscript{187}. They were often advised to put a stop to the dubious practise\textsuperscript{188}.

The Census of 1931 noticed that among the Christians the number of unmarried females per thousand of the total was 876 in 1921 increased to 913 in 1931 between the age group of 10 - 15. This matter was referred while discussing the Anti-Dowry Bill in the Assembly. And many others complained that it had become a sort of commercial transaction determined by the glittering of coins\textsuperscript{189} with the features of profiteering and auctioning. This directly compelled many to seek higher education and employment in different parts\textsuperscript{190}. Legislative interference was made only very late by the Anti-Dowry Bill.

**Representation of women in literature**

One of the conspicuous impact was the attempt of the modern Malayalam literature, especially during the period under study, to improve the status of women in society. They were the object of lust in the old literature. But the modern poets like N. Kamaran Isan, Vallathol Narayana Menon and Ulloor S. Parameswara Aiyar gave them due importance and dignity in their literary creations.

**Women in Public life**

Women got their first representation in the Legislative Council through Dr. Mrs. Mary Poonmen Lukose in 1924 as the official member representing the Medical Department.
Subsequently also representations were made in the
Popular Assembly for a better representation in the political
bodies of the State. P.K. Mathew represented that rules
should be amended without further delay to remove disquali-
fications, especially when women attained a high standard
of education and were almost equally represented in the
public service. On various sessions of the representative
bodies, other women who got representation were Smt. P.
Maenakshi, Mrs. Kalpu, Mrs. Arna Chandy, Mrs. Valsalam Rose,
Mrs. Elizabeth Kuruvilla, Smt. T. Narayani Amba, Smt. Devaki
Anbarjanam, Smt. R. Ranganayagi, Mrs. Aberam Ganaskhomani
and Smt. T.V. Narayani. These members belonged to various
communities. They actively participated and took initiative
in many legislations which affected women.

In the Second All India Women's Conference on
Educational Reforms it was mostly the Christian women like
Dr. Mrs. Anna Thomas, Miss. Abraham, Mrs. Jesudasan, Mrs.
R. Thomas, Miss. Elizabeth George etc. Who represented the
Madras Presidency, Cochin, Malabar and Travancore. A good
number of women also actively participated in political
movements. In an organised basis they first participated
in the political movement to protest the lathi charge on
the Science College students. Girls of the college and
schools in the city gathered near the Trivandrum YWCA to
picket the car of the young Maharaja on his way to the
temple. Later Mrs. Elizabeth Kuruvilla, Mrs. Pandalam K.P.
Raman Pillai and Miss. Acammam Cheriyan successfully led
the State Congress agitation against 'Sir C.P.' Within
a span of few decades they had a sudden, quick and steady march from kitchen to stage.

Other general impact, changed attitude towards education

Impact of social movements and changes gave rise to a desire in many to come up in social status. Moreover economic compulsion and the competitive economy forced many to appreciate the economic value of modern education. By the 1930's cultural, economic and social value of it was appreciated by all. Everyone who could afford send their children to English Schools, and those who were unable to afford such higher fees sends their children to a Vernacular Middle School instead. These were the indications of a wide spread and pronounced impatience of illiteracy among the people of the state. This tendency got appreciation from outside the state also. This appreciable change was much visible among those related to agriculture. During the year 1944-45, 1945-46 variation among the students belonging various economic group were, tenant from 136058 to 159735, householders from 30786 to 33548, traders from 107585 to 121126, day labourers from 153740 to 183374. Among other groups, during the same period, like Government servants from 15845 to 15103, priests from 3492 to 4121, physicians and surgeons from 9500 to 9818, artisans from 18706 to 19407, domestic servants from 11510 to 14130, astrologers from 1322 to 1457, and others 30070 to 35148. But among the teachers of primary schools, lawyers, land lords, farm owners and journalists there was a slight decrease.
The same trend was noticeable in the urban and rural areas. The following table shows the extent of education in different centers of population.

Table showing the diffusion of education in the Municipal and non-municipal areas during the year 1121/1945-46.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institutions</th>
<th>Municipal area No. of insti</th>
<th>No. of pupils</th>
<th>Non-municipal area No. of insti</th>
<th>No. of pupils</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tutions</td>
<td></td>
<td>tutions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English School for boys</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>33239</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>54031</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English School for girls</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>9667</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4314</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>3929</td>
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<td>45051</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English Middle School for girls</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1476</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2352</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malayalam and Tamil High School for boys</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2659</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>1975</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malayalam and Tamil High School for girls</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>238</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malayalam and Tamil Middle School for boys</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>15911</td>
<td>352</td>
<td>152949</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malayalam and Tamil Middle School for girls</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>9798</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>28142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary Schools</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>54620</td>
<td>2546</td>
<td>516417</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Training School for men</td>
<td>13</td>
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<td>544</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Training School for women</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special Schools</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1137</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>7224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>378</td>
<td>133177</td>
<td>3331</td>
<td>813313</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ref: Education Section, File No. 1355/1947, Report of the Administration of the Education Department for the year 1122.
It was in the non-municipal areas that number of English High School for boys, English Middle School for boys and girls, Malayalam and Tamil High School for boys and girls, Malayalam and Tamil Middle School for boys and girls, primary Schools and Training Schools were located. But it shows an increase in strength only in English Middle Schools for boys and girls and Malayalam Middle Schools for boys and girls. An important aspect to be noted is that while urban population cared for the English education rural population gave much importance to vernacular education.

A decrease in the percentage of stagnation and wastage in schools was proportionate to increased appreciation of education. During the year 1942-1943, 1945-1946, in the first two class stagnation and wastage remained the same. In class III it came down from 22.7 to 21.9 and class IV from 19.6 to 18.0. But, the increased literary education without comparative industrial development led to unemployment in the State.

Unemployment

All sections of the State irrespective of caste and religion had to reap the consequences of unemployment. It began to be felt more by the beginning of the 1920s. Literary education was the chief factor responsible for it which had a tendency to take away boys and girls from agriculture and industry. It was said, "Social elevation is the ambition of all classes of the community and education has been welcomed as the readiest means of this end. In some
cases the elevation is taken to mean also change in occupation, as manual labour has become associated with 'coolie work' and professional work alone is dignified." Hence the education system came under bitter criticism.

"The system of education which we have been receiving is the parent of unemployment of which I am speaking", said, M.R. Madhava Varrier, "The fully educated or half educated of young men of this country look to public service or the legal services as the ideal of our scholastic labour. As the appointments are very much limited in number, back door influence, nepotism and communal consideration may play a large part in the recruitment of promotions." The pure literary education imparted in schools and colleges were not beneficial to the country but to bred discontent and disillusionment alone. Sympathetic was called for dealing. The education system was criticised as 'radically rotten' and 'out-of-date'. "It was devised half a century ago to manufacture clerks and employees to fill the subordinate services of the East India Company. It unfit the individual for the practical affairs in life. Its ideal is purely cultural." The education system was fundamentally wrong. It could flood the street with graduates and under-graduates running from office to office in search for a seat. A thorough overhauling of the system was called for to make the educated to earn their livelihood. Practical value of vernacular education also came under criticism on different occasions."
The Madras Mail, Published Mr and Mrs D.W. Doozwell's analysis of the situation and the cause of poverty and unemployment in the State. The chief causes they pointed out were over population and the consequent fall in physical and mental standard. Another cause of unemployment they found was the lack of interest of the owners of capital to invest for industrial purposes.

The Government also accepted that unemployment had got a new dimension and called for immediate action. But they failed to adopt any remedy. As the Government became aware of the gravity of the question they appointed the Unemployment Enquiry Committee to report on the situations. The Committee defined unemployment as "the failure of a number of young men and women of various educational qualifications to get the kind of work the earnings of which will fairly correspond to the efforts and sacrifices involved in acquiring those qualifications and to the standard of living customary in the grade of society to which they belong. That unemployment in this sense exists to a large extent is clearly established by the facts and figures which we have been able to gather." 201.

The main causes of unemployment they found were increase in population, change in the attitude towards modern education, more especially by the land owning class. This was supported by the fact that even from 1921 the proportion of population supported by agriculture had fallen considerably. The Census of 1921 showed a fall in the percentage of the proportion
of population supported by actual workers in from 43 to 48. Meanwhile increasing the dependents from 59 in 1911 to 64 in 1921. Disintegration of tarwads, urbanisation, desire of tenants for literary and quasi-literary occupations also aggravated the situation. This is proved by the percentage of increase of the number of pupils belonging to various sections of the middle class in English Schools and Colleges. During the years 1911 and 1926, the number of children of Government servants in the Arts College increased by 22.7, Professional College 23.7, English Schools 15.3, Vernacular Schools 4.3 and Special Schools 6.4. The agriculturists showed that the highest percentage which was 42.6 in Arts College, 43.4 in Professional College, 51.5 in English Schools, 53.3 in Vernacular Schools and 28.8 in Special Schools. Other professions like teachers, advocates, physicians, priests, temple servants, journalists, businessmen etc. showed a total percentage of 25.2 in Arts College, 20.2 in Professional College, 24.7 in English Schools, 45.1 in Vernacular Schools and 16.8 in Special Schools.

Another reason pointed out for unemployment was the lack of vocational education. The Committee commented that educational system became a 'cottage industry' and with the influx of more hands decrease in the vocational value of literary education.

Another reason was the claims of social equality and interest shown by the socially under privileged classes, who viewed Government service from the point of view of
emancipation, social and cultural set up was also partly responsible for creating an aversion to manual labour.

Manual labour was more or less associated with the low castes. The Committee criticised "under the caste system these indispensable producers of wealth are untouchables and unapproachables with what conviction can a teacher teach the dignity of manual labour when in the minds of his pupils and perhaps in his own mind, it is associated with those whose very very touch is pollution". They commented how the social system had been responsible for the development of unemployment, "-- while teachers attempts develop self-reliance and sense of responsibility in his pupils, traditional ideas of caste obligation and institution such as joint family encourage parasitism and unashamed dependence on relatives or friends. Those who denounce the western system of education in unmeasured language ought also remember that the defects which they noticed are not inherent in the system and are not by no means conspicuous in the west."

Another important cause was the negative effect of caste on the economy of the State. All the means of production were at the disposal of socially privileged castes. They were unwilling to invest them in the productive manner because of the false notion of superiority but they over crowded certain profession. On the other hand the socially under privileged classes did not have command over the factor of production but were willing to invest in productive units, and
in the meanwhile they were excluded from all honourable professions. The Committee remarked, "One instance here and one instance there of a Brahmins who has taken to weaving or dealing in dried fish or of a Pulaya boy in the College does not warrant us in saying that the barriers of caste are breaking down. In Travancore the growing suspicion and mistrust engendered by caste and communal prejudices is the bane not only of political life but of economic progress." 205.

The Census Report of 1931 found unemployment among all religious groups and castes. It was more among the Nairs and Christians 206. Taken according to age groups, unemployment was more among those belonging to the age of 20-24, and it decreased in the higher age groups.

Two committees appointed for educational reforms also recommended to make education more vocational. Still even in the 1940's the story remained tragic and the Government in tight corner. The British Resident critically observed, "Policy of less quality and more quantity in education --- with literacy reached the 50 percent mark for all Travancore (women 38%) the State would well to examine the practical wage earning nature of their higher education." 207. The State was spending a major portion of their revenue for the education of children, the Resident continued. "But close observation, forces an impression that although there is much literacy there is often a distressing lack of real practical education --- and even the well
schooled youths are prove to rest content with a Rs. 25/- job as a clerk or village school master. However, the Resident found that food shortage had driven many out of the state in search of employment and many to armed forces. He feared that 'their return would have a revolutionary effect'. Migration of Malayalis, in thousands to different parts of the world was so large that it was sufficient for an anti-agitation in Ceylon in 1936. The feeling was too strong that the Government of Ceylon thought of disbanding and repatriating them in thousands and Sir C.P. Ramaswamy Iyer was forced to take retaliatory enhancement of excise duty on Jaffana tobacco imported from Ceylon.

Intellectuals, in individualism and rationalism

One of the important impact of cultural education and imparting modern ideology was the development of intellectuals. Their individualism and rationalism led for an intellectual explosion. They questioned the establishment, caste, religion and parasitic domination. Their performance was through journalism. The foremost and the beginners were G. Parameswaran Pillai and Swadesabhimani Rama Krishna Pillai, popularly known as 'G.P.' and 'Swadesabhimani' respectively. Both of them were forced out of the State. They propagated their ideas with all courage and vigour. 'G.P.' besides his articles in newspapers, also published a series of spirited pamphlets, focussing his attention on the disabilities of the people of the state and he was the brain behind the Malayali
Memorial. He dumped the royal patronage of Brahmans' in the administrative helms. The cry of 'Travancore for Travancoreans' began to be louder ever since.

Rise of 'Swadesabhiman' was the beginning of independent journalism. He never bothered about whom he was writing. His criticism ranged from the indecent dress forced upon the Nair women during temple festivals to the duties of a dutiful housewife, Palace favouritism, administrative inefficiency and corruption to lecherous dalliance of the Dewan, literary criticism to communal unity, from the credulousness of an ascetic Swami Sadasvada to pestering of Balamani, a Tamil dancing girl. He did not even lift the suspicious death of a Palace servant girl from criticism. Whatever might have been the nature of his criticism, he could infuse new ideas.

The Swadesabhiman to a great extent brought to the mind of the Dewans their duties and responsibilities to the State and its people, at a time when none dared to speak against the Government officials. He put the new idea that the Government officials were the servants of the people, and the Maharaja a representative of the people, and hence the people had the right to criticise any of their policy. He narrated the duties of the ruler and the rights of the tax payers. His attitude could to a great extent remove the fear complex from the people but on the other hand it created a situation wherein anyone could say anything against anyone. He expected a stainless life in all those who were at the helm of state affairs. He believed his criticism
were within the boundaries and etiquette of independent journalism. He never accepted the Divine Theory of kingship and even the dedication of the State to Sree Pamanabha Swami. He said that the Maharaja was not ruling as the servant of the deity but as the representative of the people and argued that sovereignty remained with the people.215

Another impact of social change and progress was the development of a spirit of individualism. It became no longer possible to control the younger generation by their Karanavans as was in the past. Even expulsion from the tarwed house was not bothered to. Individual liberty was valued much even in religious matters.216 They questioned every sort of compulsion, injustice or oppression on the part of ruling elite. Defunct, degenerated and ruinous systems like polygamy, polyandry and social ceremonies came under criticism. These intellectual middle class participated with the movements and social conferences of other communities, irrespective of caste or religious feeling.

The natural consequence of the raise of intellectuals and individualism and the birth of rationalistic spirit among them. Even before the rationalist movement as such, there were many independent thinkers like M.C. Joseph, V.T. Bhattathiripad, Kuttipuzha Krishna Pillai, Dr.P.G. Antony, M.P. Varkey, Dr. C.L. Joseph, Dr. M.F. Thomas, K. Ramavarma Tampan, C.Krishnan, C.V. Kunju raman and K.P. Sankara Menon. They worked through the Mitavadi, Kerala Kaumudi and Sahodaran.
In 1925, the first conference of the rationalists was held at Alwaye. It was attended by M.C. Joseph, Kuttipuzhakrishna Pillai, K. Ramavarma Tampan, K. Aiyappan and Dr. Antony. Though poorly attended it could create an headache for the conservative elements. Their active work was started with the publication of Yukthivadi. Its publication was assisted by M.C. Joseph, Appan Thampuran, K. Aiyappan, C.V.Kunjuraman and C. Krishnan.

Sabodaran Aiyappan in one of his articles pointed out that religion was standing on the way of national unity. He said God was the creation of man's primitive conception. Because the idea of God varied considerably from one religion to another. He said blind belief could breed only the degeneration and not the progress of man. In one of his articles he condemned the inclination of certain politicians to mix ordinary affairs with God and religion. He denied the existence of God, but only as the creation of a poetic imagination. Kesari Balakrishna Pillai and M.P. Paul were other contemporary independent thinkers.

The rationalists could remove to a great extent the influence of conservatives and priestly class. The Ezhavas took the leadership for the creation of an independent community. E. Madhavan published the 'Swathantra Samudayam' questioning the degenerated condition of the commercialised and professional form of religion. Some of such publications were even banned by the Government. Sree Narayana Guru advised 'one caste' one God, one religion' but Sabodaran Aiyappan went to the extent of saying 'no caste, no God,
no religion'. Ironically 'the Guru' never opposed the rationalists.

Development of new ideas had a definite impact to change the attitude of the people towards religion and its associated institutions. With the progress of western ideas faith of the people also had undergone much change and they had not shown the same zeal like their forefathers in such matters. The result was that the religion, charity institutions and endowments were less cared for. Public opinion also turned against their perpetuation. A typical product of the new generation was 'Swadesabhiman'.

Emergence of Swami Sadananda raised suspicion in him, because he was against enslaving the mind of the people in religious matters. He felt the whole move was a betrayal and published an odd hundred questions to Swami Sadanada for answer. The questions clearly shows his critical attitude to blind faith.\textsuperscript{222} At the same time he showed much appreciation and reverence to Chattampi Swamikal and Sree Narayana Guru. Once when he was asked to swear in the court holding Ramayana, he replied he could not find any relative value in Ramayana than the erroneous calendar published by the Reddyar & Company. He was also against conducting propitiatory offerings to temples as it was a sort of bribe.\textsuperscript{223}

Often temples and its patrons came under criticism of the intellectuals. Vivekodayam claimed that the best temples of the state were managed by the money contributed
by the labour classes. It was nothing but disgust when they realized that it had degenerated as a means to snatch away what the poor had by some selfish and parasitic communities. Such views were entertained by a large section of people. In one of the Nair women's conference a banner was kept that 'we made temples but they undid us'. At the Cochin Nair conference Justice Changanachery Parameswaran Pillai advised the Nair community to limit their expenditure for costly offering to appease the God because it only resulted as a source of income for some others and the Nairs were asked to relieve themselves of the slavish mentality in religious matters. However, the speech of Changanachery Parameswaran Pillai was welcomed by the Unni Nambudiri.

During later period also criticism against religion began to mount. In the annual conference of the Kartigapally branch of the S.N.D.P. Yogam, Ramavarman Tampan exhorted that liberty might be given to choose the religion according to one's likes and dislikes. He commented that places of worship were only a source of income for the priestly class. At the Mariathuruthu branch of the S.N.D.P. Yogam, K.C. Kuttan of Shertallai condemned the Hinduism and requested that Ezhavas should mingle with depressed classes, shatter the improper piety and slavery even at the cost of great misery and death.

Ezhavas conducted Swathanthra Samudayam Darbar at different places. In one of such meeting held at Shertallay
K.R. Narayanan addressed, "The first thing we have to do is that we should discard rotten Hindus. So long as we are in the fold of Hinduism we should be chandals for ever --- Hinduism is beneficial to Caste Hindus. They alone derive any benefit and protection from it--- what we should do is to destroy that religion."

This changed socio-religious views had its impact in the existence and number of temples — they declined in thousands. Traditional ideas on animal sacrifice, hook swinging became out moded and had a natural death. Another objectionable custom was the singing of obscene songs in temples 'riot and drunkenness and debauchery in reciting obscene songs to please the lascivious goddess bringing to notice numerous petty thefts committed among the pilgrims', and sometimes in murder. The matter was brought before the Government and criticised them for adopting the laissez-faire attitude towards the billing gates in the name of Pooram festival. The 'United India and Native States' described it 'as sorts of voluptuous and obscene songs vulgar enough in all conscience', and that "not content with these performance the hooligans indulge in giving expression to ideas which are repulsive to all good tastes anddecorums besides tampering respectable persons occupying respectable position in life. We are told that such unbridled exercises are indulged that in the songs sung in the streets the names of persons of status and responsibility are dragged in and that scandalous references are made to them, and their public and private
doings. We put it Mr Krishnan Nair and the authorities in Travancore whether the scandalous state of affairs is to continue and that the authors of these outrageous against decency and public morals be allowed to take refuge in the flimsy and fertile plea of celebrating the religious festival ... 235. A few decades back what was tolerated had become 'repulsive to all good taste and decors', 'outrageous against decency and public morals'. It was, of course, the impact of new ideas of religion and public morals. Even the Government sponsored ceremonies were not spared from criticism for lavishness which benefited the Brahmans alone 236. But the Government remained scrupulous. During the investiture ceremony of the Maharaja, to please the conservatives and avoid any unseemly incidents 'England returned officials were required to abstain from entering the Padmanabha Swami temple 237'. But, subsequently the Maharaja himself broke the custom by undertaking a foreign tour.

It can fairly be said that, a generation back every Malayali began his daily routine only after paying homage to the temple. But later the practice was kept up only by a few 238. Though the temples remained the centers of religious activity its influence as a coercive force dwindled into insignificance and its associated institutions showed the natural decay. Socio-religious functions of the villages began to be observed in a holiday mood and became socio-cultural activities loosing its religious colour. Thus, the temples,
the source of traditional standard and influence vested in a handful of people began to decline. When once religion and temples declined position of Brahmins became undefended. As already seen there was a marked change among the people of feeling Brahmins. Theory of charity failed to convince anti-Brahmin feeling snowballed by various satyagraha movements. By 1930's there was a strong feeling against their alliance with non-Brahmin women. In an article criticising such alliance it was said that sensuous relation was nothing better than the association of animals. Privileges like exemption from capital punishment and certain taxes were commented as obstacles to social progress.

Change in the attitude of people towards religion and caste had its impact on the personal habits like distinguishing marks of caste. Through economic change and nationalistic influence a uniformity of apparel came into use and this had to a large extent democratized the society so much so that it became an impossible task to identify caste or community by their dress and hair dressing. It was brought into practice mostly by the younger generation and was particularly noticeable among women. Even the highest to the lowest caste discarded such distinguishing marks. The same attitude could be seen in respect of interdining also. No caste distinctions was observed in case of social ceremonies and functions, with the almost complete elimination of touch and distant pollution. The customs which demanded a bath in the temple tank and worshipping
in the temple with wet cloth became rare. However, among the Christians and Muslims usual days of weekly prayers were observed. The society had thus emerged to a more wider world from the comparative isolation and delightful simplicity of the remote villages. It was mostly achieved by legislations, administrative measures, fusion and regrouping of various communities. This largely contributed for the almost unopposed passing of a civil marriage Bill.

The Travancore Special Marriage and Succession Bill was the manifestation and summary of social changes and reforms that had taken place in the State. The Bill was first introduced in 1935. The object advocated by K. Kunju Krishna Pillai, was to give personal liberty by giving validity to those marriages which were once considered as illegitimate. He said the proposed Bill was welcomed by Kshatriyas, Nairs, Ezhavas, Nambudiris and other Brahmins. He further explained the object of the Bill with reference to Catholic objection that, 'if and when a Catholic goes out of his community and marries the Bill asks that the man should take responsibility for that and not go scot free'. He said, "When the society is advancing, the freedom of individual, the freedom in regard to marriages, will also have to expand to keep pace with the advancing needs of the society — we are all aware of the communal differences in the State. I feel confident that no other single measure will go to ameliorate the condition and a future when communities shall shake of their differences,
so much so as this Bill. The Bill will help them to shake of their differences created by artificial rules laid down by communities and castes and wield together as homogenous community". The opinion of R. Sambasiva Aiyar, a Tamil Brahmin and T. Narayani Amma, a woman member were that with education there had been a new orientation of ideas and ideals and a desire to break the fetters of the old social laws and customs which hampered the national progress. 245. "She said, "A Bill like this one before the House cannot therefore be said to be revolutionary or premature move" T.S. Jayanthan Mambudiri and K. Mohammed endorsed the concept of the Bill. Except a few Catholic members all others welcomed the Bill. In 1941, the Government took initiative to introduce a new civil marriage Bill. When it was introduced there came opposition from some sections of the Muslims to exclude them from its operation. The Bill intended to provide a form of marriage to persons who could not otherwise validly contract a marriage and whose marriage would otherwise be invalid. 246. Puthupally S. Krishna Pillai explained the scope, "We shall consider the next question as to whether a marriage between a Mahomedan and non-Mahomedan female will be valid and if so to what extent. The Mahomedan Law does not lay down that any such marriage will be void. A Mahomedan male can, under the Mahomedan Law, contract a valid marriage not only with a Mahomedan woman but also with a Jew or a Christian but not with idolaterous or fire worshippers. Such a marriage, however, was not valid but merely irregular 247. The whole question of Muslim objection centered round giving legal validity to those marriages contracted in violation of their religious texts.
The Dewan gave his explanation to the Bill and the reason of Muslim objection "--- if a Mahomedan, in flagrant dereliction of the dictates of Koran makes up his mind to marry a non-kithabi woman, or a Mahomedan girl makes up her mind to marry a non-Muslim then under the Bill it is open to them to contract a valid marriage by following the provision of this Bill. In other words, the form of marriage which in the Koran would be regarded as no better and no worse than concubinage would be legalized, if this was brought into operation and certain rights of inheritance can also follow in regard to the issue of such marriage. So far as I have been able to see and that is the only reasonable objection to this Bill — is whether this House will so enact a provision enabling Mahomedans to marry outside the tenets of Koran in such a manner as to legitimate which are not either recognised or sanctified by the Koran. Thus the real objection centered round the right to property of a non-Muslim wife of a Muslim.

Others who spoke on the Bill objected the amendment moved by P.S. Mahomed on the basis of public morality, social welfare and individual liberty. It was also claimed as the duty of the Government to interfere so as to protect the rights of innocent people. Kanikkara Padmanabha Pillai quoted P.S. Mahomed "--- if the girls is so foolish as to forget her tradition and self-respect, she only deserves to
suffer the consequence. This might appeal to vanity. But is poor humanity. A girl can be seduced under hundred circumstances —— Then turn round and say that because the poor ignorant girl forget her tradition and religion she must suffer, in scant humanity —— I asked P.S. Mahommed whether the Muslim religion would condemn more strongly a marriage between a Muslim and a non-Muslim. P.S. Mahommed told me, and I was astounded to hear that, it would condemn marriage strongly. He concluded his objection to amendment emphasising personal liberty. Opinion of representative members of various communities supported the Bill. They vehemently opposed the amendment for exemption. E. Subramaniya Aiyar commented that it was only a permissive legislation for those who wished. Kannathodathu Janardanan Nair opposed the amendment on the basis of individual liberty, morality and humanitarian consideration of the question. A member of the socially under privileged section spoke it was irrational to continue the caste and communal difference which were absolutely meaningless. He informed the House that 'blood should mix with blood'.

Object of the Bill was re-emphasised by the Dewan, "Inter-caste marriages are now more or less common, but such union does not confer any civil rights on the parties and their offsprings. The female is treated for the purpose of law as a concubine and the children illegitimate issues. This Bill provides that if the marriage is
conducted in accordance with its provision, the concubines become the wives and illegitimate issues become legitimate children. However, because of the Muslim opposition, the Government had decided to recommit the Bill.

When the Bill was recommitted, on behalf of the Muslim minorities P.S. Mahomed moved his amendment. But, Macra Pillai, another Muslim member of the House, remained highly critical of P.S. Mahomed. He said the proposed amendment was the product of male superiority giving much weight to them and argued against the amendment as illogical and unreasonable. C. Jabamony Nadar supported the principle of the Bill because "When people from two communities contract marriages of their own free will, it will tend to produce communal accord between two different communities. This Bill therefore aims at harmony, one must have a national outlook in social matters such as this." The Bill received wide support from the House.
Notes and References, Chapter IV


5. Education Section, File No. 599/1931, Petition from the depressed classes to the Dewan of Travancore.


8. Education Section, File No. 14/1920, Petition submitted by P. Sankara to Dewan of Travancore, dated of endorsement, E 656/1 March 1920.


16. Education Section, File No. 286/1921, petition submitted by Yesudian, Kalkulaam Talloko to the Dewan of Travancore, dated 28 November 1924; and Ibid., File No. 440/1923, Extracts from the petition of the members of the Keralaleeya Panar Community.


18. Education Section, File No. 148/1920, petition submitted by M.A. Ratnaswami, General Secretary, Travancore Sambavur Sangham to T. Raghaviah, Dewan of Travancore, dated Trivandrum, 20 October 1920.

19. Ibid., File No. 609/1923, an appeal by the Converted Christians.


21. Judicial Section, File No. 1461/1933, Confidential D.O. from M.P. Joseph, District Magistrate of Quilon to Dr. N. Kunjan Pillai, Chief Secretary, C.S. No. C 60/10, dated Quilon, 20 December 1934.


24. The Malayali, Quilon, 19 February 1921, Communal unrest in Shertally.


26. Ibid., Petition from 200 Christian inhabitants of the Ratnapuram to the British Resident, Travancore and Cochin, dated Ratnapuram, 7 October 1921.


31. K.A. Subramanian, Sahodaran Ayyappan, p. 188.

32. Ibid., pp. 163-164.

33. Ibid., p. 212.


36. P. Sankara Pillai, Democracy and Pattam Thanu Pillai, p. 11.


40. Ibid., pp. 184, 338-339.


42. A. Ayyappan, Social Revolution in Kerala Village, Bombay, 1965, p. 86.


44. Education Section, File No. 174/1912, Petition from Vattapura Stephen Yohannan and others of Changamachery to the Dewan of Travancore, dated 24 October 1912.

46. Education Section, File No. 1981/1943, Letter from K.R. Aliyappan Master, General Secretary, The Paravar Mahasabha, to the Chief Secretary, dated Muvattupuzha 12 November 1943.


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69. Ibid., Vol. 16, 23 July 1930, D.C. Joseph, P. 244.

70. Ibid., K.N. Kesavan Nambudiripad, p. 317.

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72. Ibid., Vol. 19, 6 August 1931, A. Thanu Pillai, p. 775.


74. Report of the Temple Entry Enquiry Committee, Travancore, pp. 77-78.

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82. The Indian Social Reformer, Madras, Vol. IX, 1 October 1899, p. 33, Col. 2.

83. Report of the Administration of Travancore for the year 1914-15, p. 71, Pr. 244.


85. Ibid., M.N. Pillai, p. 721-722.

86. P. Thomas, Hindu Religious Customs and Manners, Bombay p. 21.

87. Ibid., p. 21.


89. The Service, Tuesday, 24 June 1924, p. 2, Col. 1, article by Ramavarma Tampuran.


91. Foreign and Political, File No. 653, Confidential D.O. from the British Resident to the Government of Madras, No. 14/21, dated 25 June 1921; and, C. Achutha Menon, Saranayuda Edukal, Trivandrum, 1978, p. 64.


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114. Ibid., Vol.10, 28 April 1927, P.K. Narayana Pillai, p. 662.

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129. Ibid., File No. 546/1935.


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151. Ibid., Vol. 15, 9 August 1929, motion No. 157, Mrs. Elizabeth Kuruvilla.

152. Report of the Public Service Recruitment Committee, pp. 70-72, Pr. 120-126.


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