CHAPTER I

SOCIAL CHANGE AMONG THE SOCIALLY UNDER PRIVILEGED COMMUNITIES

It was through the efforts of the Protestant Missionaries that the backward communities got modern education and they admitted everyone in their institutions. The London Missionary Society concentrated in South Travancore and the Church Missionary Society in North Travancore. Often these Missionaries had to face opposition from the social superiors. In support of them the Government followed the policy of exclusion from the very beginning by opening separate schools. The Missionaries strongly opposed the idea of separate schools, and wanted to open general schools for better social intercourse. They accused the Government of inconsistency and of withholding from the lower castes those advantages of modern education.

The Government discussed the issue of opening the schools for the backward communities in their Administration Report for the year 1866-1867, "The low caste people are as yet not admitted to the schools because it is felt that their admission would be the signal for the desertion of high castes". Here the Government overemphasized the superstitious sentiments of a minority. The alternative they adopted was to open 'separate schools for the high and low castes' and they disagreed with the 'theoretical levellers' and completely trusted on the 'natural, steady and slow' operation of social
progress. Thus the Government initiated the policy of "systematic exclusion". But, some of the Government officers doubted the merit of this separation. N.Nanoo Pillai, the Southern Division Peishkar and a missionary product, wrote on admitting the Shanars to the Kulithurai School that, "any system (of education) short of such a principle is defective". The missionaries were confident that, "Education is thus spreading in remarkable degree — introducing an era of national enlightenment, progress and freedom".

The Policy of exclusion encouraged caste spirit.

"Hitherto caste has been little observed in the indigenous village schools, pupils of different castes have often mingled in one school, and teachers themselves are from the ranks of various castes and classes". The percentage of literacy returned in the Census of 1875 shows how the policy of exclusion affected such classes. The enlightened public was aware of the importance of education of backward communities at least in Vennacular. From 1868 onwards the Government offered some pecuniary help to the missionary schools for the backward communities. In 1890 there were 499 such schools connected with the Vennacular Department, teaching up to first and second standard. It was alleged, that the Government did not pay any attention, but to curb the strong hold of missionaries in the education field they introduced a new grant-in-aid code. For sanctioning grant to backward schools some requirements were prescribed in the code and the names of the communities
which the Government considered backward were also given.

The new found sympathy of the Government was received negatively by the missionaries because of the restriction conditions. They considered that it would be fatal to the interest of the backward communities. The Code showed a marked change in the attitude of the Government towards the missionary enterprise. To put it in the words of a missionary, "This help must be on the lines we lay down or else we do not require your service". The importance of the policy lies in the fact that the Government assumed the responsibility of education to all classes of people at a time when most of the schools remained closed to them. The Government were virtually putting obstacles before private effort and thereby closed their only alternative. Perhaps, the policy makers were concerned with the impact of education on the Nair community and they might have desired to put some restriction on those below them.

But, a new generation of Ezhava leaders, educated, polished and intelligent like any others were not in a mood to accept everything from the Grace of His Highness. Ezhavas, in a Memorial submitted to the Maharaja, on 3 September 1896, complained of the injustice. The Government in their endorsement washed their hands off the allegation, 'it has been the policy of His Highness Government to extend the benefit of education to all classes'. The responsibility for the injustice was attributed to the existence of the strong popular objections which made it difficult to provide
common schools. The Government continued, "Any attempt to force all classes into a common school must not only carry its own defeat but would involve, the risk of retrograding the progress of general education, if not doing permanent injury\textsuperscript{12}. The most interesting part of the answer was the claim that higher grades of the schools were opened to the backward communities but at the same time lower grades were kept closed fearing that it would drive away the socially privileged. It was left to the ingenuity of the Government how Elavas could enter higher grades without passing the lower. The suggested remedy was to open special schools. However, the Dewan found no injustice. He presented, later, to the enquiries of the British Government, based on a question in the House of Commons, a diametrically opposite condition of what actually existed, "In the second point of public instruction the Elavas can have no real ground for complaint. His Highness the Maharaja's English School College at Trivandrum, all the High Schools in the mofussil, many of the middle schools etc. are open to the Elava children in common with other sections of the people\textsuperscript{13}.

By the beginning of the 20th century, the Government took steps for the education of the backward classes. The scholarship scheme in existence\textsuperscript{14} was revised to train teachers for the primary schools of the backward communities\textsuperscript{15}.

The Government, in 1904, declared a new policy. "The Government have accepted the responsibility of imparting
primary education to all children in the State, irrespective of caste and creed\textsuperscript{16}, and they accepted to bear the entire cost of primary education both in rural and urban areas\textsuperscript{17}. Thus a full salary grant to 201 schools to an aggregate of Rs.17,124/- per mensum was granted and 20 new schools were opened. Subsequently in an educational conference held in 1905, certain suggestions of Rev. Arthur Parker were accepted. It was decided to enhance the grant where a majority belonged to such classes, lay down the minimum standard of accommodation, curricula, average monthly attendance, salary, grant, training of teachers and amount of stipend etc.

But conditions of the special schools were unsatisfactory. Teaching was not properly done and their admission in other schools were denied. Whenever their demand for admission became stronger the Government opened special schools\textsuperscript{18} and evaded the untouchability question.

When some converted Christians were admitted to the Neyyattinkara Vernacular School, caste Hindu students deserted the school and requested the Government to redress their grievances.\textsuperscript{19} The Inspector of Schools on preliminary enquiry found that their objections were only sentimental\textsuperscript{20}. Provocative and objectionably statements of Caste Hindus in their telegrams and petitions confirms this opinion\textsuperscript{21}. The Government instructed the separation of backward classes to another building. The Head master, a Tamil Brahmin notified them not to speak, touch or use the lane of Caste Hindu students and hours of assembling and dispersing were also made different.
The Government and its officers were unsympathetic to the backward class students. Caste Hindu teachers appointed in the special schools always sought transfer\textsuperscript{22}. Excuse of the lack of order from the Government for admitting backward community students was another method adopted for exclusion\textsuperscript{23}. Public opinion, expressed in the contemporary journals, criticised the Government\textsuperscript{24}. A missionary correctly assessed the situation, "— giving the Pulaya converts a separate school ought to be sufficient from the educational point of view but it is sadly wanting as an arrangement calculated to remove their social disabilities\textsuperscript{25}."

The separated students were accommodated in most cases in dilapidated sheds with little or no teaching, and teachers were unwilling to undertake their work properly. Moreover, separate schools were scarcely attended and quite often shifted to different places. Such schools had to face opposition from landlords who feared decrease in labour force.

By 1905, except Ezhavas none had any progress. The total number of backward class students under instruction were 5597. They were distributed as follows, Pulayas 2266, Parayas 2252, Valan 457, Kuravas 346, Kannis 220, Vedans 56\textsuperscript{26}. As and when more backward communities began to clamour for education, objections were stretched to all possible extents, such as contribution of Caste Hindus to the construction of the building, limited accommodation, precinct of pagodas and apprehended pollution and presence of special school in the locality. When the question of admission of Ezhavas in the
Thrikkodithanam Vernacular middle School came up, Caste Hindus strongly objected for the above reasons. The local Committee of the S.N.D. P. Yogam refuted the objection. They alleged a coalition of the conservative elements of the locality and the teachers of the school. In fact, the temple sited was nearly half a mile away from the school. The explanation of the Head master brings evidence to the Ezhava's allegation of the coalition of Caste Hindus and school authorities. Finally the Government decided to open only middle school classes for them.

The Government was deplored for excluding the Ezhavas and others from public schools. They, in 1908 ordered to open all schools in accessible places. A new dimension was added to the excuses — interpretation of the word 'inaccessible places'. It must be admitted that the Dewan P. Rajagopalachari was sympathetic to the backward communities.

Lack of order, fear of desertion were the excuses raised in the schools at Chennithala, Thrikkodithanam, Shertallay and Vycome. Construction of new buildings, opening separate schools and shifting the site of the school were the measures adopted.

In 1908, there were 51 such closed schools. In some cases admission was denied till the construction of a new building. Caste Hindus who contributed for the construction of the buildings of the school sometimes specified in the deed of transfer of ownership to the Government to admit only the children of the socially privileged. The school
authorities adhered to this and refused admission. Irrespective of the grant-in-aid to private schools, the managers were given the discretion to decide whether to admit them or not.

The administration also had its own role. In the case of Vettikkavala Government School, near Kottarakara, though according to usual standards it located out of the pollution distance and the Government order to admit them, it was not effected. The Inspector of Schools, on a complaint from the Ezhavas, reported to the Government that the school was located in the temple property. Other causes mentioned were the customary usages, apprehended communal disturbance, complaints from temple authorities, lack of accommodation and possible desertion of Caste Hindu girls. It becomes clear that it was the refusal of the Headmaster that led to the denial of chance to Ezhava children. The Government, however, decided to shift the school to an unobjectionable place. The first petition was dated 26 June 1905. The Government took the final decision on 2 August 1908. It took more than three years to decide the issue. Such objections as mentioned above were raised in the case of many other schools, and in many cases, seeing the objection completely lame, they opened the schools like Aymanam, Kunnathur, Vallicode, Ananthapuram, Thazhakudi, Pathanapuram, Sumur Vadakara, Aroor, Pattazhi, Kaipuzha etc.

Still, in 1908, 18 schools in the Southern Range and 24 schools in the Northern Range remained closed. Shifting the schools to an accessible locality and construction of new
buildings were the steps adopted. But in the case of the Thiruvarppu School, the authorities constructed a wall to separate the opened school and the local temple to keep the students away to avoid pollution. When called for further report of the closed schools the Inspectors gave their old excuses. In some cases admission was denied for taking the suffix 'amma' to the names of the Ezhava girls.

A memorial was submitted by the Ezhavas, signed by 64 members of the Popular Assembly. The line of agitation changed from that of request to the rights of the tax-payers. They claimed that the excuses for closing the schools were lame and that subordinate officers of the Government misinterpreted the rules. So that they could effectively exclude the Ezhavas and others.

In this struggle the Government washed their hands. The Dewan brought a new policy of a theoretical opening of all schools. When the issue came to the Assembly he replied, "All Government institutions are now opened to the members of the Ezhava community theoretically. Ezhava members, however, complain that in practice their children do not always get admission — as long as the schools are so situated, the exclusion must prevail. I do not justify the exclusion but the fact remains that schools are so situated as to debar Ezhava children — we will make it our policy to remove the schools to unobjectionable places. Secondly in regard to girls schools, the effect of putting Ezhava girls in them will probably be to empty the schools of the Caste girls. An experiment like that may produce serious results. We cannot jeopardise female
education like that. Government are however prepared to give favourable consideration to the application for grant for girls schools specially opened for Ezhava girls — If they are so backward and poor as not to be able to do that, we are prepared to open schools of our own for them — In regard to aided institutions Government leave the matter entirely to the managers and are not prepared to lay down any policy for them. It was this indefinite policy that actually created trouble. Fear of desertion was false. In the schools at Puthiakavu, Chettannur, Kottukkal, Kadakkavur, Thervalakkara etc., Ezhava and Caste Hindu girls studied together. What actually led to the trouble was the silent instigation given to the Caste Hindu by the Government. Their silence proved more effective than eloquence. Besides that, in some cases where the Government persisted in their decision to admit backward communities as in the schools at Puthenkavu, etc., Caste Hindu students returned after a few days absence. It may also be seen from the incident at Varkkala how far the Government was ready to deal with theoretical and practical opening.

Petitions and counter-petitions were submitted for opening the school at Varkkala. The petitioners alleged that the whole trouble cropped up due to the 'impeachable conduct of the Headmaster of the above school who is a jealous Nair of antiquitarian views and who has been the Headmaster of the school for the last 20 years.' The counter petitioners claimed that the site of the school once belonged to them and threatened the Government and Headmaster for the
responsibility of any apprehended loss of property and breach of law and order if the Government decided to admit Ezhavas without their permission. The first petition was submitted on 17 June 1905. After three years the Government took a negative decision and asked Ezhavas to wait till the construction of a new school building. Caste Hindus were not alone in this policy of hide and seek.

The Christians were equally sinners in putting obstacles to their admission in schools. In a school opened for the backward classes at Kuttoor, Tiruvella, the Christian teachers spread the news that the school was converted as a Caste Hindu School. Pulayas were removed from the role for 'irregular leaving'. When the Pulayas petitioned their names again appeared on the role. The Assistant Inspector after enquiry concluded, "I am led to believe that the teachers and the Christians who also observe pollution in these places must have had a hand in getting all these pupils removed and spreading a report that it was converted into a high caste school". For the same reason they raised objection in schools at Chennithala, Airur, Melukara, Kumarakom, Thodupuzha, Kottayam and Thykattucherry. The Director critically observed the "--- Christians should not be permitted to prejudicially affect the progress of education---".

The Education Code accepted that opening of special schools was a failure as they were stigmatised. The Code made no provision for special schools. He proposed to deal not according to their social backwardness but difficulties connected with locality, poverty and absence of educational
facilities. Rule 69 of the Code said, "no pupil shall be refused admission to any school on the ground that they belonged to any class or caste or religion. The Director, however, with the approval of the Government sanctioned in the case of any schools, or any class of schools, such restriction or restrictions on admission as he may consider reasonable". The rule appeared well but the second part of it was misinterpreted.

When two Ezhava girls were admitted to the Fort Girls School, at the instance of the European Inspectress, caste prejudice right from the Palace got stirred. The Dewan wrote "I take it therefore that the admission of the two Ezhava girls into the Fort School is one of the foolish attempts to advance the cause of that community." The Palace interfered, "I am commanded to inform that His Highness considers that it was highly improper on the part of the Inspectress of schools to have allowed the admission of Ezhava girls into the schools which is next door to His Highness Palace." This led to a new policy making.

"It should be clearly understood that only those Sirkar girls schools which are expressly declared thrown open to Ezhavas may be thrown open to them. Whenever the Director finds that any Sirkar Girls School not formally declared opened to Ezhavas may be thrown open to them he should make necessary recommendations to the Government." From behind this policy a list was prepared. Some schools already opened were again omitted from the list. School authorities insisted for new Government order to open those schools. This was a technical excuse.
In some of the Government schools like those at Parakay and Kalkulam vacation was so arranged as to avoid pollution during the annual festival season\textsuperscript{56}. But the position of those admitted were unsatisfactory. Hindu Pulaya pupils of Kidanganur, in Tiruvella Talook, complained of constant harassment from Caste Hindu boys and the burden of supplementing the teachers with domestic goods and free labour. These situations originated from the fear that "diffusion of knowledge among them would prejudicially affect the supply of field labourers\textsuperscript{57}".

In 1918 also the Government followed the policy of opening schools\textsuperscript{58}. Government school at Kumaranalloor was opened in 1920, but the Brahmins objected apprehending pollution to daily Poojas and Arat\textsuperscript{60}. Their plea was rejected as the school located more than 672' away from the temple.\textsuperscript{61}

Mounting pressure compelled the Director of Public Instruction to bring down the number of closed schools either by closing them completely or constructing new building at another site\textsuperscript{62}. The Government called for a joint report from the Dewan Peishkars and Inspectors of schools on the closed schools in their jurisdiction\textsuperscript{63}. The reports were unfavourable\textsuperscript{64}, and suggested for construction of new buildings, wall between the school and the objectionable place and closing the school gate near the objectionable place. The Director accepted the suggestions. In certain cases opinion of Devaswom authorities were called. Even in late 1925, they objected to opening the Mamkompuu School, "the school is so close to the temple that Pulaya and Paraya boys cannot
under any circumstance be admitted.  

Public vigilance always brought out the inconsistency of the policy. Vycombe road was thrown open on 23 November 1925. Still the school remained closed. When brought to the notice of the authorities by T.K. Madhavan it was opened.

In fact there were three stages of opening the educational institutions for the backward communities. They were theoretical, practical and actual. Even though all the schools were theoretically and practically opened, actual opening depended on the school authorities. The Education Reforms Committee criticised the Government for keeping many schools closed to the backward communities. They found a large number of schools in which attendance was entirely confined to pupils of the depressed classes and a large number of schools without a depressed class student in its roll at least once. They found the reasons for segregation to be caste feeling, location of the school in Caste Hindu locality and poverty. Though, most of the schools were opened to them, more than 75% of them attended the private schools. The Committee appreciated the desirability of all studying together and condemned the low standard of efficiency of separate schools—ill-organized, incomplete with low qualified teachers. They rightly remarked, "After a careful examination of the position in many local areas we feel that what is actually happening at present is that, in many areas there are comparatively good and complete schools for caste pupils to attend and along side of them incomplete and unsatisfactory schools for the depressed classes."

The answer is not far. It happened from the way in which the question was handled. Various representations in
the Legislative Council support the views of the Committee. But even in the subsequent period the Government found it convenient to follow the old policy.

A. Rachel, a converted Christian, appointed in the Vernacular Middle School for Girls at Neyyattinkara was later dismissed from the service for the reason that the school was opened only to Caste Hindus. The Director requested the Government either to open the school or to shift to another place or to close it.

Even in late 1933 there were 16 closed schools meant for Rajas and Nambudiriesses. The Director asked to charge the expense of those closed schools either from the Palace or Devaswom funds. Before temple entry there were ten such schools. As this was the situation of opening schools it is interesting to see the facilities offered to such classes by the Government during the same period.

P. Rajagopalachari became the Dewan of Travancore on 24 October 1907. N. Kumaran Asan approached him on 14 May 1908, on behalf of the S.N.D.P. Yogam for certain educational concessions. Though the percentage of their school going children was only 19, while it was 86 for Brahmins and 49 for Nairs, the Government concluded, "concessions of the nature now asked for was usually granted only to such classes as are not really backward in point of education, but as have not yet evinced any anxiety to better themselves. Hence the special treatment accorded to Mahomedans. Government consider that Ezhava community have passed beyond that stage
in which it needed the stimulus of special concession to it now is not called for. It is interesting to note the discrimination, when English education was free it was closed to them. Its benefits were reaped by Caste Hindus and Syrian Christians alone. Later, this concession was denied to the Ezhavas and others. Meanwhile a number of schools also remained closed to them. Among the backward communities, except the Ezhavas there was no significant change. But the Government shifted the blame to those backward classes, "those classes were, however, sometimes slow to take advantage of facilities offered." But when the Pulayas of Chelakompu, in Changanachery taluk, requested to open a school, they were given the answer that as there were other schools there was no need to open an additional school.

Even after repeated requests the Government sanctioned only half fee concession to the Pulayas. Meanwhile they had spent more than Rs. 7/- lakhs for charities to the Brahmins. In the Mavelikara Special School the Coast per student per year was Rs. 173 4/- while in an aided Higher Grade Vernacular School it was only Rs. 4.1/-. The Education Expenditure Committee criticised the Government for this inconsistency. It is to be remembered that in the meanwhile the Government had not sanctioned any concession to these castes like Parayas or Pulayas.

In 1915, the Government experimented with adult education through eight schools. Subsequently, other concession like supply of text books, fee remission were requested. Opening
of special schools were not favoured by any. The CMS Bishop of Travancore and Cochin complained against it as a retrograde policy. In 1917, they experimented with Rural Schools. Subsequently such schools became backward community schools. It was suspected as an attempt to wean away the low caste people. This view was confirmed by those who attended it, location near other Caste Hindu school and vocational training imparted in them. Later they were renamed as part-time schools.

It was only by 1919 that the Government granted half fee concession to some depressed classes. However, the financial assistance was meagre. For the year 1920-1921, altogether only Rs. 93/- was distributed among 31 students at an average of Rs.3/- per month among Pulayas, Parayas, Kurava and Thandan. In 1920, on Ayyan Kali's request the Government became sympathetic to agree to make arrangements for giving one Pulaya boy scholarship to study English. Total amount of stipend disbursed among the depressed classes during 1921-1922 was only Rs.184/- among 60 pupils.

The policy of educational concessions came for criticism. C.V. Kunjuraman complained of the discrimination to the Ezhavas. Later the Government decided to take ten percent in Vernacular and one in English as the criterion for backwardness for fee concession. Such allotments were meagre when compared to their backwardness and numerical strength. But, when Kandan Kumaran requested for certain educational concessions the Dewan answered, "We cannot carry English education to remote
villages of the State --- English education is no doubt costly, but Government cannot undertake to meet all the expenditure of years pupils in regard to such education. Vernacular education is more vital to the students of your community at present than English education --- As education spreads, the social and other disadvantages of the community will disappear. "Thus, because of such a policy progress achieved by those classes except the Ezhavas, were insignificant. 85

The Education Reform Committee found stagnation and wastage more among the backward classes. The total percentage of them reading in Vernacular Schools was only 33% of the children of the school going age. The following figures show the percentage of depressed classes in each of the five classes to the total number of pupils in five classes.

| Class I | 44.2 |
| Class II | 26.8 |
| Class III | 16.3 |
| Class IV | 9.1 |
| Class V | 3.2 |

It can be seen that 70% of the pupils were confined to the first two classes and out of every 100 who joined Class I, only 3 reached Class V. The corresponding figure for other communities were 86.

The following table shows how ineffective was the system considering the percentage of male and female literates of 7 years and over, of selected castes to their
Total male and female population.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Parayas</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pulayas</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kurayas</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pallan</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It may be noted that the comparative figure for the Nair community was 61.8 and 29. The Committee criticised the Government for not giving any effective supervision or proper encouragement.

Progress made by the backward communities in various grades of education was unsatisfactory. Distribution of backward communities in the College was very poor.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Caste</th>
<th>Science College</th>
<th>Arts College</th>
<th>Women's College</th>
<th>Training College</th>
<th>Sanskrit College</th>
<th>Private College</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ezhavas</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kammalas</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nadar</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The total number of depressed class pupils under instruction in English and Vernacular schools during 1934 was 25,271, of these 17,359 were boys and 7,921 were girls. Of those 23,903 who were in Vernacular schools. An analysis of this will give the poor condition of their education.
The following table shows the distribution of boys and girls in Vernacular Schools in 1934.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>6009</td>
<td>3540</td>
<td>9549</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>4200</td>
<td>1961</td>
<td>6161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>2826</td>
<td>1157</td>
<td>3983</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>1730</td>
<td>659</td>
<td>2389</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>623</td>
<td>207</td>
<td>830</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>422</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>544</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>313</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>441</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The figures show the unsatisfactory condition. The stage among them was extremely high and very few completed the primary stage and still fewer completed the middle school stage. Taking the total strength of the depressed class pupils from class I to VII, 80.7% of them were confined to classes I to III. The corresponding figure for girls was 85.6%. It can be seen that the number of boys in class IV represents only 10.6 of the total strength of class I to VII. In classes VIII and IX there were only 6 pupils. In this connection it may be remembered that the fee concession was not extended to the Vernacular High Schools.

The total number of the backward communities reading in English Schools in 1109 was 1368, of these 1230 were boys and 138 were girls. These figures show the extreme backwardness in English education. The Government noted, "the endeavours
which are being made to prevent wastage and stagnation among the depressed classes in primary schools are not successful, it may be expected that in future, with the continuance of large concession, the number of depressed class pupils in English schools will steadily increase".

The following table shows the classwar strength of depressed classes boys and girls in English schools during the year 1934.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Preparatory</td>
<td>491</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>561</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Form I</td>
<td>222</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Form II</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Form III</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Form IV</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Form V</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Form VI</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1230</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>1368</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It can be seen that only two girls were reading at the high school stage, and only two of them were reading in college classes, Maharajas College and Training College. Administration Report concluded that only those communities classified as backward in English education alone made some advances. In subsequent year 1935 also there was not much progress and the figures remained more or less the same.
The following table shows some of the communities classified as backward in vernacular Education and the total strength of boys and girls in classes I to IX during 1935.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Caste</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Valan</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thandan</td>
<td>2160</td>
<td>1256</td>
<td>3418</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mannan</td>
<td>854</td>
<td>486</td>
<td>1340</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marakkan</td>
<td>4526</td>
<td>2159</td>
<td>6685</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sakkilian</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kusavan</td>
<td>599</td>
<td>224</td>
<td>823</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panan</td>
<td>280</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>422</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Veerasaivan</td>
<td>1414</td>
<td>746</td>
<td>2160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pulaya</td>
<td>11262</td>
<td>5508</td>
<td>16770</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paraya</td>
<td>3813</td>
<td>1701</td>
<td>5574</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kurava</td>
<td>2454</td>
<td>606</td>
<td>3066</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pallan</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Even allowing that the total population of these communities were not very large educational progress attained remained unsatisfactory. Among them only 8 were in college. Total number of Ezhavas under instruction increased to 11704 in 1925, of them 194 were in colleges, including 21 in Women's College and 4779 in English Schools.

The Government knew that stagnation and wastage was due to lack of facilities. In 1935, a new classification of communities was effected for fee concession in English and Vernacular Schools. The list included many of the backward communities. Because of untouchability the Government denied some other facilities to the backward communities.
Hostels attached to various colleges were closed to the low castes students. The issue was raised as early as 1915 by T.K. Venu Pillai in the Popular Assembly.\(^91\) Again in 1920 it was brought by T.K. Madhavan. The Education Expenditure Committee found such hostels were exclusively maintained for the Caste Hindus at the expense of the public fund. The Government raised the excuses of lack of separate kitchen, accommodation and unwillingness of the owner of the building to open it to backward communities. The issue came before the representative bodies on many occasions. Most of the members favoured opening those hostels.

Progress of education of the backward communities during the post-temple entry period.

Importance of the education of the backward communities was discussed on many occasions. The Government was criticized that too much was wasted on higher education which was largely occupied by the socially privileged sections. According to the new scheme, fee concession was extended to all communities which were economically and educationally backward. During the post-temple entry period the Government adopted a number of measures like free supply of text books, cloths, slates, residential quarters, fee concession, remission of examination fees etc.

The following table shows the progress of education among the backward communities in Malayalam and Tamil Schools during the year in 1946.\(^92\)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>19568</td>
<td>11354</td>
<td>30922</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>13268</td>
<td>7372</td>
<td>20640</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>9957</td>
<td>5167</td>
<td>1524</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>7870</td>
<td>3526</td>
<td>11396</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>2663</td>
<td>1024</td>
<td>3687</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>1459</td>
<td>558</td>
<td>2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>1064</td>
<td>333</td>
<td>1397</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>56017</td>
<td>29404</td>
<td>85421</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The total number of children of some backward communities studying in Malayalam and Tamil Schools, from class I to IX, during the year 1946 is furnished below.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Caste</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pulaya (including Cherumar Aiyanavar, Vattuvan etc.)</td>
<td>12026</td>
<td>6892</td>
<td>6616</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paravar (Panchama, Sambavar, Valluvan etc.)</td>
<td>4054</td>
<td>2562</td>
<td>6616</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuravan</td>
<td>2938</td>
<td>1309</td>
<td>4247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pallan</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hill Tribes</td>
<td>1301</td>
<td>689</td>
<td>1990</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valan</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pathiyar</td>
<td>996</td>
<td>671</td>
<td>1637</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thandavan</td>
<td>2776</td>
<td>1642</td>
<td>4418</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marakkan (Chavalakkan, Mukkuvan, Arayan Bharathan etc.)</td>
<td>454</td>
<td>3014</td>
<td>7555</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community</td>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kusavan</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panan</td>
<td>638</td>
<td>344</td>
<td>982</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Veera Saiva</td>
<td>1783</td>
<td>1033</td>
<td>2816</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Pandaram etc.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>208</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>314</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>56017</td>
<td>29404</td>
<td>85412</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following table furnishes the details of the number of Boys and Girls belonging to backward communities studying in English Schools during the year 1946.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Preparatory</td>
<td>5073</td>
<td>2209</td>
<td>7282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Form I</td>
<td>5264</td>
<td>2066</td>
<td>7330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Form II</td>
<td>4118</td>
<td>1563</td>
<td>5681</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Form III</td>
<td>2855</td>
<td>1011</td>
<td>3866</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Form IV</td>
<td>1886</td>
<td>576</td>
<td>2465</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Form V</td>
<td>1294</td>
<td>379</td>
<td>1673</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Form VI</td>
<td>1066</td>
<td>348</td>
<td>1415</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>21559</td>
<td>8160</td>
<td>29719</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total number of boys and girls of various backward communities in English Schools from Preparatory to VI during 1946 is given below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Castes</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pulaya (Cherumar, Aiyamavar, Vettuvan)</td>
<td>921</td>
<td>246</td>
<td>1167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paraya (Panchama, Sambavar)</td>
<td>353</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>433</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuravan</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tribe</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pallan</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valluvan</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hill Tribes</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valan</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thandan</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mannan (including Pathiyam)</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marakan</td>
<td>199</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pulluvan</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sakkilian</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuravon</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panan</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Veerasiva</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cherumar</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barber</td>
<td>244</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>328</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaniyan</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maravan</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paravan</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Velan</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kammala</td>
<td>1634</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>2074</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Veluthedan</td>
<td>256</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>340</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kudumi</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ezhavaa</td>
<td>10709</td>
<td>5395</td>
<td>16104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Channan</td>
<td>1231</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>1501</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vanian</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaluppan</td>
<td>251</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>298</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pettunoolkar</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ezhavattii</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathalali</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>21559</td>
<td>8160</td>
<td>29719</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The backward communities were subjected to innumerable customs questioning their sense of honour. One of such custom was the traditional prohibition of covering the upper part of the body. Christian influence and modern education induced many Shanar women to dress according to decency. The Government and Caste Hindus interfered. T. Madhava Rao, the Dewan of Travancore wanted such proceedings to be put down and cautioned against 'any tendency to cause disturbance of any kind'. The Government took shelter behind long standing customs and usages. Officially, the trouble occurred when the Shanar women attempted 'to deviate from the long standing usage' by wearing coloured dress and vests like those of the Brahmin and Vellala women. The Shanars petitioned to the Resident of ill-treatment and abduction against the Agasteeswaran Tahsildar. But the Government felt that it was the attempt of the Shanars to evade the customary duties. The new Proclamation issued in the context was decidedly against social progress. It warned 'any conduct in violation of old usages is not proper and is punishable. This the Shanars should bear in mind and shape their conduct accordingly'. Lt. General Cullen, the British Resident sided with the Government. Caste Hindus resorted to violence. In many places like Balaramapuram and Meyyattinkara upper cloths of women were torn and hung up in trees. The Madras Government took the issue from the point of view of 'truth and justice' and in the feeling of humanity. Finally the Maharaja agreed to withdraw the dress
restriction and allowed them to dress in any way they deemed proper. On the above line a new Proclamation was issued in 1859. The underlying fact of the crisis was 'the growing intelligence, wealth and influence of Shanars ---, had much to do in causing the present irritated and excited state of Sudras here than wearing of upper cloth by their females. Incidents of violence proves it that Caste Hindus were particular in burning down the houses of wealthy Shanars. Later, in 1865, through another Proclamation the Maharaja unconditionally removed all restrictions on the dress of women.

Restrictions on the use of public road was there. It was also made applicable to Missionaries. Such a case came up in 1868 against Rev. W. Lee, a LMS Missionary stationed in South Travancore. The Government sided with the Brahmans and their usual justifications. The Resident adhered to the principle that public roads were not the property of any caste or religion, but everyone had full right to use them. He called for further report from the Dewan on the civic disabilities of the backward communities. The Quilon Dewan Peishkar reported of a much improved condition. The Dewan Peishkars of Kottayam and Trivandrum reported of slave transaction even after the emancipation Proclamation. In 1870, the Government issued a circular opening all roads in the State. Still the socially under privileged classes suffered a lot from the feudalistic bureaucracy.

Though many of the oppressive taxes were formally abolished, they were continued to be levied under one
pretext or the other. Right to property was denied to the depressed classes. This led to a lot of oppression and made them completely dependent on the higher castes. The magnitude of the oppression can be seen from the confusion created by the Census enumeration in 1873.

The British officers in Travancore had clear idea about the way of improvement of the condition of such classes. The Resident found that obstacles were created by the interested parties. He suggested first to eliminate untouchability from public places and public offices by an executive step, do away with the separate institutions and employment of backward communities in public service. The Madras Government endorsed the view.

The Government of Travancore had taken a forward step by issuing a circular opening all public places in Travancore. Thus, theoretically they had opened all public places. But in practice many remained closed due to the proximity of temple, palace, tank, Brahmin street, breach of peace, public opinion, religious sentiments, age old customs and a lot of other excuses. The Government policy was to evade the question of untouchability. This was proved, for instance, by the construction of a bridge at Kayankulam, far away from the local temple for the exclusive use of backward communities. Days of Murajapam were a period of the breach of basic rights of citizenship. Instructions were promptly issued prohibiting such communities from using public roads. The Government was imitated in dealing the untouchability problem by some of their officers.
Disregarding the circular of 1884, even the converted Christians were not allowed to enter public courts. Rev. C.F. Painter, a CMS Missionary, complained of this to the Resident to take necessary action. At Navelikara, the Court was held for them in a separate shed known as 'Pulaya Cutchery'. At other places like Changanacherry, Ettumanoor this was practised. When a report was called for by the Resident the allegations were found true.

By the last decade of the 19th century backward communities began to protest against such proceedings. The Ancient Dravidian Caste People of South Travancore, in a memorial to the Maharaja in 1892, drew his attention to the social discrimination. This trend was visible in other communities like Ezhavas etc. Much criticism came from the leaders of the English educated middle class and many of these leaders had experiences of untouchability in their childhood. This resulted in the formation of a new social concept among them. By the beginning of the 20th century events began to take a different turn.

Sree Narayana Dharma Paripalana Yogam was organised under the leadership of Sree Narayana Guru. The Ezhavas began to progress tremendously under the S.N.D.P. Yogam. In their second annual conference an exhibition was conducted at Quilon. It was a great success. This irritated the socially privileged classes. Subsequently, violence broke out on the pretext of admission of Ezhavas in the Harippad Government School. The feud between the Nairs and Ezhavas spread to Quilon and its neighbouring places. The underlying
cause of the trouble was correctly observed by a missionary, "old antagonisms are not obliterated in a day, long years of ascendancy produce a desire to maintain that ascendancy. Long years of hardships produce discontent and suspicion that linger on after the hardship ceases to exist. Newly found liberty is not always wisely used. Hence, when the higher and the lower status were brought together on a common ground, considerable friction is likely to ensue\textsuperscript{121}. Similar points were raised by the Ezhavas in their complaints. Hence, it can be seen that the real cause was the rise of one submerged community. Violence like forcible removal of upper cloth of Ezhava men and women, folding umbrellas, beating up or insulting school going Ezhava children\textsuperscript{122} gives confirmation to the above conclusion. Till a few years ago such usages were prohibited to them. In the course of the riot, 'Sujanandini', a prestigious Ezhava newspaper published from Quilon was burnt down\textsuperscript{123}. Subsequent decades also produced much friction between the 'desire to maintain ascendancy' and the desire to gain rights of citizenship.

Roads near temples, Brahmins streets and serpent groves had sign boards to warn Ezhavas and other backward communities. Muvattupuzha Tahsildar submitted to the Government to place such a board near Ramanangalam temple. The Government desisted from taking a decision in the controversy\textsuperscript{124}. At another road in Quilon Division, the backward communities were prohibited from using it. The District Magistrate issued prohibitory orders under section 127 of Cr.P.C. on 14 August 1908\textsuperscript{125}. 
The Government confirmed the decision. The High Court and the Law Department approved the proceedings. Old excuses were raised against the 'Panchamara' by the Caste Hindus. Finally, the Government decided against the Ezhavas. Civic rights were often threatened by those in Government service. A village lane near Varkkala temple was referred for closing by the Dewan Peishkar on the interpretation of the term 'Rajaveethis' and 'Gramaveethis' (VTLR P.93). The District Magistrate, a progressive minded Nair, disagreed with the suggestion. In many public roads, notice boards were kept prohibiting 'Ezhavas and other backward communities'. The term other backward communities was twisted according to the fancy of the officials. Such a controversy came up over a road near the Thirunakkara temple in Kottayam. As backward communities became impatient of such proceedings they sometimes used force to establish their rights.

Attempt of the Pulayas of Quilon to remove some of their old habits resulted in a Nair-Pulaya riot. The Nairs objected to the proceedings of the Pulayas. The riot which ensued was the third major Nair-Pulaya riot in the State. But the Government under the Dewanship of M.Krishnan Nair was unwilling to interfere in the social matters which infringed the civic rights. When it was suggested to him to put certain notice boards, he commented "I am extremely unwilling, if I can help it, to put up fresh notice and thereby cause immense trouble to Government. Cannot we manage without notice boards?".
The Syrian Christians and Muslims also had their share in preventing civic rights. They prevented the Ezhavas from taking the portrait of Sree Narayana Guru through the Alleppy town. Prohibitory orders were issued under section 127 of Cr.P.C. on 10 April 1917. The order was confirmed by the Government. Later, the Ezhavas raised the issue in the press and Assembly.

When the untouchability question was raised in the Assembly by T.K. Madhavan the Dewan replied, "one man or even a Government for that matter will not succeed in bringing about the change desired by you". On temple entry the whole judiciary of State was of the view that 'entry of an Ezhava into the temple is an act of defilement'. During the Dewanship of T. Raghaviah (8 July 1920 to 18 May 1925) civic rights issues got a new colour.

Injustice of keeping the public places closed was brought before the Government. But, they denied the existence of any such places. As usual the Government clung to the theoretical opening. When the issues were pressed more the Government always answered indifferently, "the matter was under enquiry", or 'They were not prepared to express any opinion'.

T. Raghaviah, the Dewan of Travancore, 'advised' the backward communities in his policy declaration "May I advise all those who labour under civic disabilities and differences not to be swayed by hatred and passion towards those who do not suffer from similar disabilities, but to view the situation in a spirit of calmness and confidence
remembering that many of the social differences that we see around us have the sanction of long usages behind them and that nothing would be more unreasonable than to expect them to disappear the twinkling of an eye. While every effort in the direction of social amelioration will receive the sympathetic support of the Government, so long as it is carried in a calm and healthy spirit. Everyone will do well to remember that any attempt bordering on intimidation, violence or transgression of law must recoil with crushing effect on the wrong doers. Government can only stand for reasonable progress and that they cannot too strongly condemn every movement that is calculated to intensify class hatred and bitterness and encourage lawlessness. In fact on every social issue he faced this policy was carried out.

Popular organisations like the Congress and other local bodies began to discuss the disabilities. Some of the Ezhava leaders challenging the executive order invoked their right to use public roads. The already overcharged atmosphere became more rigorous with expulsion of P.M. Madhavan, an Ezhava advocate from the Court of C.Govinda Pillai of Trivandrum. The expulsion was criticised by the press and platform. The untouchability issue snowballed for a final showdown at Vypeen.

Vypeen satyagraha was the first peaceful agitation conducted by the backward communities for the establishment of their civic rights. It was conducted at the auspicious of the Congress untouchability Committee. Fearing breach of peace prohibitory orders were issued. Volunteers were
arrested under section 134 of the Cr.P.C. The Government was willing for a compromise. They covertly interfered with the satyagraha. Their interference was fiercely criticised in the Council. Most of the public supported the demand of the backward communities. Some Ezhava leaders were doubtful about the intentions of the Congress. C.Krishnan, editor of the Mitavadi, suspected it as a caste Hindu performance to deploy them against the British. When the agitation prolonged the Dewan was criticised 'as a sun dried bureaucrat of the Madras Presidency, we can not expect anything better from him'. As the conduct of the police was not above suspicion a motion was moved in the Council to censure the league of the police with the local 'unruly savarna elements'. Though the Government flatly refused, it was widely believed that the police misbehaved. The motion was put to vote and declared lost with 20 against 14. But, while Suchindram satyagraha was in progress, to determine the policy of action, the Police Commissioner confidentially confessed, "The mistake was made (mistake of interfering with the satyagraha) at Vycome of plunging to the fray and a situation was created from which it took a year to escape". The Government adopted various dubious methods to break the satyagraha. But the general public was united over the issue.

A united conference of Nairs and Ezhavas was held at Vycome. The progressive minded caste Hindus supported the satyagraha. A savarna jatha was organised under the leadership of Mannath Padmanabhan from Vycome to Trivandrum and submitted a memorandum to the Regent. She expressed
the inability to answer without knowing the decision of the legislature\textsuperscript{144}. Accordingly a resolution\textsuperscript{145} was moved in the Council by N. Kumaran\textsuperscript{146}. The resolution was supported by all non-official members. The Government stood adamant. The resolution was put to vote and the House was divided 22 against 21 and it was declared lost. The Regent was appealed to interfere in the best interest of the State. Later a compromise was reached at by the influence of Gandhiji on 7 April 1925\textsuperscript{147}. In its immediate object the Satyagraha appeared a failure\textsuperscript{148}. But it was an emphatic assertion of the backward communities of their rights. However, the attitude of some Congress leaders was unsatisfactory, "Mr. Rajagopalachari who was here recently to give the movement a fillip admitted to the Dewan that if the Congress Party could devise some method of retiring without loss of prestige they would do so\textsuperscript{149}.

Later, another resolution was moved in the Legislative Council to remove the invidious caste distinctions\textsuperscript{150}. The Government opposed it on customary objections. Finally, a disfigured resolution, altered at the instance of the Government, was accepted. Encouraged by the Public opinion the Ezhavas staged a series of Satyagrahas at other roads in Kannankulangara Agraharam road at Parur\textsuperscript{151} and Ambalapuram\textsuperscript{152}. It was in fact from the vague term 'opposition from the conservative public' that the conservative Government fought the battle. Some of the urgent communications reveals their determination to uphold the 'status quo'. "The procession if necessary is to be forbidden, the use of the temple road under section 24 of the Police Regulation and if the leaders
are troublesome they will be arrested. The rank and file will then go home. Another major showdown came at Suchindram on 19 January 1926, under the leadership of Dr. M.E. Naidu. At Suchindram an understanding was reached at to stop the Satyagraha, but it remained a pious promise. From the beginning of the Satyagraha the Government and the police adopted certain questionable and shameful methods to break the Satyagraha. Another encounter of the Government with the backward communities took place at Thiruvathura, near Kottayam. Protest meeting was held at Kottayam. T.K. Madhavan disclosed his intention to stage a satyagraha. The course of action, as usual, proceeded in the same track with prohibitory order and violence. Finally a compromise was effected and all cases were withdrawn. Last of the major Satyagraha was staged again at Suchindram. The police directly interfered and conducted anti-satyagraha propaganda. However, the Satyagraha was a judicial victory of the backward communities. In the Criminal Revision Petitions No. 433 to 437 of 1105 the High Court acquitted the Satyagrahis.

By 1930's the public opinion completely turned against untouchability. A resolution moved in the Council by A.S. Damodaran Aran, a Nair member, was passed with a comfortable majority. Members of various communities who spoke on the resolution supported it.

The Dewan made a new policy declaration that the conservatives might be a minority of one percent but the majority had 'no right to impose its opinion on the one dissentent', and assured the public that they would
do everything to remove the distinctions. The Ezhavas submitted a memorial to the Resident. The Dewan replied exactly opposite to what he professed, "The position of the Government is that while they will not actively engage themselves to alter the existing usages they will not stand in the way of the aggrieved section of the public from getting the grievances redressed by an appeal to the Court of the land". The policy of the Court was that they were not to make law but to interpret it. So both followed a policy of hide and seek. As regards temple entry he informed the Resident, "Ezhavas and other non-caste Hindus had no part in their foundation, no share in their administration, and no right to worship in them". Public opinion exhorted the Government to remove such distinctions. The Self-Respect Movement, the Hair Conference and the Congress Committee requested the Government to come out of the spell of Brahmins. In the meanwhile the Government appointed the Temple Entry Enquiry Committee.

According to the recommendations of the Temple Entry Enquiry Committee the Government issued a communiqué opening all public places maintained by public fund. It was described as a welcome step against the obnoxious 'touch-mano notism'. In view of the communiqué many of the prohibitory orders were removed. But the temple entry remained unanswered.

When the Ezhavas found that their demand for socio-religious equality was eluding, they threatened with mass conversion. The situation became critical. The
Government feared extinction of Hinduism from the State. They took immediate steps to open all public places. His Highness personally commanded to give clear instruction to Devaswom and Police Commissioners for immediate tactful carrying out and give 'wide publicity' to the decision to nullify and foil the conversion effort. It is to be noted that the Government accepted it not because of the reasonableness of the demand but because of the conversion threat.

Temple entry movement

It was C. Raman Tampi who first openly requested temple entry in Travancore in 1918. The first temple entry resolution of the S.N.D.P. Yogam was passed in the 17th annual conference. A resolution later moved by Kayyalakkal Padmanabhan Channer called for the boycott of temples. Temple entry was openly discussed during the Dewanship of T. Raghaviah in the Popular Assembly. Permission to represent it in the Assembly was denied. The Ezhavas protested against it in different parts of the State. Gandhi also supported their demand. With this, many Caste Hindus changed their opinion. The demand was pursued by the Ezhavas.

The Kakkinada Session of the All India Congress accepted the principles of anti-untouchability and temple entry. Many Caste Hindus like Kuroor Sankaran Nambudiripad, T.K. Krishna Swamy Aiyar, K. Velayudha Menon, and K. Kalappan joined the issue. Ezhavas held temple entry Darbars at Trivandrum, Kottarakara and Allepy in 1926. When the temple entry remained unsolved, many thought in terms of conversion.
In the 1930's conversion and reconversion gathered momentum. In 1932, Caste Hindus organised a 'jatha' from Guruvayur to Trivandrum demanding temple entry. It was alleged that the 'Jatha' was political motivated. At a time when everything was demand on arithmetical precision of numerical strength conversion meant loosing the numerical superiority "Most of them are otherwise indifferent. It is interesting to note in this connection that some Christians of Travancore are evincing new found sympathy with the orthodox Hindus."

Perhaps it might have been a calculated gesture on the part of the Christians to widen the gap between the orthodox Hindus and the backward communities.

The younger generation of Ezhavas became more radical in despising Hindus. Leaders like K.C. Kuttan and C.Kesavan in a conference at Kottayam asked Ezhavas to renounce Hinduism and burn 'grandhas' to ash and commented about the Hindu Mission "--- you should better guess about the attempt of the Hindu Mission to reconvert a Pulaya and a Nayadi whose position has been improved by the Europeans on their arrival in this country, into Pulaya and Nayadi respectively."

When the situation became pressing the Government appointed the Temple Entry Enquiry Committee in 1932. The Report not only disappointed Ezhavas but cast slur on them. There were complaints about the proceedings of the Committee. When C.V. Kunjuraman found his son-in-law, C.Kesavan behind bars, he rolled the ball of mass conversion. Mass conversion propaganda filled the air. Various religious missions entered the troubled water. It even went to the extent of a riot at
Alleppey between Christians and Ezhavas against Muslims. Public and official opinions contradicted each other about the nature of the riot. The riot took a toll of five with twenty seriously injured. Meanwhile C.V. Kunjuraman and K.C. Kuttan met Bishop Moore, P.P.Kurian and P. Cheriyar and explored the possibilities of conversion. The Government issued a prohibitory order on C.V. Kunjuraman and another police notification. The latter reviewed the logic of conversion than law and order. The Christians and Muslims reacted critically. Thereafter, the police interfered to stop conversion. Declaration of Dr. Ambedkar made the situation more grave. The Provincial Board of the Harijan Sevak Sangh held the All Kerala Temple Entry Conference on 9–10 May 1936 at Trivandrum. They pleaded to open the Sirkar temple and started a signature campaign. It consisted of M. Govindan, K.G. Kunjukrishna Pillai, K.P. Nilakanta Pillai, V. Atchutha Menon, Damodara Menon and R. Rama Chandran. Public well received them. On 3 November 1936 a deputation met Sir C.P. Ramaswami Iyer to submit a memorial signed by more than fifty thousand Savarnas. Under these circumstances and pressure, being 'profoundly convinced of the truth and validity of Our religion ——' His Highness issued the Temple Entry Proclamation on 27 Thulam 1112/12 November 1936.

Reaction to Temple Entry Proclamation

The Proclamation was widely acclaimed by the Council. The Dewan was surprised "To me it is a miracle ——. It was really an agreeable surprise to me that there was no
reactionary agitation, no hinderances to progress from any community. 177

The Press praised the statesmanship of the Maharaja. The Manchester Guardian paying the highest tribute to the Dewan called it as an 'innovating spirit of democracy'. The Bombay Chronicle was sceptical that the Proclamation could not be unconnected with the threat of conversion, and The Hindu Herald said had the idea of Proclamation spontaneous it would have came earlier. 178 Some other papers also expressed concern over the rules and conditions of the Proclamation, like the safeguards and reservations of the Government of India Act. 179

Cochin Government and its Caste Hindu public responded negatively to the Proclamation. The Government of Travancore had to wage a diplomatic battle with Cochin. It was staged in the Koodalmanikkam temple at Irinjalakkuda, in the Cochin State, under the joint authority of Cochin and Travancore Maharajas. It started with the entry of Nedumpally Tharananallur Parameswaran Nambudiripad in the above temple, as usually on 17 January 1937. Orthodox sections of the Cochin Nambudiris, present in the temple, deserted therewith declaring that it was polluted. They insisted on purifictory ceremony. 180 Their demand was conceded. What they could not tolerate at all was the entry of Ammannur Kunjan, a Chakkiyar, who conducted 'koothu' performance in the temples opened to backward classes in Travancore, in the Koodalmanikkam temple. When the matter was brought before the Thachudaya Kaimal, supreme authority
of the temple, nominated by the Maharaja of Travancore, he refused to accept the request of the Nambudiris for purificatory ceremony. The Nambudiris invoked their stock phrases such as immemorial custom, usage, tradition and mammuls etc. 181 The Nambudiris were legally wrong. The temple being a public place, there was no legal right for the Devaswom to prevent the entry of worship of people, who were customarily entitled to do so unless they were formally excommunicated or prevented by a formal order of the Maharaja of Cochin 182. The Nambudiris manipulated the situation to their advantage, "--- Nambudiris would not conform to any fixed principle in the matter of allowing or disallowing entry, and would only create trouble according to their whims and caprices without for a moment thinking about the justifiability, reasonableness, practicability and so forth of their demands which they will never fix or put in black and white 183."

On the basis of a memorandum, 184 the Maharaja of Cochin discontinued his usual offering till purificatory ceremonies were held for the suspected pollution 185.

Since the British Resident was the controlling authority, and the annual festivals was approaching, the Dewan of Travancore informed the Resident of Thachudaya Kaimal's position as the final authority on all matters relating to that temple and requested to use his office for the peaceful performance of the festival 186. The Resident replied, he could only insist on the superintendent
to carrying out the orders of the Maharaja of Cochin and ordered the superintendent to follow the Maharajas instruction. The Dewan of Travancore reiterated on the constitutional status of the Maharaja of Cochin, the powers of the Resident and the final authority of Thachudaya Kaimal in the internal and spiritual management, and the Dewan deputed Justice Parameswaran Pillai for an interview with the Resident. Travancore pleaded for status quo and the Resident for status quo ante temple entry.

Meanwhile, Cochin sought the opinion of 'vaidsekans' and 'vadhyan'. They advised to boycott those associated with temple entry in any way unless 'vaidseka prayachittam' was performed. Accordingly orders were issued. The issue got a new dimension.

Travancore issued a press note threatening to deny perquisites to Nambudiris unless they openly dissociate with the decision of Cochin. The Resident cleared his position, "My action did not constitute an expression of opinion against temple entry and what it implies, and was merely intended as a temporary injunction pending the settlement of any complaint or claim which might be brought by Travancore Government as a result of the action of the Maharaja of Cochin or my orders. Finally the Government of India recognised Thachudaya Kaimal as the final authority. This made the orders of Maharaja of Cochin invalid."
But, the Government of Cochin was not in a mood to leave the field. They posted their police men to watch the prohibited persons from entering the Koodalmanikkam temple. Many of the Caste Hindus of Cochin also supported their Government.\textsuperscript{192}

However, the attitude of the Resident in this case was unsatisfactory. Maharaja of Cochin was informed when he met the Resident on 24 April 1937 that the Travancore was spending a lot for propaganda and advised the Maharaja of Cochin to show his constitutional stand and not to delay further. "He was confident that His Highness Dewan would be quite equal to the task". The Resident exclaimed on seeing a copy of the Press communiqué of the Cochin Dewan, "I think the received Press communiqué is excellent and will have a good corrective effect --- I presume that things are proceeding smoothly at Koodalmanikkam and His Highness orders are being carefully observed. If not, I think we would have heard of it from the tantris".\textsuperscript{194}

The Maharaja of Cochin was criticised for his reactionary step by the Press.\textsuperscript{195} Gandhiji observed that his decision was a mistake from various points of view.\textsuperscript{196}

The issue came up again 1939. The Resident telegraphed during the festival season to follow the customary procedure adhered to as per in the previous year.\textsuperscript{197} Then, Cochin proceeded with the festival without Thatchudaya Kaimal and when arrived, he was prevented by the Cochin police.\textsuperscript{198}
However, it was finally proved that the Indian assistant to the Resident deliberately misconstrued the Residents order colluding with the Cochin authorities. The Resident meant only that ceremonies should be conducted by the Resident as per the previous year. The spirit of the Cochin Government and the Caste Hindu subjects showed that they were unwilling to accept Temple Entry Proclamation. Thatchudaya Kaimal was harassed, "His driver who was a Cochinate has been prevailed upon to leave him and he had to get a driver from Alwaye, traders are being prohibited from supplying him with necessities. In all posted a little away from the municipal town to prohibit Kaimal or other suspicious persons from proceeding any further." 199

In 1940 controversy over the temple entry issue again came up with the arrest of two Nambudiris who sympathised with the temple entry. Later they were released. 200 In 1941, a Nambudiri was rejected from the Vellarappalli Bhagavati temple for the above reason. On enquiry the incident was found true. 201 It was only in 1941 that Cochin lifted the ban. 202

In Travancore, the Proclamation was received with mixed feeling, though officially claimed otherwise. When non-Brahmins were fed inside the Kulashakharanathan temple at Shencottah, Brahmins telegraphed to the Dewan, "All classes of non-Brahmins fed inside temple yesterday against precedent — Group Superintendent revolutionizes many ways." 203
The Dewan responded telegraphically to the Chief Secretary, "to inform officers of Shencottah to take great care to avoid misdirected enthusiasm."204

A pamphlet, published by Paliyattu Cheriya Kunjunni Achan — Nanganude Prasthavana — which had gone 'beyond the legitimate bounds of press criticism by a sister state', claimed that the Travancoreans were unable to express their real opinion.205 It referred to a secret circular issued to the Government officers to attend the temples regularly, "with a view to disseminate and remove misconception regarding the scope of the recent Proclamation, Hindu officers will be expected to attend temple services regularly during the period requisite for a proper understanding of rules by the public at large.207 To verify their attendance C.I.D.'s were posted. The pamphlet claimed officers had to take the place of Caste Hindus in Ootootupuras and Her Highness Sethu Lakshmi Bai had openly expressed her protest by no opening the temple under her management so that His Highness could not perform the usual Ariyittuvazha ceremony in the month of Makaram at Attangal temple.

In accordance with the spirit of the Temple Entry Proclamation, Idapalli Raja opened all his temples except his household deity.208 But, some private temples like Mootherathukavu temple of Indenthuruthi Nambudiri, where the annual festival was conducted without opening, under police protection,209 Pokkalathu Siva temple,210 and another temple at Muvattupuzha, remained closed. A temple
at Chennamangalam, belonging to the Paliyam family, where oracular finding was that because of the passage of avarnas near it God was likely to desert, and hence its authorities raised the height of the compound wall.\textsuperscript{211} The Krishna Swami Temple at Kaladi also was reluctant, so that "its purity and sanctity are not adversely affected in the slightest degree"\textsuperscript{212}. Neither the Dewan nor Swami Agmananda, President of Advaita Ashram, Kaladi, who was suspected of planning to force 'all classes of Hindus' found no need to proceed further.\textsuperscript{213} However, in 1941, the Government ordered to stop permanently all grant to those private temples which disrespected the Proclamation\textsuperscript{214}.

In 1940, there came an issue which clearly shows the attitude of the Caste Hindus, the Devaswam Department, the Dewan and the Palace towards the social equality of Ezhavas and other backward communities, even to those who had acknowledged social status. The Kerala Kaumudi alleged that Ezhavas were not invited to His Highness birthday ceremony, conducted by the Nayyattinkara Devaswom. It complained that even though Caste Hindus of low status were invited, Mr. Palpu, a retired Head of the Department of Travancore was not invited, because he was an Ezhava.\textsuperscript{215} The Assistant Devaswom Commissioner reported, "Ezhavas were not invited to Karikkuvettu and feasts as there was no precedent of them having been invited in previous years and they cannot therefore have any grievance in the matter". The Devaswom Commissioner recommended, "there is no objection in inviting Ezhavas of acknowledged status for Karikkuvettu
but the question of inviting them for Pidagasadya is a
more serious matter which need not be considered now.
He referred to another incident, "The same difficulty arose
on a large scale at Vaikom recently and Mr. K.R.Narayanan
requested me specially to allow Ezhavas to sit along with
Nairs and take food in the Oottoopuras. As I know that
there was still opposition for this step, I did not take
any step. I did not take any responsibility in the matter
but put it off for the time being. It is my considered
view that such complaints need not be seriously considered"\textsuperscript{216}
and he requested to be favoured with orders. The Dewan,
Sir C.P. Ramaswami Iyer, shifted the responsibility to the
shoulders of the young Maharaja with his opinion, "My own
view is that time is ripe for inviting Ezhavas for the
Karikkuvettu but not for allowing commenality with Nayars
and those who were formerly classed as Caste Hindus in
feasts"\textsuperscript{217}. The Palace kept quite thinking it would be
better to put the matter off for the time. The Government
decided, after 3\frac{1}{2} years, to take no further action on 24
April 1944.

There are opinions that 'Sir C.P.' had motives behind
the Temple Entry Proclamation\textsuperscript{218}. He wanted to glorify his
administration, to draw the attention of the outside world,
to split the Ezhava, Christian and Muslim political alliance,
who stood together for the rights, and to stop the conversion
movement which he openly admitted.
Amelioration of the condition of the socially under privileged communities, pre-temple entry period.

The Administration Reports of Travancore, during the beginning decades of the 20th century shows the cases the Government had charged for kidnapping, abduction, slavery and forced labour. In 1908-1909, there were 38 such cases and 149 persons were apprehended and out of which 5 were convicted. In 1914-1915 number of cases under the same head was 70 and 232 persons were apprehended. Even as late as 1917 there 67 such cases. However, the reports did not specify the number of crimes under each head.

It was only very late that the Government began the amelioration activities. P.K. Govinda Pillai, after discussing the conversion phenomena among the depressed classes suggested, as a check, certain amelioration steps like conferring more civic rights, admission to Government schools, instructing the police and magistracy to be more sympathetic, medical relief, assignment of land — for the socially privileged classes could perpetuate oppression and subordination so long as they remained landless — and giving them separate electorate.

It was in 1917 that the Government laid down some definite policy for assignment of land for habitation and cultivation. Land outside the forest reserves were directed to be given to the depressed classes without
ground value, up to one acre per family without right of alienation but charged assessment expenses. A report prepared for the British Parliament says about their condition, "They have no education, because they cannot afford to take advantage of it even if it is professed free. They have no outlook in life, they are condemned to the most degrading form of labour. But the root of the matter is more economical than social. Until these depressed classes can be put on a level with their caste men --- it is difficult to do very much for them."

Another measure suggested for the amelioration of the depressed classes were their appointment in Government service and establishment of colonies. The Government allotted a small sum of Rs. 1300/- for sinking wells and Rs. 3000/- for the construction of roads in their area at Nanjanad and Sdanad. The Government agreed to open approach roads if the depressed classes agreed to do the earth work. They even refused to pay for at least fifty percent of the earth work.

During the Dewanship of T. Raghaviah, the revised Pudiwal Rules of 31 March 1921 provided for assignment of land on concessional terms. In their G.O.Dis.No.92/22/Rev, dated 20 January 1922, assignment of poramboke land on the edges of backwater and sea coast, not exceeding 10 cents per Vala or Arya family, free of ground value, provided the value of trees did not exceed Rs. 10/- per acre, was
sanctioned. Alienation of such assigned land to other communities was prohibited. 226

When the depressed class members of the Popular Assembly requested for the appointment of an officer to look after their affairs T. Raghaviah, the Dewan replied, "Our finance do not permit that". Another member complained to the Dewan that Anchal offices were not accessible to them, the Dewan replied, "There is nothing to be done anew. The law is that all public institutions are opened to all communities. If any body obstructs, you may seek remedy in local Magistrate Courts. If the office is inaccessible on account of the fact that it is near a temple it should be brought to the notice of the Government and they will take necessary action to make it accessible". To prevent illegal encroachment of their land he replied, "If land registered in your name has been occupied by other people, the Government can do nothing, you should seek redress in Civil Courts 227. This was the way in which amelioration works were done. He said this knowing well that justice in Travancore, for such classes was practically distant as the judiciary was a Caste Hindu dominion.

The Department of Co-operative Societies gave special attention to the organisation of co-operative societies among the depressed classes. During the period 1921-1931, number of co-operative societies increased from 26 to 236, with a rise in the membership from 1031 to 17026, working capital from Rs. 18,638/- to Rs. 203018/-
and share capital from ₹ 9986/- to ₹ 9670/- and reserved fund from ₹ 589/- to ₹ 24,927/-.

C.O. Ramodaran, Assistant Registrar of Co-operative Societies, was appointed on 16 August 1932, as the Protector of Depressed Classes, under the nominal control of the Registrar of the Co-operative Societies, to look after their welfare, and to suggest measures for their amelioration like selection and assignment of land after proper inspection. He was not given the power of registry of land but only to work as a communication media. Other duties assigned were, to form co-operative societies, sink wells, construct approach roads, establish cottage industries, make suggestion for qualified candidates for appointment in public service and secure them though recommendations.

Budget allotment for the amelioration shows the half-heartedness of the Government. These allotments came only to 3 pice per head. A major portion of money allotted for the years 1934-1935 had lapsed.

To eliminate the long felt need for wells, the Government sanctioned to sink separate wells in various centres, at a total cost of ₹ 1138/-. Narikulam, Mulathoor, Vengannoor were selected for the establishment of colonies. Suggestions for the construction of prayer and assembly halls were approved, wherever it was found necessary at a cost of ₹ 650/-. Accordingly, Koipuram in Tirupalla was selected. Educational concession was another programme.
Opening of a weaving school at Vettikkavala in Kottarakara taluk was taken into consideration. Plans were good but financial assistance was meagre. However, attitude of the people considerably changed towards this sort of amelioration.

Need and importance of registry of land for the depressed classes was drawn before the Council. They said landlessness and illiteracy were not their fault, as in the case of some socially privileged communities, but that of subjugation and slavery imposed on them. It was claimed that they worked for the society and hence it was the duty of the society to look after their welfare.

Pre-temple entry amelioration works were half-hearted. Government made certain provisions to assign 'waste land'. The Revenue Department, a Savarna dominion, showed no interest to dispose cases. Requests for improvement by appointing a sympathetic officer was rejected, for the Government was satisfied with their arrangements. The Revenue officers followed a policy of vengeance. Their complaints were overlooked. Rules were twisted and decisions were delayed unnecessarily. Often the assigned land did not reach their hands, but taken away by the well-to-do sections. The assignment of 'waste land' — both in terms of meaning and spirit — such as marshy and maleriar tract was unsuited for habitation or cultivation.
Sometimes fraud and cheating were committed by the self-declared protectors of the depressed classes in assigning 'waste land'.

By creating separate colonies, which virtually segregated them from the society, far away from the normal centers of life with little scope to mingle with other people, they were treated as if afflicted and infected with some disease. The Government was requested to discourage this. The depressed classes suspected, 'separate colonies' as a veiled attempt to club them together in hilly areas.

Construction of approach roads was a part of the amelioration work, but only a few came into existence.

The Sambavars Elevation Committee appointed by their G.O. D.Dis, No. 859/23/PW, dated 15 June 1923, to look after the welfare of the Sambavars never bothered to work properly.

Protector of the Depressed Classes was only a means of communication and a part-time officer who was without sufficient authority and necessary staff or of any status. Hence, his correspondence carried little weight. M.K. Kunjukrishna Pillai summarised the cause of his failures, for he had to look up to the Government for emolument, promotion and all other benefits. He said, "The Government itself had their vested interests to back up. In such a situation it was no wonder that the office of the Protector of Backward Communities ended in a failure". In this context it is interesting to see his success in getting appointments
for such classes in various departments during 1932-33/1933-34.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Department</th>
<th>1932-1933</th>
<th>1933-1934</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Land Revenue</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Judicial</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Excise</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Works</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electrical</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secretariat</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accounts Office</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Co-operative</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture and Fisheries</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anchal</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Registration</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government Press</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Municipalities</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Prison</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State Guest House</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archaeology</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Survey</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Janmikaram Settlement</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Departments like Forest, Industries, Ayurveda and Sanitary their representation was nil.
Co-operatives had been one of the prestigious items of amelioration. The first society was registered in 1917. By 1925 there were nearly 94 societies, but none worked properly. Registrar had to put some restrictions. The Co-operative Enquiry Committee lamented "Almost all these societies are in a dormant condition, and therefore, of opinion, that for sometime to come no new credit societies for the depressed classes ordinarily should be organised". It happened due to extreme poverty, illiteracy, and economic backwardness. Because of the failure of group secretaries, appointed from the depressed classes, the committee recommended for its abolition. They commented, "The present arrangement for supervision and inspection of these societies do not at all seem to be satisfactory and we have reason to fear that they are neglected to a culpable extent". So they suggested to give the charge of co-operatives to the Protector, other causes of the failure noted were provision of unlimited liability, lack of financial assistance, admission of higher caste people as members for being elected as presidents which ended as a 'one man show' or misappropriation of money by 'cooking up accounts.'

Amelioration of the condition of backward communities, post-temple entry period, official effort

It was only during the post-temple entry period that the Government thought seriously about amelioration. As economic development was a pre-condition for social elevation proposals were made for starting cottage industries with
subsidy facilities for marketing the finished products, co-operative farming, appointment of divisional officers to carry out intensive surveys, constitution of local committees in taluks with Tahsildar, Police Inspector, Assistant School Inspector, Sanitary Circle officer and Co-operative Inspector, having advisory and consultative role.

In 1936, the Protector inspected 4641.50 acres of earmarked land, and out of which 2989.30 was rejected as unsuitable. Of the 1657 applications for individual registration 960 were recommended to the Revenue Department for favourable disposal. Colonies were started at Kulathoor, Narikulam, Venganmur and other places. Construction of approach roads, wells, inspection of co-operative societies and organisation of thrift societies were done. 908 candidates were appointed in the Government service on his recommendations till the middle of 1936. Weaving schools were started at Vettikkaval and Tiruvalla. A grant of Rs. 600/- each was paid to Harijan hostel at Trivandrum and Sanatana Dharma School at Pullad. Those who passed in the latter were absorbed by the Harijan Sevak Sangh as propagandists. Prayer houses and burial grounds were provided at Pullad, Changannachery, Kadampanad Vaikom, Kaviyur and Kottayam. Grants were given for the reconstruction of houses destroyed by natural calamities.

After the Temple Entry Proclamation the term of reference was changed from 'Depressed Classes' to
'Backward Communities', for reference in official communications and the designation of the Protector. They discontinued the special wards, formerly used by the untouchables in the Government hospitals.

In 1937 it was proposed to include more communities in the list for amelioration, to register at least two acres of dry and three acres of wet land for each family, organise industries and non-credit co-operative societies, to provide for mid-day meals, to establish Harijan Hostel.

A Central Advisory Board was formed, as recommended by the Protector, with 22 members representing various interests and organisations, to offer suggestion and criticism for the successful working of the uplift department. In 1938, an intensive amelioration work with a sum of Rs. 30,000/- to be divided under such heads as colonies and centre Rs. 5,000/-, burial grounds Rs. 3,000/-, wells Rs. 3,000/-, common building and prayer halls Rs. 5,000/-, educational concessions like grant to hostels Rs. 4,000/-, free supply of books Rs. 5,000/-, stipends and scholarships Rs. 500/-, grant to educational institutions Rs. 500/-, industries, Rs. 500/-, T.A. and D.A. for the members of the Advisory Committee Rs. 1,500/-, other miscellaneous grant Rs. 2,000/- and other amelioration works Rs. 10,000/- was approved. Three centers like Manikkamangalam, Elanthoor and Pakode were selected and field officers were appointed for supervision.

The Harijan Sevak Sangh handed over their hostel at Trivandrum to the Government due to financial crisis and
as individual assignment of land was found defective, it was sanctioned to be registered, in the name of co-operative colonies, expecting that co-operative agricultural farm and industry could be developed in such centers. The co-operatives were to pay the land tax and to distribute land without the right of alienation. The Government approved such a colony at Veliyathunadkara, Ayroor Pakuthy, Parur taluk.

The Dewan announced the new policy of amelioration in the Assembly that even with research at the top and good education at the bottom if our backward communities were where they were, 'we would be like a human body with gangrene of the feet'. Hence uplift of them by such means like scholarship, text books, common buildings, wells, burial grounds, hostels, fee concessions were decided to be taken up.

For co-ordination and uniformity of amelioration work, a departmental conference of the field officers was held on 16 September 1943. An Advisory body was also constituted. Various colonies like Sachivotamapuram, Narikulam, Veliyathunad, Pacode Elanthoor, Manikkamangalam, Anchamada, Kadambanad made satisfactory progress. All the activities of the Uplift Department was designed to bring about the economic and social development. So it was connected with village industries, handicrafts and improved agriculture as to eradicate want,
disease, ignorance, squalor and idleness. 249

The Protector felt a new classification necessary for intensive work, and requested to divide the backward communities as those qualified for concessional land assignment, to categorise communities for full and half fee concession in English and Vernacular Schools and for general amelioration works. 250 Suggestions for the ten year intensive amelioration comprised moral and religious uplift, provisions for house, land and colonies, physical and mental uplift, economic educational, social — like 'music, dance and drama' — and help-in-need items. It also wanted to improve their wage earning capacities.

By 1946, the Government came out with a new policy declaration and amelioration was taken as one of the paramount functions. Accordingly Rs. 3/- lakhs per year was sanctioned for intensive activities. An advisory committee was formed with non-official majority to advice the department intensive work. Its first meeting was held on 30 June and 1 July 1946, under the chairmanship of the Dewan, in which the scheme of work was discussed and approved. For sub-committee were formed for the purpose, like assignment of land, house sites, colonies, pathways and burial ground; for wells, common building, health and welfare; for education; and for industries, co-operative societies and agriculture. 251 The Government also sanctioned a new scheme for the training of 12 backward community students in the P.W.D. and State
Transport Workshops with a stipend of Rs. 35/- per mensum[^252] and 6 students in handicrafts every year with a stipend of Rs. 30/- per mensum[^253], and 3 students in agricultural training at Konni with a stipend of Rs. 25/- per month.[^254]

[^255]: The following table shows the amount spent by various departments on the uplift works from 1939 to 1942.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Department</th>
<th>1939</th>
<th>1940</th>
<th>1941</th>
<th>1942</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Uplift Department</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Budget grant</td>
<td>34406</td>
<td>37251</td>
<td>42500</td>
<td>48840</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expenditure</td>
<td>39024</td>
<td>35608</td>
<td>41215</td>
<td>41715</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land Revenue</td>
<td>12132</td>
<td>23101</td>
<td>19799</td>
<td>18739</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>114281</td>
<td>110006</td>
<td>96022</td>
<td>104363</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industry</td>
<td>1489</td>
<td>2961</td>
<td>2860</td>
<td>2474</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following table gives the change in the expenditure of the same departments during the next four years 1943 to 1946.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Department</th>
<th>1943</th>
<th>1944</th>
<th>1945</th>
<th>1946</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Uplift Department</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Budget grant</td>
<td>51527</td>
<td>62238</td>
<td>89490</td>
<td>94036</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expenditure</td>
<td>49638</td>
<td>65293</td>
<td>N o t a v a i l a b l e</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land Revenue</td>
<td>4950</td>
<td>960</td>
<td>545</td>
<td>527</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>86478</td>
<td>66995</td>
<td>67614</td>
<td>73567</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industry</td>
<td>2805</td>
<td>2877</td>
<td>2765</td>
<td>2328</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>160416</td>
<td>170458</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
From the above table it can be seen that except the Uplift Department in the other departments there was a yearly decrease. In the Education Department it came down from Rs. 114281/- to Rs. 73567/-. Moreover, in the Uplift Department, during 1944 more than 1/4 (Rs. 18133/-) of the total amount (Rs. 62238/-) was wasted for unproductive items like burial ground, T.A. D.A. etc. 'music, dance and drama'. Often representations were made on the insufficient budget allotments.

The system of land assignment was not without manipulation. In many cases assigned land went into the hands of the landed class. Sometimes due to the unscrupulous coalition of the landless and the landed and in some cases by the State itself, through the Revenue Recovery Regulation for their failure to pay the land tax. The Protector pointed out that the total area of assigned land till the end of 1945 was below 10000 acres which was mostly unsuited for habitation and cultivation. Hence, he requested for Rs. 25,000/- per annum for the formation of colonies at Veliyam, Kadambanaad, Peerumade, Devicolam, Ittikara, Puthenchira and Ranni.

Allegations were made against the Co-operative Department that it was not rendering any help either by giving appointments or by properly assisting them in their ventures. There existed 196 co-operatives in 1937. It was complained that all of them were in a dormant condition. The Co-operative Department confessed that such co-operatives were unsatisfactory. But they were inclined to put the blame
on the Protector 260

The rise of backward communities in many places was disfavoured. Under one pretext or other they were threatened, molested and oppressed. The Protector had to interfere in many cases 261. It was complained that the police was absolutely unsympathetic. Their requests remained unredressed in cases of eviction without compensation. When the question of permanency of tenure was brought before the Assembly, the Government threw it away like a hot potato because the landless tenants belonged to the depressed classes. The motion was not allowed to be discussed under the excuse, 'time finished for the discussion of the topic' 262.

The Government and the society never bothered about the aborigins called Hill Tribes, even till late 1944. It was proposed to bring them under the scope of the amelioration, for the fear of conversion and in the wider interest of the state. Their condition described thus, "At present, they are governed by certain rules of treatment and management without any provision for the material and moral welfare and for the eradication of backwardness. To keep them confined to and isolated in the inaccessible hills and jungles is like displaying them in glass show cases of a museum for the curiosity of academic persons 263." The Protector wrote, "But their lot deserves to be considerably improved. The question to be decided is whether these hill men of Travancore should be allowed to remain as a specimen
of anthropological interest or whether they should be considered and treated as human beings whose social and material conditions has to be improved. Many of the hill men have much mixture of blood and does not at present maintain the purity of their primitive culture. They have therefore ceased to be objects of scientific curiosity. They deserve to be treated with more humane consideration and encouragement in their moral and material advancement."

There was much criticism about the office of the Protector of the Backward Communities. His inferior status in the bureaucracy carried less weight in his correspondence with other Heads of the Department. He had to work also as the Assistant Registrar of the Cooperative Societies. Nearly after 8 years the Protector lamented, "At present the Protector feels more or less like an untouchable among the officers of the Government. He is neither a Gazetted Officer, nor a leve officer. There is no pay attached to his post. His field staff is underpaid and inadequate." It is important to note that uplift duties were transferred from the Deputy Registrar of Co-operative Society to Special Officer of the Travancore University and to the Director of Archaeology. The whole affair was described as a pretentious scheme of uplift work.

Amelioration of the condition of the backward communities post-temple entry period, non-official effort.

With the Temple Entry Proclamation, there came a number of organisations, professing the welfare of the
backward communities and were financially supported by the Government. The Harijan Sevak Sangh drafted their scheme of amelioration work pointing out that even after temple entry their social condition remained unchanged due to the lack of economic progress. As a landless class they had slavish mentality with low standard of living and unable to avail of the educational facilities. Thus illiterate and superstitious they did not avail of medical aid. Their scheme of activity included giving due share in the administration, relaxing minimum qualifications, offering boarding houses, relaxing minimum qualifications, offering boarding houses, financial assistance, provision for mid-day meals, and educational equipment, assignment of land to alter the precarious tenancy-at-will to a sense of will-ownership; and development of rural and urban colonies, cottage industries, co-operatives, maternity and child welfare schemes and development of temple going habit etc. The Government sanctioned an amount of Rs. 2,000/- to the Kerala Provincial Board of the Harijan Sevak Sangh for the year 1936-1937 and in the year 1937-1938, they were sanctioned an amount of Rs. 1,500/- for the distribution of text books. In 1942, Harijan Sevak Sangh started a rural reconstruction centre for intensive amelioration among the Kuravar at Varkala with common building, weaving, poultry and cattle breeding centres. In 1942, they had 30 Harijan Schools in different parts of the state.

Of all the organisations Ramakrishna Mission started in 1911 under the guidance of Nirmalada, a direct disciple of Sree Ramakrishna, appears to have been successful. The
first ashram was started in 1912, followed by those at Tirupalla, Trivandrum and other centers. No caste distinction was observed in the ashram and interdining was practised amongst the inmates.

The Hindu Mahasabha within a few years after the temple entry claimed a reconversion of more than eight thousand people. After reconversion they were granted the usual concessions of Hindu backward communities which were denied when they remained a convert.

The Maharani Sethu Parvathi Bhai Streetdhamalaya was started to provide accommodation to backward community girls, to train them in midwifery, nursing, child welfare, and dietetics. They got an enhancement of grant which amounted to Rs. 125/- per annum.

In 1941 there were as many as 19 voluntary organisations working for the backward communities. Their financial assistance from the Government varied from Rs. 60/- to Rs. 125/- per year.

The Young Hindu Movement, organised by the students of the University of Travancore with a view to make the backward communities understand and appreciate the heritage of Hindu religious thought, was another organisation interested in the uplift activities. They organised study and discussion groups on spiritual, religious and social problems, bhajan and congregational worship, and other social activities in slums and village areas. In 1943 they were granted a lump sum amount of Rs. 50/-.
The Kerala Hindu Mission claimed a reconversion of 62000 souls from backward community Christians. For the reconversion of the Catholic Christians the Mission intended to provide them with necessary equipment 'out of the clutches of the Missionaries'.274 Sometimes, even seeking the support of the police to save the reconverts. Elaborate house to house propaganda was claimed to have been conducted. Within the period of 14 May 1940 to 13 January 1941, they claimed 29387 reconverts from various taluks.

So far and so long things went well and the Government called for confidential reports of the progress of various organisations about their claims from the district authorities and their report shows the nature of the work. At Kottayam, it was reported, the Hindu Mahasabha was effecting mass reconversion which hoped to gather momentum. Just as the Christian Missions did, after care was given to the reconverts to see that they did not convert. There the Mission was more propagandist like conducting meetings and Kathakalashapams than effecting reconversion. 'The activities of the Hindu Mission are useful as a preventive measure275. From the Quilon Division it was reported, "The Hindu Mission has paved the way for the solidarity of the Harijans, has aroused amongst them a spiritual awakening and has infused into their minds a sense of cleanliness, self-respect and self-realisation".276 The Inspector General of Police, on the progress of the Hindu Mission in reconverting the 'rolling stones' said, "generally people go for the Hindu Mission when they find there is some material benefit and they care little for the spiritual welfare --- Their
work is mainly concerned with the depressed class people whose faith in any religion is found to be unsteady. People who are already Christians do not generally convert themselves into Hinduism but people who have no religion join the Hindu Mission whenever they aim some material benefit, and the Hindu Mahasabha engaged in some propaganda work. It was alleged that the police machinery was sometimes used to catch the 'rolling stones'. Some unscrupulous methods like filing a false case against them, and subsequently, men of missionary activity approached them offering help if they agreed to convert or reconvert.

There were also complaints of misappropriation, manipulation or accounts by various organisations. Funds allotted to the Harijan Sevak Sangh for the purchase of books was used unsatisfactorily leading to a lot of complaints. Such complaints arose against the office-bearers of Kuravar Mahasabha and the Parayar Maha Sabha.

A perusal of the confidential reports submitted by the district authorities shows that various organisations were engaged only in propaganda and reconversion activities than effecting any material welfare to the backward communities. A confidential report of the Protector who was more in touch with such activities says, "What strikes one most in the organisations working for the amelioration of backward communities in Travancore is the utter absence of co-ordination in their work. They all subsist on the grants and subventions from the Government. There are much
overlapping in their work and in the utilization of the funds they receive. None of the organization have a conspectus of work that is being done, a false idea is given that much is done by them for the relief of the backward communities.

The Hindu Mission was one among them, "on the whole the Mission had good record of work to its credit even though it has not that popular backing which an organization of its kind should command", and the Kerala Harijan Sevak Sangh, "There is nothing in the work of the Sangh at present that calls for such consent or appreciation. The Harijan Sevak Sangh is to say the least political stunt". He continued about the Hindu Mahasabha, "If what is found on record is the test of work of an organization, the Hindu Mahat Sabha has much that would bring credit to it." He informed the Government. The only Hindu Organisation that does substantial work in Travancore at present is the Ramakrishna Mission. Swamy Thapasyanda and Swamy Agamananda constitute the life of the mission in the state. They have the ideal of devoted service and sacrifice —— The Rama Krishna Mission has realized like the Christian Missions that the task of raising the backward communities and the neglected classes is not merely a social and educational or economic one, but above all, a moral and spiritual problem. That being so, effective services to these groups can be rendered only by those who in addition to their material gifts have the spiritual means of illuminating their hearts and of raising and supporting
what is low in their mental faculties. None of the other organisations share with the Rama Krishna Mission the spirit of altruistic service which alone can be the ending motive of all communities and philanthropic work.283

Government Service, and backward communities

In a society infected with caste and communal feeling the Government service had its influence, importance, prestige and glamour in every aspect of life. During the Shanar agitation — the first social outburst of the backward communities — the people knew of its importance. A missionary alleged that the 'official characters' were unavoidably merged into the 'high castemen'.284 They handled the cases in their own fashion. In the previous pages it is seen how loopholes were made in the Government decision and the bureaucracy evaded the spirit of these decision. As the Government was dominated by Caste Hindus power was misused deliberately. Hence, non-Caste Hindus and non-Hindus felt to protect their interest, especially economic, it was necessary to have a say in the administration.285 Sahodaran Ayyappan rightly said entry in the Secretariat was more important than entry in the temples.286

Achievement of a man was not then considered as an individual attainment but of his community. It was not also considered a means of livelihood. The uniqueness and the effectiveness of the Government service to the social backwardness was not commanded by any other profession.287
So when they found that many of the departments were dominated by a certain section dissatisfaction was natural.

By occupying a commendable position in the Government service there were changes in the interpersonal relationship by overhauling the social structure and inferior superior caste relationship. In such cases high caste subordinate were forced to accept his caste inferior as his social and official superior. So it was commented that conversion or the Government service were the only two alternatives to escape from caste nuisance. The Unemployment Enquiry Committee also observed its emancipating role.

It was the Malayali Memorial, at least to a small degree which brought out the neglect of Ezhavas and others in the Government service. A small mention was made, to make it more representative, about the absence of Ezhavas in the service with a salary of Rs. 5/- or above. In the Tenth Session of the Indian National Social Conference, G. Parameswaran Pillai, a Nair by caste, spoke of it. He criticised and said, "In the first place they are denied by the Travancore Government the common facilities of education which are open to other classes — even when they are educated they are not given encouragement by the state". He said, he had in his mind the sad story of Dr. Palpu's family — Ezhavas by caste.

It was Dr. Palpu's family which suffered the sin of neglect most in the 19th century. Their requests were repeatedly disclaimed and were forced to seek the neighbouring states.
In 1895, Dr. Palpu memorialised the Government of the disabilities of Ezhavas. It had an ill-fate in the Huzur Cutchery. Hence, he had taken decision to start lawful agitation by submitting a mass memorial. It was done on 3 September 1896, and organised Ezhava Sabha. The memorial questioned the logic of denying them the Government service and forcing them to go outside the State. It was the first mass protest by the Ezhavas. The memorial was well received by the fair minded public. The Government was reminded of their bounden duty to treat all subjects alike. But, the Government in their endorsement took shelter behind tradition, apprehended disturbance to 'social order and harmony'. They boasted of their departure of opening the P.W.D. and the Forest Department and requested the Ezhavas to be satisfied with that. Other excuses given were the lack of qualified persons and inferior social status. Even though the Government claimed these obstacles they were indirectly putting obstacles for their removal. As solution was not found the issue was taken to an all India level and in the British Parliament, at the instance of Dr. Palpu, by G. Parameswaran Pillai. The Dewan replied to the enquiry from the Madras Government that Ezhavas do not suffer from total exclusion as alleged, " and that the Departments like Police, Medical, Public Works, Forest, Press, Akbary, Education were opened to them " Thence the Government theoretically effected the opening. What happened just exactly an year earlier shows how they manipulated the situation.
M. Govindan, an Ezhava by caste, after graduation in 1896, applied for the post of a copyist in the High Court. The application was taken to a higher level by K. Krishna Swami Rao, the Chief Justice, with his colleagues, informed the Dewan of the crisis. They were instructed as follows,

"In reply all that His Highness Government feel called upon to observe is that whether with respect to a recognised traditional state policy, difficulty is felt to entertain the application of an individual candidate for the appointment in the department, the course of which the Government wish that the Department should adopt is to grant endorsement accordingly referring that application if need be," and M. Govindan was asked to apply to the Forest or Registration Department.

Various sessions of the Popular Assembly witnessed heated representation regarding the Government Service. Dewan S. Rajagopalachari had to make a policy declaration. In reply to M. Govindan's demand, he said that theoretically all the appointments were open to them except the Land Revenue which on account of the combination of Devaswom duties, in some places, was closed both to Ezhavas and Christians, and that in practice admission of Ezhavas into public service had been slow on account of their educational backwardness and sentimental objection of other communities which was not possible for authorities to ignore altogether.

"The Ezhava gentlemen who have now spoken on behalf of their community may, however, rest assured that the claims of this important section of His Highness subjects will have the
sympathetic consideration of the Government.

Here also, as in other cases, Ezhavas and others had to pass three hurdles—theoretical, practical and actual. By theoretical opening the Government washed their hands. For practical opening lack of education, sentimental objections were there. When they got more education and the words like sentimental objection could not carry much weight practically it was opened but actually remained closed with the high sounding words like efficiency, intelligence, integrity and character, which were remarkably vague. These words differed in meaning and scope according to the temperament and caste of the appointing authority. Hence, the actual opening was made much after the appointment of Public Service Commissioner.

The first positive attempt for the appointment of backward communities was made by Dewan P. Rajagopalachari. He issued a confidential circular to give preferential treatment to Ezhavas and others. For this purpose he made division of communities and called for periodical reports. He republished the Proclamation of 24 September 1874, on 31 May 1908, prohibiting the appointment of relatives as subordinates.

However the circular was not well received in the Caste Hindu circles, they remarked, "If Government want to uplift these backward classes, it can give them free education and improve their condition in many ways without introducing an anomaly of an Ezhava superseding an
highly qualified Brahmin in service merely on the ground that he belonged to a backward sect. It was P. Rajagopalachari who first appointed a Pulaya as Sub-Inspector of Police. After his departure, little effort was made to improve their condition.

M. Krishnan Nair, the next Dewan, also issued a circular to various Heads of the Departments to consistently with efficiency, qualification etc. special consideration should be shown in the matter of appointments to the members of the communities such as Ezhavas, Mahommades etc. which are backward in point of education, and it was during his time that two Ezhavas were appointed for the first time in the Huzur Cutchery, a Caste Hindu strong hold.

Various communities often raised complaints against the appointing authorities about neglect, lack of encouragement and indifference of the appointing authorities to the circulars issued by the Government. Such communities viewed the neglect of their claims as an insult to self-respect. But the Government with their stock excuses called specific instances. To press the claims of the under represented communities K.C. Kammen Mappilai moved a motion in 1922 in the Travancore Legislative Council.

Dewan T. Raghaviah dealt with such questions most arrogantly. When a castewise statement of the appointments made by the High Court with a salary of above Rs. 20/- was requested in the Legislative Council they replied, "Government do not propose to call for the information as in their
opinion the time and labour involved in its collection will be out of proportion to utility.\textsuperscript{300} Such instances were so many. The public demand for equal treatment first crystallised in the agitation for the separation of Devaswom from Revenue Department.

**Demand for the Separation of Devaswom and Revenue Departments.**

Even as early as 1905 there were demands for the separation of Devaswom and Revenue Departments so as to facilitate the entertainment of non-Hindus and non-Caste Hindus in the latter. During 1910's their demand increased considerably. The Government was warned, "If it is not allowed today, it will have to be granted tomorrow and till it is duly acceded to, the present agitation will not cease.\textsuperscript{301} Kerala Bharati commented as useless to 'cringe for favours' from the Government.\textsuperscript{302}

The Travancore Cochin Conference of the Christian Mahasabha, in its meetings held on 17 May 1918 and on 5 April 1919 passed resolutions to separate Devaswom and Revenue. The deprived communities organised under Civic Rights League, and convened meetings at Alleppy and Kottayam. The latter meeting, under the presidency of E.J. John decided to memorialise the Dewan. They met him on 26 February 1920. He gave only an evasive reply. So, on 2nd March 1920 a public meeting was held at the LMS Hall Trivandrum. It was said it was not a matter of securing 30 appointments out of 950, but was 'the question is deeper, it touches the basic principle of citizenship'. They
analyzed various causes given by different Bawas from the days of V.P. Madhava Rao, and concluded that the diversity of excuses bears evidence to its unsoundness. They warned the Government of the likelihood of communal bitterness. T.K. Madhavan further explained that it was not to snatch away any one's right but to establish their own. He also referred to the significant role of the Christians, Muslims, Ezhavas, and Pulayas in the society in education, trade, industry and husbandry. Jacob Kurian raised the claim on behalf of the 26 lakhs of the deprived sections.

As pressure mounted, the Government appointed a committee report on the feasibility of separation. Mahadeva Aiyar, the Chief Secretary, tried to influence the Committee through a confidential memorandum, pointing out the Hindu character as the basic feature of the constitution of the State, scrupulously guarded and inviolate connection of religion and the Government, and 'dangers of an unforeseen consequence' that might follow with the separation of Devaswom.

However, the Committee headed by K. Amantha Narayana Aiyar recommended, "To meet the wants described above and to remedy the defects pointed out and to secure efficiency to the greatest extent possible we would recommend that a separate department be created for the supervision, management and control of the Devaswom...". What finally prompted the Government to take an immediate decision was the warning of the Madras Governor. Finally, the decision was taken on 17 August 1922.
Circumstances leading to the appointment of the Public Service Recruitment Committee.

Politics of the State, from 1910 onwards, became more communal for proportional representation in public service and representative bodies. The former, once dominated by Tamil Brahmins through their influence of religion and royal patronage, was secured by the Nairs through the Malayali Memorial, and it was against the Nair domination as bureaucratic aristocracy of the State that other communities gathered, meanwhile, those over-represented communities took shelter behind some imaginary excuses.

Forty percent of the state revenue was disbursed as salary among the 'most favoured class'. This led to misunderstanding among the unfavoured sections which they hoped to solve by proportional representation. But a major section of the favoured class irritatingly replied 'efficiency could not be sacrificed for sectarian purposes'. When the backward communities were less educated the Government pointed out the lack of duly qualified candidates, but when they got duly educated another card played was the importance of efficiency. John Nidiry, a Syrian Christian, commented on efficiency, "As for the talk of efficiency I am losing faith in that high sounding word. My experience with the officers of the State is namely confined to the judicial department. The magistrates are now recruited from the clerical staff of the Revenue Department". The tactics was that when the Revenue Department was a close preserve of the Caste Hindu those who failed to get employment
in the Judiciary got into the Revenue Department and there they got transfer to the Judiciary.

The Huzur Cutchery remained a Caste Hindu stronghold. Non-Hindus and non-Caste Hindus were not appointed in the rank of Secretary or Assistant Secretary. So K.C. Manmon Mappilai tabled a motion. K.P. Raman Pillai, said about the demand of the motion 'If the recruitment, particularly in the Huzur Office, were to be made on communal basis, I do not know where Travancore administration would be in a few month's time. Recruitment on a representative basis will be most fatal to efficiency in every department. Intelligence, character and capacity alone should count in recruiting persons to the public service', and asked to leave the matter to the discretion of the Heads of the Departments. The motion became a matter of discord. Members like T.K. Velu Pillai, K.A. Krishna Iyengar, P.K. Narayana Pillai and S. Krishna Iyer clamped down on the motion.

The following table amply shows the disparity of distribution of Government service. It shows the appointments made in the Registration Department by the Director during 1921-1922, 1922-1923.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Caste</th>
<th>Appointments made in 1921-22</th>
<th>Appointments made in 1922-23</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Permanent</td>
<td>Temporary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nair</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brahmins</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ezhava</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslims</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ref. Proceedings of the Travancore Legislative Council
Vol.3, Friday 1 August 1924, p. 38.

Out of the 96 temporary appointments 66 were sacked by the Caste Hindus, and in 1922-23 it was 87 out of 124 and 9 out of 14 permanent appointments. It was not given by the Government which were the communities included in 'others'. Usually it constituted the other minor sections of Caste Hindus. It was also the practice to make the temporary appointments permanent.

Promise of 'equality of treatment' given by the Government remained pious statements. 'Preferential treatment of the favoured class who are already enjoying the lion's share is still the order of the day'. After a great agitation Devaswom and Revenue were separated. Still matters continued to be bad. Devaswom Department was opened only to Caste Hindus "To add insult to injury
Devaswom Department seems to be the stepping stone for the higher ranks of the Revenue Department. As matters now stand, it seems impossible to raise to the higher rungs of revenue ladder without getting through the Devaswoms. So what has been given with one hand is being practically taken away by the other.\textsuperscript{312} The Government was warned both in the interest of the country and the people. Even after years of agitation, 95 percent of the appointments including subordinate services were held by the Caste Hindus. Regarding the claims of efficiency another commented "If we look closely this had become the practice in Travancore, that Heads of the Departments and other officers belonging to the particular castes find efficiency in candidates belonging to their own particular caste or communities."\textsuperscript{313} and N. Kumaran suggested for the formation of a Staff Selection Board.\textsuperscript{314}

The S.N.D.P. Yogam formed the Public Service Bureau in their annual meeting held at Quilon on 9 May 1926, with the object to collect all the details and statistics to press their demands. The Bureau met at Trivandrum, Chirayinkil and Neyyattinkara and resolutions were passed. T.K. Madhavan computed the claims of the Ezhavas in one of his speech at the IAS Hall, Trivandrum that the Government was spending an average of Rs. 80/- lakhs by way of salary, and when calculated, on population basis, Ezhavas were to get Rs. 14/- lakhs. But what they were getting was only Rs. 50/- thousand. This undesirable situation became more glaring when their contribution to the state by way of tax was taken into account— for
out of Rs. 24/- crores, Rs. 17/- lakhs came from akbari
Rs. 5½ lakhs from coir industry and thereby contributing
more than Rs. 4/- per head than any other community. But
what they were getting was something less than 1 anna. In 1929, request for the separate treatment of Ezhavas
for the selection of Munsifs was accepted.

As the intensity of the agitation increased a change
in the tone of demand can also be seen. The agitators
insisted for their right not on the sympathy and grace of
anyone but demanded it as 'birth right'.

The following table shows the partiality of the
administration.

Statement by caste of applications received for
appointments in the Excise Department and the appointments
made by the Commissioner who was in charge of the Department
in 1930.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Caste</th>
<th>Number of applicants</th>
<th>Number of appointments made</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brahmins (Malayala)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brahmins (others)</td>
<td>70</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ezhavas</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kambalas</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nadars</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nairs</td>
<td>585</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pulayas</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vellalas</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kshatriyas</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other depressed classes</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Hindus</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslims</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

contd.......
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Caste</th>
<th>Number of applicants</th>
<th>Number of appointments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Christians, Protestants</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church of England</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syrian Catholics</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin Catholics</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syrian Jacobites</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marthomites</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Statement by caste of appointments made in the Registration Department from 16 August 1928 to 16 July 1930.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Caste</th>
<th>Number of appointments</th>
<th>Number of appointments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brahmans (Malayala)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brahmans (Other)</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>336</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nairs</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vellalas</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kshatriyas</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ezhavas</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kammalas</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pulayas</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other depressed classes</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Hindus</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nadars</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Not available</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christians, Jacobites</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marthomites</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

continue......
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Caste</th>
<th>Number of appointments</th>
<th>Number of appointments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Latin Catholics</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syrian Catholics</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protestants</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church of England</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslims</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>Not available</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Instances can be seen in Judicial, Anchal, Hazur, Education and other Department.

Innumerable machinations were used to bypass the demand. There were allegations of personal understanding among some appointing authorities to appoint each others caste man under them. Number of appointments among the underrepresented communities were inflated by temporary appointments. Vacancies were also kept confidential.

A resolution was moved in the Council recommending to advertise vacancies. In the case of equally qualified candidates, to give preference to the under represented community. This arrangement was suggested for five years. The Government objected to the denial of chance to other communities for five years. Resolution was put to vote and lost. But, the Government promised an increased control over the Heads of Departments. The Government was criticised for rejecting the resolution.
In 1931, the Ezhavas memorialised their grievances to the Agent to the Governor General for Madras States, "The Travancore Government as a matter of State policy regularly and systematically denied, till recently to the members of the Ezhava community admission in Public Schools and representation in Public Service". The Dewan V.S. Subramoniya Aiyar refuted the charges in these words, "The complaint is extremely exaggerated that there was no such deliberate and systematic policy of suppression of the community as is asserted and that the attitude of the Government to the community in those days was necessarily conditioned by the state of society then prevailing". The memorialists complained of the theoretical opening and practical exclusion, and claimed for numerical representation, to open Devaswom, State armed force and police service. The Dewan misrepresented the situation at a time when nearly 16 schools were closed to them. "But the fact that Ezhavas as a community were slow to take advantage of the available opportunities" and the Dewan tried to convince him that the situation was the creation of Ezhavas alone, and that those demands emanated from a handful of educated unemployed youths by manipulating some data to their advantage. He then elaborated the steps already taken, and consoled, "The result of the policy is seen in the fact that in the services the proportion of places which require high qualification held by members of the Ezhavas and other backward communities is much larger than the total number of qualified members".
In this situation soon after the new Maharaja ascended, on 6 November 1931, he appointed the Public Service Recruitment Committee on 22 December 1931. In their report the Committee emphasised on efficiency—after a full consideration of the question, is of opinion that the ideal to be kept in view is to maintain the service by the best available candidates. However, the complaints of certain communities that they were not fairly represented in the public service have under existing circumstances to be duly considered and remedied as far as possible, by giving representation to unrepresented. The Committee refused communal representation in promotion and for the purpose of direct recruitment the services were divided into inferior and superior. For inferior services they reported, "the proportion in which various communities should be recruited to the inferior services should depend only on the numerical strength of each community". Accordingly the probable division suggested was Brahmins (others), Nairs 10, Vellala, Ezhava 10, Kammala and Nadar 5, Depressed classes 7, other Hindus 2, Jacobite 4, Marthomite and other Syrian 1, Roman Catholic Syrian rite 5, Latin Rite 4, Anglican 1, other Protestants 3 and Muslims 4.

The superior service was divided as ministerial and non-ministerial, competitive examination of an eliminative nature was suggested for ministerial posts upto a maximum salary of Rs. 125/-. The proportion accepted was
the percentage based on population and male literacy in English.

With a view to have a more convenient distribution of appointments, distribution of 36 appointments allotted to Hindus were divided as Brahmins (other) 4, Nair 1 2, Vellala 2, Ezhava 9, Kammala 3, depressed classes 4, other Hindus 2, and 18 appointments for the Christians were divided as Jacobites 4, Marthomites 2, Roman Catholics Syrian Rite 5, Latin Rite 4, Anglican 1, Other Protestants 2 and Muslims 4.

A resolution moved by Thariathukunjithooman in the Committee that "no person directly recruited to the Devaswom Department should be transferred to any other department was supported by the members of the aggrieved communities. As regards taking the existing services into account for future appointment the Committee was divided 6 against 5. It was thrown out by the casting vote of the Chairman. An order of rotation was also decided by the Committee.

However, M. Govindan, P.S. Mahommed, Tariathukunjithooman, T.A. Thomas and E.G. Mc Alpine signed the Report with dissenting notes. C.O. Madhavan submitted a dissenting minute. He concluded, "I could not, therefore agree with some of my colleagues when in the name of efficiency they would ignore the purpose for which the Committee was constituted. I am firmly of opinion that a different attitude on my part would have amounted to a positive failure of duty".
Another member lamented "Efficiency is not the inheritance of any particular community. In para 12 of the Report Brahmin genius (invariably meaning V. Subba Aiyar, Chairman of the Committee, a Tamil Brahmin) was been disclosed by endeavouring to establish that 'the ideal should be to recruit to the public service persons of high qualification among candidates available,' and the Chairman pressed this upon the committee with an example.

Conduct of the Chairman came for bitter criticism. from the Assembly — for cunningly throwing out the deliberations on the existing service, and rejection of numerical representation in superior services.

There was another clause of 10% reservation for merit which otherwise meant reserved for the educationally advanced and over represented sections. A certain percentage was reserved for women. It was alleged as another attempt 'for exploiting the educationally backward communities,' because among the under represented communities female education was insignificant. But to the Nair members the report of the Committee was 'an ugly and deformed creature', 'pregnant with mischief for the future of the State', 'that character, merit, efficiency and faithfully carrying out of the behests and large policies of the State from time to time are and ought to be the guiding principle and criterion in all healthy public life.'

It was argued by the under represented communities that when English education was free of charge and was
opened to Caste Hindus alone, anyone with English education was easily absorbed in the service. Then there was no question of efficiency. But when backward communities came for English education it became more costly, even at prohibitive cost some got education, it was only then came the question of efficiency. Moreover, they were not given a chance to prove their qualities of efficiency, intelligence, competence and capacity. Still they were dumped as inefficient. It was also alleged that communities with educational background alone can benefit by the competitive examination suggested for superior service. They had also complained that evidences given by the depressed classes were not taken into account. The converted Christians were clubbed together with the Syrian Christians, while Hindu depressed classes were treated with separate percentage. The Viceroy correctly appraised the situation, "Travancore like many administration, not only the reaction caused by the impact of modern sociological ideas on an old culture and old order of things. Communities which have hitherto taken small parts in public affairs, however contently they may have lived, are now aspiring to get a greater share in the administration and social activities."

During the formative period of the Public Service Commission there were complaints like nepotism, corruption, favouritism and other irregularities. The Revenue Department was described as the monopoly of the Caste Hindus.
Innumerable castewar statements of appointments called by the Councillors in various departments show their apprehension.

In view of the importance of the problem the Government appointed Dr. G.D. Nokes, the High Court Judge, to report on the principles to be observed in laying down the future Government policy. His report was submitted in March 1935.

The Government appointed the Public Service Commissioner. Dr. G.D. Nokes took charge in July 1935. Necessary rules were drafted by him and were approved by the Government on 16 September 1936. Since then no new appointments were made except on his recommendations.

According to the new rules all communities with a population of 2 percent or 1 lakh to the total population were treated separately. Military, Devaswom, Archaeology and Palace, and promotion, transfer or confirmation were excluded from the scope of the new rules. Services were divided as higher, intermediate and lower. For the higher division, with a salary of Rs. 150/- or above per mensum, efficiency was taken as the primary condition of selection. It was divided into technical and non-technical. For the former qualification and experience and the latter examination was laid down as the criterion.

The Intermediate cadre, with a salary of Rs. 149/-, persons with 3 years experience was given preference.
Efficiency was laid down as the guiding principle to be
determined according to a selective test subject to a
reservation of 40 percent to the underrepresented
communities consistent with merit, and 60 percent distributed
strictly according to merit. The lower division, with a
salary of less than Rs. 20/- per month was left to compensate
the underrepresented sections. A communal rotation was
also determined. Here also candidates with acting service was
given preference. The new system was allowed to work
tentatively for three years subject to revision.

Though a lot of publicity was given to the appointment
of the Public Service Commissioner, his powers were limited
by excluding many important posts and certain departments.
There were many loopholes like exclusion of promotion and
interdepartmental transfer. So vacancies were either filled
by promotion or transfer making new rules applicable to the
lower division. Forty percent seats were reserved for the
underrepresented communities. In actual working the
proportion was not maintained 70 percent marks for
qualifications and 30 percent for acting service was given.
When all these were put together under represented
communities were pushed out. The Government cleared their
position, "certainly you cannot expect the Government take
under their protective wings all the communities and leap
over the gulf of centuries. Historical circumstances have
contributed to the present state of inequalities and the
honest attempt that the Government would put forth will
be to offer equal opportunities to all communities."
thus the Government invented one more reason such historical reasons, though not their creation were protected by them.

Secondly, once those disabilities were removed it was for the Government to redress the 'historical' injustice. The Government applied the historical reasons more to the Revenue Department. Even after 15 years of Devaswom and Revenue separation most of the appointments were baged by the socially privileged. What was wished did not happen.

The following statement illustrates it.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Caste</th>
<th>Appointments</th>
<th>Caste Appointments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brahmins</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nair</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Caste Hindus</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erzavas</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslims</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jacobite</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marthomite</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South India United</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Christians</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin Catholics</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Kammals, Nadars, Chrrumar, other depressed classes and Roman Catholics were not at all represented in this cadre of administration.
As other communities like the Christians Ezhavas and Muslims were less represented in the service they raised complaints. They joined together. A deputation of the Samyuktha party, the political organisation of the deprived communities, consisting of T.M. Varughese, A.J. John, Anirudhan, E. John Philipose, N.K. Velayudhan, P.K. Kunju and Thariathu Kunjithomman met the Dewan on 4 January 1938. The deputationists demanded appointment on the basis of population, opening of Devaswom to all Hindus, to be 'in harmony with spirit of the historic and memorable Temple Entry Proclamation'. They failed to reach any decision.

When confidential enquiry was made whether special concessions were given to Ezhavas and other backward communities, the Director of Archaeology reported, 'only caste Hindus are generally appointed in the Archaeology Department.' Even those who had the chance to get into the service were not left free. Insults were heaped on them. Such a case was reported as early as 1896, leading to the suicide of an Ezhava physician. Later, Varnappallil S. Padmanabhan Panikkar, Magistrate at Tiruvella, committed suicide on 27 April 1927 for the same reason. C. Kesavan also faced insults and nicknames while working as a school teacher at Mavelikara.

According to the rule, after three years tentative period, Public Service Commission rules came up for review of the Assembly. To remedy the defects, fourteen resolutions were moved and they were put to vote and carried. However, the real attitude of the Government was shown whenever they
faced an issue.

Prakkulam branch of the S.N.D.P. Yogam passed a resolution, requesting the Government to give effect to the resolution passed in the Legislative body and to appoint Ezhavas in the Devaswom Department. Referring the resolution the Devaswom Commissioner advised the Dewan, "It is my considered opinion that owing to obvious reasons the details of which is not necessary to state, the appointments in the Devaswom Department should not be thrown open to those classes who are not at present appointed there. The Dewan Sir C.P. Ramaswamy Iyar supported him that, "They may first prove themselves loyal and steadfast. At present they behave as if bidding at an auction (I mean the S.N.D.P. Yogam)."

As doubts lingered in the minds of the various under represented communities a resolution was brought before the assembly to recommend the Government to publish the castewise statement of appointments made by the Public Service Commissioner after 3 years of his functioning. There were complaints that so many wonderful methods were utilized to outwit them and prevent them from getting the places provided for them in the arrangements by not advertising the possible vacancies and filling the intermediate position by promotion. So it was requested to fix a minimum qualifications for each post and not to fill such vacancies by promotion alone.
By 1945, the Government accepted to distribute impartially. They suggested to give all possible facilities for men of all communities to come through the competitive door, secondly to preserve a certain number for the best among those (under represented) communities. Puliyoor T.P. Velayudhan Pillai, a member of the Public Service Advisory Committee, assured the House that they had carefully scrutinized on several occasions the particulars of advice given for recruitment of candidates and, 'it is a sincere gratification to me to inform the House that every item of work was done in conformity with prescribed rules governing the subject and that the Committee could not find a single instance in which slight deviation has been made or any instance or irregularity committed.' Finally, it was decided to continue the Public Service Commission as it was assisted by a pure Advisory Committee.

Self improvement and organizational work.

Sree Narayana Guru gave a new life and vision to the Ezhavas. The Guru practically implemented his spiritual attainment working within Hinduism.

At Aruvippuram, in Trivandrum District, where he consecrated a Siva temple he wrote on the walls of the temple as follows, "Without difference of caste, enemies of creed, all live like brothers at heart in this place". From there step by step he prepared the minds of the masses in the progressive realisation of the ideals of the Advaita philosophy — from the personal
Goddess Sarada to a mirror and candle — worship of abstract qualities to the contemplation of self or Brahma. In 1922, at Muruckkumpuzha temple, consecrated by him, "Truth, charity, love and mercy" in Malayalam script was inscribed on a plain stone, instead of an idol, to show that true religion and worship is the observance of such noble ideas. At Kalavancode in 1924, he consecrated a mirror in the sanctuary, advising to worship oneself because God is within Oneself.

Though of a high spiritual order, he felt it unnecessary to oppose the consecration of temples as it was essential for the development of religious feeling. He advocated the worship of God in its pristine purity and not in the commercialised form. He was not fascinated by the construction of temples, as it would degenerate and advised the people to start educational institutions instead. Temples in places like Chiravinkil, Vakkam, Kulathur and other places were consecrated at the request of the people. It was at Varkala alone that he took the initiative. It was done in 1912.

Along with the consecration of temples he paid attention to the destruction of serpent grover and temples of minor deities where Ezhavas once worshipped with liquor and blood. Such places were used to construct public places.

His idea of worship was against unnecessary festivals, but spacious places where people could assemble and hear
religious discourses, and to use the offerings received for their own welfare than to plate the temples with gold. A new orientation was given to temples and its aims. He chose the best natural sites and they were opened to all.

He very carefully chose the priests so as to avoid further evils. This challenged the Brahmins who were till then believed to be the wholesalers of God.

There was a considerable change towards primitive form of worship like animal sacrifices etc. K. Aiyappan and C. Krishman and others were in the forefront of such activities.

The social importance of the consecration was that, temples remained in the past as centers of socio-cultural and political life of the people, especially when mobility was nil, and degenerated as an oppressive machinery. The Guru cut the root of the monopolistic religious and spiritual superiority of the priestly class by the consecration of 'an Ezhava Siva'. He proved that an avarna, like him, could attain high spiritual order through wisdom. New temples took Ezhavas away from the Sararna temples. While the former grew, the latter stagnated with declining income. The new temples gave the Ezhavas an experience to organise sanskrit rituals — both public and domestic. These temples became the centers of the Ezhava solidarity and channelled frustration and resentment to action and creation.
As regards caste the Guru said in one of his short poem.

"One caste, one religion, one God for man, of the same blood and from there is no difference. Animals of the same caste alone procreate, Viewed thus all humanity belongs to one caste".

and,

Whatever be a man's religion it is enough for him to become good.

Ezhavas as a community were labouring under the pangs of sub-caste and caste. As early as the first annual conference of the S.N.D.P. Yogam, Dr. Palpu exhorted his community to discard them.

Sahodaran Ayyappan was not convinced with caste and occupation based on it. He stood for the reformation of the society through reorientation of religion, morality, education, trade and commerce.

He understood that caste was sustained by lack of intermarriage and interdining. So he decided to conduct an interdining publically with Pulayas of the Chennamangalam and Cheray locality. It was held on 29 May 1917. Thereafter he was nicknamed as 'Pulayan Ayyappan'. While C.Krishnan favoured the step, Kumaran Asan wrote against it in Vivekodayam. The oppositionists belonged to the Cheray Vidyavarchini Sabha. They precipitated the crisis by ostracising the interdiners, and caused a breach of opinion between the conservative and the progressive sections.
often the interdinners were subjected to persecution. Later, Aiyappan got a clear message from the Guru in support of his activity which emphatically said that man belonged to one caste, even though there were differences of language, religion, dress etc. The volume of opposition and its persistence shows the caste and sub-caste feeling among the Ezhavas even in late 1920's. Aiyappan accepted the challenge and later organised the 'Sehodara Sangham' at different places. C.V. Kunjuraman also pointed out the unreasonableness of Ezhavas following the caste. Sub-caste domination was so oppressive and tyrannical as to lead for conversion.

N. Kunnar Annan fought against caste through his literary works. His works like Duravastha and Chandalabhisheki are famous in this aspect. He fought against caste through legislature and a journal named Vivekadayam.

Work of these social reformers had its desired effect. By the 1920's many of the backward communities felt their caste name as insulting and wished to be known by the new names, such as Sembavar for Paraya, Vilakkithala Nair for barber, Cheemumar for Pulaya, Sembavar for Kurava, Viewakarma for Kammalas, and Nadar for Shanars. The Census Commissioner found the major motives of such change as the desire to raise in social ladder, to wash off the stigma attached to their old names, and the desire to restore the ancient names which were lost in unfortunate
Desire for sub-caste unification was also found among many backward communities. The Census Commissioner found their attempt had been partially successful.

Another aspect of the Guru's contribution was the organisation of Ezhavas. Dr. Palpu, a trusted lieutenant of the Guru, was considerably inspired by the advice of Swami Vivekananda in organising the Ezhavas. In 1892, at Bangalore, during their conversation Swami Vivekananda advised Palpu, after thinking for a while 'to spiritualise and industrialise the masses', and explained what he meant by 'spiritualise' and 'industrialise'. However, Dr. Palpu could not put the advice into immediate effect. A few years later he visited Travancore and came across Sree Narayana Guru. They discussed the matter thoroughly and the Sree Narayana Dharma Paripalana Yogam took its birth from that discussion. To put the second advice into effect, he organised the Malabar Economic Union with its headquarters at Cochin. Sree Narayana Guru was one among the Directors. The advice to industrialise was taken as a biblical truth by Dr. Palpu. Its influence could be seen in his subsequent action also. In this context it is interesting to note the industrial exhibition conducted by the S.N.D.P. Yogam at its annual conference at Quilon and their publication Vivekodayam was printed at Amando Press with the says of Swami Vivekananda.
The S.N.D.P. Yogan thus organised, had Sree Narayana as its head till his demise, and it was made as the rallying point of subsequent programmes and a machinery to implement it.

The Guru believed in equality not by levelling down but by levelling up. He made no speeches but put his ideas in practice. He taught them to be self-reliant. A contemporary survey shows the sudden change in the community.

The co-operative societies had a striking development among the backward classes. Intensive survey conducted by the Banking Enquiry Committee reported of the Ezhava progress and such other communities that all of them had supplementary earning and, "All the members of the Ezhava family are engaged in one branch or other of their industry (weaving) and the result is seen in the increased prosperity of their community as a whole. Each family is a self-contained unit, and though there is not much wealth in the family each member, man, women and child earn his or her quota to keep the family in comparative comfort. The average annual income of a family of 5 never goes below Rs. 200/- --". The survey found the only co-operative society in the area belonged to the Ezhavas. The Report said, "The Ezhava community is comparatively thrifty and their surplus are always invested in chittis or loans, other investments on jewels is also rare among them. This can be said of many other places and families.

The Guru exhorted his community to discontinue the
ruinous and defunct ceremonies like thalikettu, thirandukuli and pulikudi. Once he himself went to stop such a function. And his advice was well received.

Sree Narayana Guru was fully convinced of the importance of education and its reformative effect. He advocated them to take more attention in that line. Thus he emphatically declared, "People are likely to regret the spending of money on construction of temples. But it is not advisable to stop completely such efforts. Therefore, let the temples be constructed. However, the major temples should be educational institutions — it was thought that through temples all people could be brought together without caste distinction. But the experience does not justify the hope. Temples increase caste barriers. Now we must educate people. Let them have more knowledge, this is the way of improving them."

He decidedly favoured English education. And by 1924 Ezhavas had a number of educational institutions and financially assisted many poor students.

A stigma of the Ezhavas was their association with the trade in liquor. The Guru advised Ezhavas that intoxicants were poison, and neither to produce, sell or use it. The 18th annual conference of the Yogam accepted a resolution moved by T.K. Madhavan and arrangements were made for propaganda.
However, the Government proceeded against the anti-tapping movement under section 90 of the Cr.P.C. A resolution was moved by M.R. Madhava Varrier in the Council in 1922, to recommend a complete prohibition of the manufacture or import of liquor except for medical purpose. He said as the Government had accepted the principle that taxation from the intoxicants was for its discouragement than revenue they should not proceed against the movement. Van Ross, the Excise Commissioner raised some technical objections, he said that the Government had already contracted with shop owners. He said that the "proposal cannot be regarded as emanating from the people as a whole and it therefore lacks the element of success", and rejected the proposal. Other Councillors like G. Parameswaran Pillai, K.A. Krishna Aiyangar, T.K. Velu Pillai, K. Parameswaran Pillai, John Midimy lamented the Government policy. The Dewan made clear the policy, "It is the declared policy of the Government to discourage drinking as much as possible and eliminate it gradually and for the state not to depend upon revenue from the drinks eventually. But it is not a practical proposition to prohibit it at once and instantly. This policy came for criticism from the Press. The Government adopted repressive measures towards the movement.

In 1925, a committee appointed by the Council to examine the measures for the eradication of the use of
liquor suggested not to open new shops within two
furlongs of any market, schools, places of worship
and public resort, hospital or factory; to keep
a minimum distance of half a mile between shops in
town and one mile in rural areas and a reduction of
5 percent in their number in every triennial contract.

The temperance activities resulted in disturbances
at Shertally talook. The younger and educated generation
favoured prohibition and wanted to dissociate their
community from it. Questionable motives were attributed
to some of their leaders from other communities at
different quarters. Many Ezhavas have grown rich by the
drink trade, and their riches have made the Nairs envious.
Many organisations sprang up there such as Anti-theist League,
Revolutionary Leagues, Youth League, Labour Association
etc. with professes social and political object. The
organisations took temperance as a useful cloak in their
activities because by furthering prohibition they
would be able to curb the steady increasing material
power of Ezhava community. When the movement was joined
by some illiterate it often became intemperate and violent.

However, the persistent agitation had its results.
Many Ezhava contractors desisted from taking contract
and the temperance activities had certain effect on
other communities like Pulayas and Parayas they also
realised its moral, physical and economic aspects.
Another important change effected among the Ezhavas was the change in the family system. They followed three system of inheritance such as mizravazhi, makkathayam and marumakkathayam.

According to the mizravazhi system of inheritance tarwad properties were inherited in the female line. Male members had only the right of enjoyment and administration according to seniority but children did not have any claim over the tarwad property of the father.\(^{381}\)

Generally in the Ezhava tarwads voluntary partition was not possible and the karanavan had indisputable powers which were protected by the Court.

Traditional system of marriage was known as pudamuri, without any religious aspect. It had not been stable. Sub-caste marriages were not prevalent. Polygamous sambandham was not usual. Divorce was possible either by desertion or break of relation.\(^{382}\). This led to conflicting judicial decisions. In one case it was decided that under the marumakkathayam divorce could be effected by expressing the wife's desire in a written statement (20 TLR 65). In another case when an Ezhava women married another Ezhava the High Court decided that requisite formalities had to be observed and the accused was declared guilty (24 TLR 157). Decision of the court was that, 'the marriage was admitted to be valid until divorce was effected with the necessary formalities, the marriage did subsist and that therefore the offence was committed.' Wife and children had no
claim over the property of the husband or the father. Polyandry and polygamy were rarely practised.

Tarwad system became unmanageable because of the impertinability of its property. If the present state of affairs continue we shall eventually find a family of 2000 or 3000 members all struggling to live in the tarwad to demand maintenance, because the courts approved the right of maintenance of the anandaravans and hence they were forced to remain in the overcrowded tarwad house to get their maintenance. In such a situation the fate of the junior female members especially of the unmarried and widow was extremely miserable.

Karanavans favoured his near relations to the exclusion of the distant. Tarwad properties are invariably sold to satisfy the maintenance decrees and several tarwads once prosperous have been thus ruined. The actual situation of such families were described "majority of the junior members of a tarwad lead an indolent life, depending upon two meals they may chance to get in the tarwad and spent the most precious part of their time in idle gossip without seeking opportunity of being serviceable to the country. The talent of the rest are allowed to decay, resulting in the degeneration of the race, indications of which are already apparent in many tarwads. The enterprising junior members of the tarwad are not provided with any capital to start any business of their own —- partition is the only remedy."
The karanavans of tarwad have very little interest in improving tarwad properties, as that would entail investment of income upon them, the increased revenue of which they are afraid, they may not live to enjoy.

The following two tables show the extent of the break down of the joint family system among the Ezhavas.

Statement showing the number of suits filed by the Seshakars of Ezhava families during the years 1913-1917 to set aside alienation made by the Karanavan and decrees passed

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Suits by Seshakars for cancellation of Karanavan</th>
<th>Suits by Seshakars for removal of Karanavan</th>
<th>Suits by Seshakars to set aside Karanavan</th>
<th>Suits filed to set aside attachment of tarwad properties for Karanavan's debt</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Changannur</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kudithurai</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Padmanabhapuram</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nagercoil</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trivandrum</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neyyatinkara</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quilon</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Krishnapuram</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karunagappalli</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adoor</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mavelikkara</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kottayam</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ref: Judicial Section, File No. 315/55/1968.
The following statement shows the number of gift deeds and other documents executed by the Ezhavas during the year 1907, 1912 and 1917.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nature of the deeds</th>
<th>1907</th>
<th>1912</th>
<th>1917</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of partition deeds</td>
<td>351</td>
<td>591</td>
<td>590</td>
<td>1532</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of agreements for maintenance allotment</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of gift deeds to wife and children or others</td>
<td>359</td>
<td>481</td>
<td>690</td>
<td>1530</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of deeds for the dissolution of marriage</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The two statements above show the seriousness of the situation and the extent to which break down had occurred in the tarwads. Under these circumstances the need for a legislation to define the law of inheritance and marriage among the Ezhavas was repeatedly pressed in the representative bodies.

The Ezhava Law Committee found that there was a large demand for partition, but opinion was divided as to the mode of partition. Under the changed circumstances self-acquisition was mostly given to wife and children during the life time of the acquirer. It became more pronounced among the marumakkathayam tarwads. During the years from 1907 to 1917, 343 wills were registered.
Under the misradayees it was divided among the wife and children and seshakars. However, the majority of the evidences were for allowing the wife and children to inherit the whole of the self-acquisition left by the deceased and making it divisible equally among them. The property which the managing member of tarwad acquired with the aid of the family income was viewed as an accumulation to the family assets. As for the safeguards to protect the tarwads from karanavan's possible mismanagement, they were for adopting provisions of the Nair Regulation.

The Committee did not, as regards intestate succession, propose any alteration in the existing rules of matrilineal succession, but they said, were concerned only with the devolution of the self-acquired and separate property. They found that 'There is not a person in the community to say that nothing should go to wife and children of the deceased Ezhava from the self-acquisition left by him'. Apart from that the majority of the leaders of the community favoured the wife and children. Hence the Committee recommended that, 'The self-acquired and separate property of an Ezhava male left undisposed of at his death shall devolve on his wife and children and that the provision shall take effect only in respect of such properties acquired or held subsequent to the date of the proposed enactment.'

There were two different marriage systems among the Ezhavas — the traditional 'pudamuri' and the new one introduced by Sree Narayana Guru, the essential part
of which was the tying of tali or mangalityasuthram. The former was giving way to the latter. Public opinion favoured the validity of both.

The Committee recommended to exclude makkathayees and converts, undesirableness of register marriages, to validat sub-caste marriages, to prohibit polygamy and polyandry, to provide for divorce, partition of terwads, thevazhi partition of terwad property and devolution of self-acquired property to wife and children. 'The Guru' clearly expressed a desire for a law to regulate the marriage system and to allow divorce only in cases of incurable disease, immorality, or attempt on life. He favoured individual partition and equality of son and daughter to inherit paternal property, and Dr. Palpu unconditionally supported the views of Sree Narayana Guru.

Backward communities and political rights

The desire for participation in the political affairs of the state was kindled by the Ezhava Memorial. The importance of political rights was stated, 'The legislature in modern democracy is not only a law making body but it is also the custodian of general interest of the people and watch dog of their rights.'

There were criticism about the constitution of the Travancore Legislative Council, started on 23 August 1888, as only representative body of the Nair community.
Sree Mula Popular Assembly, another representative body, without legislative powers, was formed in 1904. Its first session was held on 22 October 1904. Membership was limited to 100 and distributed among various interests. Membership of the backward communities were very poor in these two bodies.

The unfair situation was brought to the notice of the Government by Kumaran Asan as early in 1905. The Dewan replied, "There is much in these representation. They will receive due consideration". The question of numerical representation was raised even from 1906 by Asan in the editorials of Vivekanayam. He complained that Varnas bureaucratic elements utilized certain loopholes in the electoral rules to avoid the names of many in the Ezhava tax payers from the list by the misinterpretation of the words 'on his own account'.

Dewan P. Rajagopalachari decided to nominate depressed classes to the Assembly. It was described a 'startlingly revolutionary act', an act of recognition of the social and political existence of Paribas and Pulayas. It was an important move in the direction of the removal of social disabilities. But the rules of the election to the Assembly was in such a way that it was practically impossible for the backward communities to get elected from the general seats. This was proved by the system of nomination. Separate electorate was demanded as a remedial measure, and Ezhavas claimed, according to their numerical strength, 16 out of the 1000 members of the Assembly.
The claim was made more clear by Pacha Bava in one of the meetings of the Christians, Muslims, Ezhavas and other backward communities, held at Alleppey in 1918, that 26 lakhs of the above communities were represented in the Assembly with 43 members and the remaining 9 lakhs were represented by 57 members in the Assembly.\textsuperscript{394}

The constitutional reform of 1922, did not bring much change except that it increased the number of non-official members. Ezhavas continued to represent the matter to various authorities. In 1924 they approached the Dewan. They were promised special considerations, and in 5 August 1927, a memorial was submitted to the Regent on the representation issue. The issue was taken before the Simon Commission also by C.V. Kunjuraman, the General Secretary of the S.N.D.P. Yogam, on 26 May 1926, through a memorial, representing the disabilities of Ezhavas and the need of communal representation. Ezhavas in another Memorial submitted to the British authorities complained that since the reorganisation of the Council 1922 they could not return a single member from the general constituency because of the electoral qualifications. What they suggested was communal representation with 6 seats. But the Dewan found that the unfavourable situation was created by their scattered habitation forming majority nowhere, lack of political consciousness and inferiority complex.\textsuperscript{395}

The Dewan claimed lack of reservation was compensated by nomination.
The new constitutional reform announced on 29 October 1932 failed to satisfy the political aspirations of the Ezhavas. From the past experience they found that it would be impossible to get into either of the Houses by means of a general election. By the time they organised 'All Travancore Ezhava Political Sabha'. A deputation of the Sabha consisting of C.V. Kunjuraman, K. Sankaran, C. Kesavan and P.K. Bhaskar met Sir C.P. Ramaswami Iyer the Constitutional Adviser of the Maharaja and the Dewan on 11 November 1932 for a change in the election rules and reservation of seats. The Government failed to give any specific answer. An Ezhava Maharaja Conference, organised by the Yogam, held at Alleppey, under the presidency of K. Aiyarappan, on 27 November 1932, disapproved the proposals and formed a committee to decide future programme.

On 17 December 1932, twelve different associations of the Christians, Muslims and Ezhavas held a meeting in the CMS Hall at Trivandrum, under the chairmanship of E.J. John. Resolutions were passed for the better treatment of these communities and decided to form a political committee consisting of 33 members with K.T. Thomas as the Convener, and to submit a memorandum to the Dewan by a deputation of ten members.

At another meeting headed by E.J. John, he advised the members of such communities to withdraw from election work. Innumerable protest meetings were held. The deputation met the Dewan and submitted a memorial on 9 January 1933, as decided on 17 December 1932. A meeting of the Joint
Political Congress was held on 25 January 1933 and resolved to abstain from the election as proposed by the Regulation II of 1108, unless the Government did not mind to give them proper representation in the reformed House. A Nair Conference was held, mainly consisting of retired officials, as a counter blast and passed resolutions condemning the action of abstentionists claiming proportional representation as detrimental to the interest of the country. Subsequently, a press note was issued by the Government declining to take the population claim as the deciding factor. Demands remained unheeded. The aggrieved sections abstained from the election which were held on 3-6 June 1933. As many as 28 candidates were elected unopposed, in some constituencies Nair candidates withdrew to favour the candidate of the abstaining communities. "This was done to prevent radical injustice, so as not to cause the scheme to be recast. If this is achieved in the present election there would be no change hereafter and in future elections they could win back all such seats." It was also alleged that though there was no question of any subversive activities, law and order, threat to the Government, they adopted highly repressive policy. Officers of the State both civil and police, high and low, tempered the election campaign openly and covertly.

The abstention movement attracted wide attention. K. Aiyappan in one of his editorials in Sahodaran warned that Nair community would not be able to bluff them by saying that they had actively participated in temple entry.
movement, Vaikom satyagraha or other activities. The matter was taken before the Viceroy for consideration, from the point of view of minority communities. The point of discord was that, 'in shaping the future of the country they are not allowed to play their legitimate role — but because the representation for the two houses has been so framed that a particular community viz. the Nairs evolved to get preponderant representation of the abstaining community would be most inadequate.

It was widely accepted that the demand of the abstentionists were right. I very tried for a compromise. Even though the Devan nearly accepted, it failed due to 'Sir C.P. 's' obstinacy. After the election the abstentionists submitted a memorial to the Devan which said, "the existing electoral rules can result only in returning Nairs to the legislature in an overwhelming majority. Out of the 43 seats in the Assembly thrown open for elections in general constituencies 21 are secured by Nairs, and out of the 16 seats in the State Council 10 are won by them and they form only one sixth of the population of the State. These results shows an undue predominance of the Nair community in the legislature. Thus 80 percent of the population of the State is deprived of adequate representation. The underlying issue of all these was that the Government wanted the legislature to be more representative of them because through the clause of nomination they selected 'aspirants, for the
favour of Government appointments'. In such a situation, whether on social, political and economic issues of vital public interest the Government could whip the legislature according to their likes and dislikes without being embarrassed. Ultimately it was the Nairs who gained. Their 'predominance in the legislature combined with their predominance in the public service, makes the Nair community a powerful oligarchy, dangerous to the state and other communities. If things are allowed to continue long in this manner the other communities in the state are sure to lose their political rights and become politically annihilated'.

The following table shows the nature of representation of various communities in the Council of the State.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Population by 1932</th>
<th>Year of representation</th>
<th>Total representation</th>
<th>Nature of representation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Christians</td>
<td>16 lakhs, 9½ lakhs Syrian Christians 6½ lakhs others</td>
<td>1923</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7 elected Syrian, 1 nominated, Latin Catholic 1 nominated south Travancore Christian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ezhavas</td>
<td>8½ lakhs</td>
<td>1923</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2 nominated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslims</td>
<td>3½ lakhs</td>
<td>1923</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2 nominated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nairs</td>
<td>8½ lakhs</td>
<td>1923</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13 elected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christians</td>
<td></td>
<td>1926</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Selected Syrian, 1 nominated Syrian, 1 nominated Latin Catholic 1 nominated south Travancore Christian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ezhavas</td>
<td></td>
<td>1926</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2 nominated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslims</td>
<td></td>
<td>1926</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1 nominated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nairs</td>
<td></td>
<td>1926</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13 elected</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

continue......
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Population by 1932</th>
<th>Year of representation</th>
<th>Total representation</th>
<th>Nature of representation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Christians</td>
<td></td>
<td>1929</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6 elected Syrians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 nominated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>latin Catholic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 elected south</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Travancore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Christian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ezhava</td>
<td></td>
<td>1929</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2 nominated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslims</td>
<td></td>
<td>1929</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1 nominated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2 elected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nairs</td>
<td></td>
<td>1929</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14 elected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christians</td>
<td></td>
<td>1932</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6 elected Syrians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2 nominated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Syrians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 depressed Class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Christian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ezhava</td>
<td></td>
<td>1932</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2 nominated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslims</td>
<td></td>
<td>1932</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1 nominated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 elected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nairs</td>
<td></td>
<td>1932</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14 elected</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ref: Foreign and political, File No. 413, P/1933, confidential D.O.C. 31/33 from D.W. Field to R.E.L. Wingate, Joint Secretary to the Government of India dated Trivandrum, 6 August 1933.

Total number of non-official members of the Sree Chitra State Council was 27. Among them 22 were elected and 5 were nominated by the Government.
The following table shows the representation expected by the Government in the elections held on 3-6 June 1933 with the actual results in the two houses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Representation expected by the Government</th>
<th>Actual Result</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sree Mulam Assembly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Elected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christians</td>
<td>100 or 15 by election</td>
<td>2 Syrian Catholic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 by nomination</td>
<td>1 Latin Catholic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3 Protestant Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2 Jacobites</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ezhava</td>
<td>2 by election</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5 by nomination</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslims</td>
<td>1 by election</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 by nomination</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nairs</td>
<td>19 or 20 by election</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ref: Foreign and political, File No. 41 3-P/33, 1933, Confidential D.O.C. 31/33 from D.N. Field to R.S.L. Wingate, Joint Secretary to the Government of India, dated Trivandrum, 6 August 1933.

Total number of non-official members of the Sree Mulam Assembly was 62, 48 were elected and 14 were nominated.

The two tables show how inadequately those communities other than the Nairs were represented. Except the Christians other communities had less chance to get elected.

But the Viceroy, during his visit to Travancore, disapproved the abstention movement, "Those of your Highness' subjects who have been so ill-advised to abstain
from participation in the recent constitutional changes should bear in mind that social and political development is a process of slow growth which would only be hindered by suddenness and sweeping changes calculated up set an order of things which had gradually developed through many long years. In a highly literate state like Travancore certain points can hardly fail to be controversial but age long inequalities cannot be levelled with a stroke of the pen and they call for delicate and gradual readjustments which will be aided by the operation of the newly awakened social consciousness among all communities. 407

On 13 May 1935, the Joint Political Congress held a meeting at Kozhancherry. Mr. C. Kesavan, the General Secretary of the S.N.D.P. Yogam, was arrested on 7 June 1935 for seditious speech held at Kozhancherry. He was convicted for sedition. Later press communiqué issued by the Government on 17 August 1935 guaranteed a certain number of seats for Ezhavas in both Houses and redistribution of seats. The proposal was widely accepted. 408 On 16 August 1936, the Government passed orders on the report submitted by E. Subramoniya Iyer, the Franchise Commissioner, Qualification for franchise was lowered to a tax of Rs. 1/- or more. A deputation consisting of M.K. Govinda Pillai, R.K. Krishna Pillai, A. Thanu Pillai, A.S. Damodaran Asan, K. Kunju Krishna Pillai and Puthuppli S. Krishna Pillai of the Nair Vigilance Committee submitted a memorial to the Dewan on 7 November 1936, expressing their concern. 1 The Nairs obviously were dissatisfied with the electoral arrangements made by the Government in 1935 to the
satisfaction of the abstitionists. They have been formed to level up the various communities in the state and to abolish the present Nair dominance. The new election was held on April-May 1937. 8 Ezhavas were elected to the Assembly and 2 to the Council.

The Government outwitted the Samyuktha Party, the successor of the Joint Political Congress by silently releasing C. Kesavan a few days before the scheduled release under the guise of the birth day of the First Princess. This was done, for the Samyuktha Party had decided to give mammoth reception to the 'seditionists'. Later, receptions were held at different places. The Nair press and the Government viewed the move with concern and disfavour. At Alleppey, K.C. Mammen Mappilai hailed C.Kesavan as the uncrowned king. T.M. Varughese, the Deputy President of the Assembly extended welcome on behalf of 51 lakhs of people of the State. A no-confidence motion was passed in the Assembly against T.M. Varughese alleging the abuse of office as the Deputy President for his claim over 51 lakhs of the people.

On 13 August 1939, the S.N.D.P. Yogam took an important decision to dissociate from political activities. Ezhava leaders associated with the State Congress were requested to relinquish their membership from its Director Board. So V.K. Velayudhan and R. Sankar resigned from it.

Even after all political reforms, the electoral rolls consisted of only 70996 Ezhavas, but the Nairs had to their credit 166709 voters, with the result that the
former could only return 15 members meanwhile the latter
got elected 21 members. 413

By 1945, Ezhavas changed their demand. Meetings were
held at different places and resolutions were passed for
adult franchise and responsible Government. 414

......

2. Cover File No. 135, Circular No. 2953, dated D/18 September 1865.

3. Ibid., Letter from John Lowe to T. Madhava Rao, Dewan of Travancore, dated Neyyoor, 72 September 1865.


5. Ibid., p. 83, pr. 338.


8. The Indian Evangelical Review, Vol. I, 1874, Notes and Intelligence, p. 120.


11. Ibid., File No. 1213, D.O. from S. Shungara Sooher, Dewan of Travancore to Asst. Surgeon P. Palpu, Bangalori No. 4591/G 3071, dated Huzur Cutchery, Trivandrum 31 October 1896, endorsement to the memorial submitted to the Maharaja by the Ezhavas of Travancore.

12. Ibid.

13. Ibid., File No. 1213, D.O. from the Dewan of Travancore to the Ag. British Resident in Travancore and Cochin, No. 6425/G 2883, dated Huzur Cutchery, Trivandrum October 1897.

14. Ibid., File No. 15111, Scholarship Scheme for the training of Backward classes, dated Huzur Cutchery, Trivandrum 27 July 1895.

15. Ibid., Notice, Revised rules for Scholarship for training of backward classes, dated Huzur Cutchery, Trivandrum 22 July 1903.


19. Ibid., File No. 13207, Telegram from Brahmin and Sudra students of the Neyyattinkara Vernacular School to the Maharaja, dated 8 June 1905.


21. Ibid., Petition from the Brahmins and Sardas of Neyyattinkara talook to the Maharaja, dated 25 June 1905.

22. Ibid., File No. 14884, D.O. from the Inspector of Schools, Northern Range to the Dewan of Travancore, No. 1549 dated Camp Vaikom, 20 November 1901.


24. Report on Kerala Mitram 24 September 1881; and, Ibid., Kerala Sanskriti, 6 April 1882; and, Ibid., Kerala Nandini, 5 August 1892; and, Ibid., Kerala Sanskriti, 7 December 1892; and, Ibid., Kerala Sanskriti, 15 January 1896; and, Ibid., Malavali, 19 March 1901; and, Ibid., Kerala Sanskriti, 3 April 1901; and, Ibid., Kerala Sanskriti, 3 October 1903; and, Murkott Kunjappa, Malavali Manorama Sankara Tharangani, Kottayam, 1973, p. 261.


27. Education Section, File No. 225/1907, D.O. from the Inspector of Schools, Northern Range to the Dewan of Travancore No. 286, dated Kottayam, 14 July 1905.
28. Ibid., D.O., from the Head Master, Thirikkodithanam Middle School to the Inspector of Schools, Northern Range, No. 3, dated 2 June 1905.

29. Ibid., D.O., from the Dewan of Travancore to the Inspector of Schools, Northern Range, dated Huzur Cutchery, Trivandrum 10 August 1905.


31. Ibid., File No. 194/1908, Petition submitted by the Ezhavas of Kavelikkara taluk to the Dewan dated 8 January 1908.


33. Ibid., D.O., from the Inspector of Schools, Northern Range to the Chief Secretary to the Government, No. 408, dated Kottayam, 6 November 1908.

34. Ibid., File No. 401/1908, office note; and, Ibid., D.O., from the Chief Secretary to Rev. E. Bellerby, Principal Buchanan Institute, Pallam, No. 2121, dated Huzur Cutchery, Trivandrum, 12 June 1908.

35. Ibid., File No. 902/1908, D.O., from the Inspector of Schools, Central Range to the Chief Secretary, No. C 3496/1908, dated Quilon, 12 June 1908.

36. Ibid., D.O., from the Chief Secretary to the Inspector of Schools, No. B. 1698, dated Huzur Cutchery, Trivandrum 2 August 1908.

37. Ibid., Petition submitted by Pangottu Kannan Nilakantan of the Kannankottamuri, Vettikkavala Pravarthi to the Education Secretary, dated 26 June 1905.

38. Education Section, File No. 911 Vol. 1/1908, from the Chief Secretary to the Government, endorsement to the Petition, dated Huzur Cutchery, Trivandrum 8 June 1908; and, Ibid., D.O., from the Palace to P. Rajagopala Chari, Dewan of Travancore No. E 199/3 February 1912, dated Palace, Trivandrum 3 February 1912; and, Ibid., Proceedings of the Government of H.H. the Maharaja of Travancore, Order thereon No. E. 795, dated Trivandrum, 1 May 1911; and, Ibid., D.O., from the Palace to the Dewan No. E 485/ 10 March 1911, dated Palace, Trivandrum 8 March 1911.
39. Ibid., D.O. from the Director of Public Instruction to the Chief Secretary, No. E 255/4, September 1909, dated Camp Neyyattinkara, 1 September 1909.

40. Ibid., D.O. from the Inspector of Schools, Central Range to the Chief Secretary, Ref. C.No.1172/1908, dated Quilon, 23 March 1908; and, Ibid., D.O. from the Inspector of Schools, Central Range to the Chief Secretary, Ref. C.No.929/1007, Quilon 11 March 1908; and, Ibid., D.O. from the Inspector of Schools, Northern Range to the Chief Secretary, No. 90, dated 6 March 1908.


42. Education Section, File No. 911/1908, office note; and, Proceedings of the Sree Mulam Popular Assembly, 27 November 1907, No. Kumaran Asan, P. 97.


45. Ibid., 12 November 1908, N. Kumaran Asan, p. 73.

46. Ibid., 8 January 1910, K. Kunju Panikkar, p. 39.

47. Education Section, File No. 953/1908, petition from Govindan Asan Mundayil, Varkkala to the Dewan of Travancore, dated 12 January 1907.

48. Ibid., Statement given by the Caste Hindu inhabitants of Varkkala gramam to Kumara Pillai, Headmaster, Varkkala Government Middle School, dated 25 July 1905.

49. Ibid., Petition from Govindan Asan, Mundayil, Varkkala, to the Dewan of Travancore, dated 17 June 1905.

50. Education Section, File No. 42/1909, D.O. from the Asst. Inspector of Schools, District VIII to the Inspector of Schools, Central Range, dated Chengannur 15 August 1908.

51. Ibid., File No. 355/1910, D.O. from Dr. Mitchel, Director of Public Instruction to the Chief Secretary, No. 4893/1267, dated Trivandrum, 25 July 1910.

52. Ibid., File No. 301/1916, D.O. from the Dewan of Travancore to the Chief Secretary, dated 26 February 1910.

54. Education Section, File No. 355/1910, D.O. from the Chief Secretary to the Director of Public Instruction No. 4893/1267, dated Trivandrum, 25 July 1910.

54. Ibid., File No. 290/1913, petition of N. Kumaran Asan, General Secretary, S.N. D.P. Yogam to the Dewan of Travancore, No. 2469, dated The S.N.D.P. Yogam office, Trivandrum, 3 September 1913.


58. Education Section, File No. 26/1918, Proceedings of the Government of H.H. the Maharaja of Travancore, Order thereon, No. E 764, dated Trivandrum, 9 March 1918; and,

Ibid., File No. 301/1919, D.O. from the Director of Public Instruction to the Chief Secretary No. 1128/1267, dated Trivandrum, 2 September 1920.


60. Ibid., petition from the Brahmins of Kumaranallur locality to the Dewan of Travancore, dated 20 April 1920.

61. Ibid., D.O. from the Director of Public Instruction to the Chief Secretary, No. 1351/2367 of 94, dated Trivandrum, 39 September 1920.

62. Ibid., File No. 922, Vol.1/1924, D.O. from the Chief Secretary to the Director of Public Instruction, ROC No. 1118/L&LG/1921, dated Huzur Cutchery, Trivandrum 4 November 1921.


64. Education Section, File No. 922, Vol.1/1924, D.O. from the Dewan Peishkar, Padmanabhapuram Division and the Assistant Inspector of Schools, Eraniel District to the Chief Secretary, No. 908/415, dated Padmanabhapuram, 2 December 1921; and,
Ibid., Extracts from the Circuit Diary of the Ag. Dewan Peishkar, Kottayam for the month of Dhanu 1070 regarding Vernacular LGs at Elankavu and the Girls School at Vellom.

65. Ibid., D.O. from the Director of Public Instruction to the Chief Secretary, No. 71/1267, dated Trivandrum, 15 January 1923.

66. Education Section, File No. 669/1926, D.O. from the Devasthan Commissioner to the Chief Secretary, dated Trivandrum, 4 May 1925.


70. Education Section, File No. 1250/1936, Letter from R.N. Statham, Director of Public Instruction to the Chief Secretary No. 277/1267, dated Trivandrum, 2 March 1934.

71. Ibid., File No. 667/1906, Petition from N. Kumaran Asan to the Dewan of Travancore, dated office of the S.N.D.C. Yogan, Trivandrum 14 May 1908.


73. Report of the Education Expenditure Committee, 1921, p. 11, pr. 11; and, Proceedings of the Sree Mulam Popular Assembly, 8 March 1922, C.V. Kunjaraman, p. 160.

74. Education Section, File No. 376/1910, Report of the Administration of the Education Department.

75. Ibid., File No. 22/1912, Administration Report.

76. Ibid., File No. 174/1912, endorsement to the Petition, No. 2227, dated Mazur Cutchery, Trivandrum, 12 November 1912.


78. Report of the Education Expenditure Committee, 1921, pp. 28 and 50.

80. Education Section, File No. 443/1923, D.O. from the Director of Public Instruction to the Chief Secretary No. 1152/1817, dated Camp Kottayam, 14 February 1923.


82. Ibid., File No. 27/1917, Statement by Hodgeson, D.P.I., Travancore.

83. Ibid., File No. 418/1923, D.O. from the Director of Public Instruction to the Chief Secretary, No. 519/x6, dated Trivandrum, 14 April 1921.

84. Ibid., note recording the decision arrived at the discussion held at Huzur Cutchery on 29 August 1922 between the Dewan and the Director of Public Instruction in regard to the Scholarship for the backward and depressed classes; and, Proceedings of the Sree Mulam Popular Assembly, 12 March 1923, Dewan, p. 16; and, Proceedings of the Travancore Legislative Council, Vol.2, 23 November 1922, S. Paramesvaram Aiyar, p. 226.

85. Education Section, File No. 920/1930, Administration Report of the Education Department for the year 1104/1929.


87. Education Section, File No. 546/1935, Report of the Administration of the Education Department for the year 1109/1934.

88. Ibid., File No. 454/1936, Administration Report for the year 1110/1935.

89. Ibid.


93. Ibid.

94. Ibid.

95. Ibid.

96. Cover File No. 2115, D.O. from T. Madhava Rao, Dewan of Travancore to Lt. General Cullen, British Resident, No.12, dated Trivandrum, 5 January 1859.

97. Ibid., D.O. from the Dewan of Travancore to Lt. General Cullen, No. 357, dated Trivandrum, 8 March 1858.

98. Ibid., translation of a Proclamation issued by the Government of Travancore, No. 1828, dated 27 December 1858.


100. Cover File No. 2115, D.O. from the Dewan of Travancore to Lt. General Cullen, No. 895, dated Trivandrum, 17 May 1859.

101. Ibid., D.O. from T. Madhava Rao, Dewan of Travancore to Lt. General Cullen, British Resident, No. 1122, dated Trivandrum, 18 June 1859.


104. Ibid., File No. 9840, D.O. from the Dewan of Travancore to W. Newill, British Resident, No. 4699/A/339, dated Trivandrum, 6 November 1869.

105. Ibid., D.O. from the Resident to the Dewan, No. 739, dated Trivandrum, 17 September 1869.

106. Ibid., File No. 286, D.O. from T. Rama Rao, Dewan Peishkar of Quilon to the Dewan of Travancore, No. 924, dated Quilon, 30 September 1869.


112. Cover File No. 2751, Circular issued by N. Ramaingar, Dewan of Travancore, dated Trivandrum, 21 July 1884.

113. Ibid., D.O. from the Executive Engineer in charge of the public works to the Dewan, dated Kamp Kottayam, 13 March 1890.

114. Ibid., File No. 15724, D.O. from the Dewan to the Police superintendent, No. 6065/j2297, dated Trivandrum, 18 November 1893.

115. Ibid., File No. 14866, D.O. from Dr. Thomas Korahh Assistant Apothecary, District Dispensary, Changanacherry, dated 20 December 1895.

116. Ibid., Letter from Rev. C.F. Painter to the British Resident, dated Tiruvella, 1 January 1896.

117. Cover File No. 11208, Memorial from the Ancient Dravidian Caste People residing in South Travancore to the Maharaja, dated 31 Auvany 1068.


120. Cover File No. 8383, Letter from P. Parameswaran, Pettah, Trivandrum to the Dewan of Travancore, dated 8 January 1903.


123. Judicial Section, File No. 115/1908, Telegram from the Proprietor Sujanandini, Quilon, to the Dewan, dated 1 March 1905.

124. Ibid., File No. 40/5/1907, D.O. from the Chief Secretary to the District Magistrate, dated Trivandrum, 29 June 1910.

126. Ibid., D.O. from the Head Sirkar Vakil to the Chief Secretary, No. 80, dated Trivandrum, 30 January 1909.


128. Ibid., File No. 66/1911, D.O. from Ramakrishna Aiyar, Dewan Peishkar to the Chief Secretary, RDO No. 229 of 86/Mis, dated Kottayam, 19 May 1911.


134. Ibid., 28 February 1921, Dewan, pp. 15-16.

135. Judicial Section, File No. 596/1923, D.O. from Commissioner of Police to the Chief Secretary, dated Alwaye, 21 December 1922.


137. Report on Tamil Nadu, Salem, 2 December 1923.


140. Report on Samadarsi, Trivandrum, 29 April 1924.

142. Confidential Section, File No. 921/1926, Confidential D.O. from W.H. Pitt, Commissioner of Police to the M.E. Watts, Dewan of Travancore, dated 26 January 1926.


145. Text of the resolution, "This Council recommends the Government that all roads round the Vysese temple and all other similar roads in Travancore be thrown open to all classes of His Highness the Maharaja's subjects without distinction of Caste or creed".

146. Proceedings of the Travancore Legislative Councils, Vol.6, 2 October 1924, Resolution matters of Public Interest, p. 318, moved by N.Kumar.


149. Foreign and Political, P. Branch, File No. 77-P, 1924, Extracts from a D.O. dated 15 June 1924, from C.W.E. Cotton, AGG MS, to the Political Secretary, Government of India.

150. Text of the Resolution, "This Council Recommends to the Government that all canals and tanks constructed or repaired at Government cost, be thrown open for the use of all people in the State, without reference to caste or creed".

151. Judicial Section, File No. 1117/1932, Telegram from T.K. Madhavan to Ag. Devaswom Commissioner, dated Parur, 14 September 1925; and,

152. Ibid., File No. R.Dis. 514/1930, D.O. from Ag. Dewan Peishkar to the Chief Secretary, dated Haripad, 5 July 1925.
153. Ibid., D.O. from W.H. Pitt, Commissioner of Police to
the Chief Secretary, dated Trivandrum, 14 June
1925.

154. Confidential Section, File No. 821/1926, Confidential
D.O. from R. Krishna Pillai, Devaswam Commissioner
to M.E. Watts, Dewan of Travancore, dated Trivandrum,
19 January 1926.

155. The Service, Trivandrum, Tuesday 13 June 1930, Suchindrum
Satyagraha.

156. Confidential Section, File No. 821/1926, D.O. from W.H.
Pitt, Commissioner of Police to the Dewan, dated,
20 February 1926; and,
Ibid., File No. 662/1926, D.O. from W.H. Pitt to the
Dewan dated 28 July 1928.

157. P.K. Madhavan, T.K. Madhavante, Jeavacharithram, Quilon,
1112, p. 334.

158. Crown Representative Record, Fortnightly Report from
the Madras States Agency, for the Second half of
May 1930, FR 10/30, dated 31 May 1930; and,
The Service, Trivandrum, Tuesday 13 June 1930,
Suchindrum Satyagraha.

159. Confidential Section File No. 726/1930, Judgement on
the Criminal Revision Petition No. 433 of 1105,
delivered by Chatfield, Chief Justice, and Justice
Joseph Thalathu, on 1 November 1930.

160. Proceedings of the Travancore Legislative Council,
Vol. 16, 26 January 1930, Resolution Matters of
Public interest, A.S. Damodaran Jan, p. 241,
text of the Resolution, "This Council recommends
to the Government that all roads and satrums
maintained with public funds be thrown open to
all classes of people without distinction of caste
or creed".

161. Proceedings of the Sree Mulam Popular Assembly, 10
March 1931, Dewan.

162. Confidential Section, File No. 767/1931, D.O. from
V.S. Subramanyia Aiyar, Dewan of Travancore
to Lt. Col. H.R.N. Pritchard, AGG MS, No. 3547/30/CEN,
dated Trivandrum, 30 August 1931.

163. Crown Representative Records, Fortnightly Report from
the Madras States, Report for the first half of
January 1930, FR 1/30, dated 14 January 1930.

164. Confidential Section File No. 851/1933, D.O. from the
Assistant Superintendent of Police, C.I.D. to the
Commissioners of Police, Trivandrum, dated 29
September 1933.
165. Education Section, File No. 1250/1936, Government
Communicare, dated Trivandrum, 19 January 1934.

166. Judicial Section, File No. 1461/1935, Confidential
D.O. from M.P. Joseph, District Magistrate to N. Kunjan Pillai, Chief Secretary, C.S.No.C 60/6, 
dated Quilon 20 December 1934; and,
Ibid., D.O. from the Palace to the Dewan, No. 1512, 
dated Palace, Trivandrum, 18 May 1935.

167. P.S. Velayudhan, S.N.D.P. Yogam Charithram. Quilon, 1978, 
p. 203.

from the Madras States, Report for the first 
half of November 1932, FR 21/32.

169. Confidential Section, File No. 1129/1933, Confidential
D.O. from the Inspector of Police, Kottayam, dated
Kottayam 20 February 1933. Proceedings and 
resolutions of the S.N.D.P. Yogam meeting held at 
Marishthugthu on 22 October 1933 under the 
Chairmanship of C. Kesavan.

170. Confidential Section, File No. 990/1934, Secret Weekly
Bulletin, Saturday, 2 November 1934; Kottayam
4 November 1934; Quilon 4 November 1934; and,
Ibid., File No. 1032/1935, Speech delivered by
K.R. Narayanan at the Swathantra Samadayaam Darbar
held at Shertalai-on 19 April 1935; and,
Crown Representative Records, Fortnightly Report,
Madras States, Report for the first half of 

171. Foreign and Political, P. Branch, File No. 245-P(s)36, 
Confidential Letter from Lt.Col.W.A.M. Garstin in
AGG MS to Sir Betrand Glancy, Political Secretary
to the Government of India, No.DOC 34/36, dated
Munnar, 3 May 1936; and,
Ibid., File No. 454-P(s) 36, Confidential Letter from
Lt.Col.W.A.M. Garstin, AGG MS to Sir Betrand Glancy,
Political Secretary to the Government of India,
No. DOC 34/36, dated Trivandrum, 7 August 1936.

172. Judicial Section, File No. 2952/36, Telegram from
Police Commissioner, to the Chief Secretary,
dated Alleppy, 19 May 1936.

173. Ibid., Report from M.P. Joseph, District Magistrate,
Quilon to the Chief Secretary, dated Quilon 19
May 1936; and,
Foreign and Political, G Branch, File No. 246/G,
Telegram from Rapiebam, camp Munnar to Polindia,
Sirla, dated 21 May 1936; and,
Ibid., Confidential Letter from Lt. Col.W.A.M. Garstin,
AGG MS to Political Secretary to the Government
of India.
174. Confidential Section, File No. 1030/1936, Confidential Letter from H.M. George, Inspector of Police, C.I.O., dated 23 May 1936, forwarded by the Commissioner of Police to the Chief Secretary, dated Trivandrum, 5 June 1936.


177. Ibid., President, p. 36.

178. Keer Dhananjay, Dr. R.Rambakkar. Quoted from Hindu Herald, p. 287, and,
Foreign and Political, p Branch, File No.513-P(s)/36,
Extracts from a strictly confidential D.O.from AGG MS dated 16 November 1936.


181. Ibid., Memorial from P.Jataveedan Nambudiri, V.T. Sankaran Nambudiripad and T.T. Parameswaran Nambudiripad to the AGG MS, controlling authority of Koodalmanikkam temple, dated Ernakulam, 2 March 1937.

182. Ibid., Letter from the Superintendent, Koodal Manikkam Temple to AGG MS, No. Ms.276/1112, dated 7 February 1937.

183. Ibid., Letter from the Superintendent, Koodalmanikkam temple to AGG MS No. 276/1112, dated 7 February 1937.

184. Ibid., Petition submitted by Krishnan Nambudiripad and Parameswaran Nambudiripad to the Maharaja of Cochin, dated 5 April 1937.

185. Ibid., D.O. from T.K. Sankara Menon, Sarvadhikariakar to the Maharaja of Cochin to the Secretary Department of Revenue, Cochin Government, No.C.1010/1112, dated Chowara, 8 April 1937.
186. Ibid., Vol.2, Copy of telegram from the Dewan of Travancore to the Resident, dated 17 April 1937.

187. Ibid., Vol.1 Express letter from AG 45 to the Superintendent, Koodalmanikam temple, dated 17 April 1937.

188. Ibid., Opinion recorded by the Vaidekans and Vaishyas after joint deliberations.

189. Ibid., D.O. from T.K. Senakara Menon, Sarvadhikariakkar to the Maharaja of Cochin to the Secretary, Revenue Department, Government to Cochin, No. C 1010/1112, dated Chowara, 20 April 1936.

190. Ibid., notice send by P. Keralavarma Valia Raja, Mathilakam Karikal to Thottathil Muruthambi Parameswaran Agithiri, No. 2515, dated Trivandrum, 28 April 1937; and, Confidential Section, File No. 1706/1937, Press note issued by N. Kunjan Pillai, Chief Secretary, dated Trivandrum, 19 April 1937.


193. Ibid., Confidential letter from the Sarvadhikariakkar to the Cochin Maharaja to R.K. Shumugham Chetty, Dewan of Cochin, Hill House, Coornoor, dated Chowara, 28 April 1937.


195. Political Department, P Branch, File No.355-P(s) Extracts from Roy's Weekly, Delhi, Monday 26 April 1937, P.8, "I Speak to Our Leaders" an article by P. S. Kamath.


197. Confidential Section, File No.61/1939, Letter from the Dewan of Travancore to the Chief Secretary, dated Guttacanum, 9 May 1939.

198. Ibid., telegram from Thachudaya Kaimal to the Dewan of Travancore, dated Irinjalakkuda, 10 May 1939.
199. Ibid., Copy of a confidential D.O. from Perumanam Special Officer to the Travancore Devaswom Commissioner, No. 451, dated 20 May 1939.


201. Ibid., File No. 232/1943, Letter from V. Ramanuja Aiyangar, Assistant Peishkar to S. Chidambaram Private Secretary to the Dewan, dated Perumbavoor, November 1941.


203. Confidential Section, File No. 1438/1937, telegram from the Brahmins of Shencottah to the Dewan of Travancore, Grove, Madras, dated 11 February 1937.

204. Ibid., Telegram from the Dewan of Travancore to the Chief Secretary, dated Madras, 12 December 1937.

205. Crown Representative Records, Political Department, P Branch, File No. 271-P96l/37, No. 1/18, Confidential Letter from the Resident to the Political Secretary, dated Coonoor, 14 June 1937.

206. Ibid., Confidential gift of the Sanathana Dāmāhāt, No. 3, Printed and Published by Paliath Cheriyam Kunjunni Achan at the Mangalodayam Press, Trichir, Cochin State.


208. Confidential Section, File No. 1499/1937, Confidential Letter from Valla Raja of Edappalli to N. Kunjan Pillai, Chief Secretary to the Government of Travancore, dated Edappali Palace, 17 August 1937.

209. The Kerala Kaumudi, Trivandrum, 29 November 1937, Saturday, Valkom, p. 3, Col. 4.


215. Confidential Section, File No.456/1944, letter from the Editor Kerala Kaumudi, Trivandrum to the Chief Secretary, No. 604/40, dated Trivandrum, 13 November 1940.

216. Ibid., D.O. from the Devagow Commissioner to the Chief Secretary, R.O.C. No. 7949/194, dated Trivandrum, 8 January 1941.


221. The Indian Social Reformer, Bombay, Vol.XXVII, No.35, 29 September 1917, p. 413, Col.2.

222. India 1919, A Report prepared for presentation to the British Parliament in accordance with the requirements of Section 26 of the Government of India Act, p.126.

224. Ibid., Raman Channan, p. 114.


228. Education Section, File No. 1350/1938, Copy of the letter from the Chief Secretary to the Registrar Co-operative Societies Travancore, No.1917/1932/Devpt dated 2 July 1932.


236. Ibid., E.V. Krishna Pillai, p1009.

237. Education Section, File No.2116/1937, Memorial submitted by the Sambavars of Nanjanad to the Dewan of Travancore, dated Nagercoil, 22 September 1937.


249. Ibid., File No. 862/1945, Report of the Administration of the Uplift Department for the year 1943-1944.


255. Ibid., File No. 155/1945, D.O. from the Protector of the Backward Communities to the Chief Secretary, No. 1212/PBC/121, dated Trivandrum, 29 November 1945; and, 
Ibid., File No. 862/1945, Report of the Administration of the Uplift Department for the year 1919; and, 


257. Education Section, File No. 1353/1939, D.O. from K. George, Land Revenue and Income Tax Commissioner to the Chief Secretary.


259. Ibid., P. Parameswaran Pillai, p. 867.


261. Education Section, File No. 173/1946, D.O. from R. Vasudeva Poduval, Protector of the Backward Communities to the Chief Secretary, 2 November 1944; and, 

262. Proceedings of the Sree Mulam Assembly, Vol. 14, 2 August 1939, Demand for Grant, Demand XVIII, Uplift Department, motion No. 65, C. Japamony Nadar, p. 920; and, 

263. Education Section, File No. 70/1946, D.O. from the Protector of the Backward Communities to the Chief Secretary, No. 1864, dated Trivandrum, 3 February 1944.

264. Ibid., File No. 70/1946, D.O. from the Protector of the Backward Communities to the Chief Secretary, dated 9 January 1937.

265. Ibid., File No. 155/1946, D.O. from R. Vasudeva Poduval, Protector of the Backward Communities to the Chief Secretary, No. 1212/PBC/121, dated Trivandrum, 29 November 1945.

266. Crown Representative Records, Political Department, File No. 739-P(s)/38, Mr. Skrine's Impressions of Travancore Affairs.


269. Ibid., File No. 730/1938, D.O. from the Pro-Vice-Chancellor to the Chief Secretary, No. 1457/14, dated Trivandrum, 16 May 1938.


272. Education Section, File No. 591/1941, Letter from the Chief Secretary to K. Kunju Panikkar, General Secretary, The All Kerala Hindu Mahasabha, D.O.S. No. 591/41/Edn., dated 8 May 1941.

273. Ibid., File No. 333/1942, List of institutions and associations receiving grant from the Department for the Uplift of the Backward Communities, D.O. from the Protector of the Backward Communities to the Chief Secretary, No. 1274, dated Trivandrum, 27 November 1941.

274. Confidential Section, File No. 460/1944, Letter from the Managing Secretary, The Kerala Hindu Mission to M. K. Nilakanta Aiyar, Chief Secretary, dated Trivandrum, 13 January 1941.

275. Ibid., Confidential D.O. from the District Magistrate to the Chief Secretary, No. 13, dated Kottayam, 19 January 1941.

276. Ibid., Confidential D.O. from the Dewan Peishkar, Quilon, to the Chief Secretary, No. 331/4/16, dated 23 April 1941.

277. Ibid., Confidential D.O. from the Inspector General of Police to the Chief Secretary, No. R.O.C.G.11/5R/41, dated Trivandrum, 12 March 1941.

278. Ibid., Confidential D.O. from Parameswaran Pillai, Division Peishkar, Trivandrum, to M. K. Nilakanta Aiyar, Chief Secretary, C.No. 3581/16/PCC, dated Trivandrum, 10 March 1941.

280. Education Section, File No. 730/1938, D.O. from the Pro-Vice-Chancellor to the Chief Secretary, No. 1457/14, dated Trivandrum, 16 May 1938.

281. Ibid., File No. 460/1944, D.O. from the Protector of Backward Communities to the Chief Secretary, No. 4579, dated Trivandrum, 7 July 1942.

292. Ibid., File No. 460/1944, D.O. from the Protector of the Backward Communities to the Chief Secretary, No. 2279, dated Trivandrum, 16 May 1944.


286. C. Atchutha Menon, Swaranayuda Edukal, Trivandrum, 1975, p. 147.


289. Cover File No. 1213, D.O. from Shungara Scooby, Dewan of Travancore to the British Resident, No. 6425/6 2603, dated Trivandrum, 7 October, 1897.

290. Ibid., Endorsement from Shungara Soobyer, Dewan of Travancore to H. Govindan, No. 3426/3/1487, dated Trivandrum, 20 August 1896.


292. Judicial Section, File No. 55/1/1909, Proclamation Prohibiting the appointment of relatives as subordinates, dated Trivandrum, 31 May 1908.


294. Ibid., United India and Native States, Madras, 19 July 1913.

Proceedings of the Sree Mulam Popular Assembly, 1 March 1916, Dewan, p. 120.


297. Education Section, File No. 56/1919, Representation made by the Members of the Thandar Samajam of South Travancore to the Dewan, dated Kalkulam, 11 February 1918; and,

298. Proceedings of the Travancore Legislative Council, 27 March 1920, N. Kumaras Asan, p. 283; and,
Education Section, File No. 286/1921, Petition from Yasudian and others of Kalkulam to the Dewan, dated 13 Vrushchigam 1920.


300. Report on, Karalabhijani, Trivandrum, 17 July 1918; and,
Ibid., Malevalla Manorama, Kottayam 4 July 1918

301. Ibid., Karala Bharatti, Kottayam 25 November 1918.


305. Ibid., Jacob Kurian, p. 90.
307. Confidential Section, File No. 552/1920, Separation of Devaswam and Revenue, Confidential Memorandum by Mahadev Aiyar, Chief Secretary, dated 25 January 1920.


311. Ibid., K.P. Raman Pillai, p. 406.

312. Ibid., Vol.5, 2 August 1924, Rev. Fr. Kuriakos Vettikkappalli.

313. Ibid., 4 August 1924, K. Dominic Thomman, p. 170.

314. Ibid., N. Kumaran, pp. 198-200.


319. Ibid., Vol.18, 16 December 1930, p8.

320. Ibid., Vol.18, 17 December 1930, Resolution on matters of Public Interest, A.C. Kuriakose, p. 135.

321. Ibid., 18 December 1930, K. George, p. 228.

322. Report on, Pravilan, Madras, 23 December 1930


327. Ibid., 26 May 1934, N. John Joseph.

328. Foreign and Political, File No. 568-p/1933, P Branch, H.E. the Viceroy’s proposed speech at Banquet at Trivandrum on 10 December 1933.


332. Ibid., M. Govinda Pillai, p. 387; and, Ibid., Vol. 10, 9 August 1937, K. George, p. 182.


335. Confidential Section, File No. 1838/1939, Memorandum submitted by the Samyuktha party to the Dewan on Tuesday, 4 January 1938.

336. Education Section, D.C. from R. Vasudeva Poduval, Director of Archaeology to the Chief Secretary, C.S. No. 514/39, dated Trivandrum, 29 June 1939.


340. Confidential Section, File No. 679/1940, Extracts from the resolutions passed by the Praksham branch of the S.N.D.P. Yogam at its annual Conference held on 10 April 1940.

341. Ibid., D.O. from the Devaswam Commissioner to the Dewan R.O.C. No. 2805/1940, dated Trivandrum, 28 May 1940.

342. Ibid., office note written by Sir. C.P. Ramaswami Iyer, Dewan of Travancore.
344. Ibid., K. Kunju Panikkar, p. 1077.
345. Ibid., K.R. Narayanam, p. 1082.
347. Ibid., Puliyoor T.P. Velayudhan Pillai.
351. K.A. Subramanian, Sabharam Aiyappan, p. 19.
352. Ibid., p. 33.
353. Report on Atmaavidaikalam, Cheruvannur, 8-13 August 1930, article by C.V. Kunjuraman.
356. Ibid., 9 March 1921, K.C. Sadanandan Nair, p. 103.
358. Ibid., 12 March 1924, P.N. Sankaran, p. 213.
360. Ibid., p. 365, pr. 475.
362. Ibid., p. 19, Col. 2.
363. Ibid.,
364. Ibid., p. 21, Col. 2.


374. Ibid., President, p. 354.

375. Report on Swaraj, Quilon, 14 November 1922.


380. Ibid., 8 December 1923, p. 230, Col. 1.


382. Ibid., evidence, witness No. 98, Ramakrishnan, Ilamannur, Tiyya Samajam.
383. Ibid., Vol. II, evidence given by koteith Ramunni, first grade pleader, Tellichery, dated 30 April 1918.

384. Ibid.


387. Ibid., Witness No. 18, P. Palpu, dated Madras, 9 July 1918.


392. Report on The West Coast Spectator, Calicut, 21 October, 1908; and, Cochin Argue, Cochin, 20 October 1908.


399. Ibid., FR for the second half of May 1933, FR 10/33.
400. Foreign and Political, File No. 413–P/33, Letter from K. Chandy, Ex member of the Mysore State Executive Council, forwarded to Lord Wellington by Emily Kinnard, dated 1 July 1933.

401. K.A. Subramaniyan, Sahodaran Ayyappan, p. 171

402. Foreign and Political, File No. 413–P/33, Letter from Emily Kinnard to Lord Wellington, dated Trivandrum 1 July 1933.

403. Ibid., Letter from K. Chandy, Ex member of the Mysore State Executive Council forwarded to Lord Wellington by Emily Kinnard, 1 July 1933.

404. Ibid., Extracts from the Fortnightly Report, Report for the Second half of June 1933.

405. Confidential Section, File No. 1315/1933, memorandum from the leaders of the All Travancore Joint Political Congress to the Dewan of Travancore, dated Trivandrum, October 1933.

406. Ibid.

407. Foreign and Political, File No. 568. P Branch, Copy of H.E. the Viceroy’s proposed speech at the State banquet at Trivandrum, on 10 December 1933.


411. Ibid., report for the first half of August 1937, dated 16 August 1937.


414. Ibid., FR. 22/45, dated 30 November 1945; and, FR 24/45, dated 7 January 1946.