# **THE MODERN IN KERALA**

Indians had to live under British domination for a long time. Our predecessors had suffered the brutalities perpetrated by foreign rule. They fought for the freedom of the country suffering this torture and adversities. Several revolts, big and small, defiances and resistances led finally to the dawn of freedom. Residents of the vast territory from Kashmir in the north to Kerala in the south have participated either directly or indirectly in these episodes marked by sacrifices of the highest variety.

#### East India Company in Kerala

When did the British tighten their hold over Kerala? How was it possible for them? How did the British harass the people of Kerala? Several such things are to be enquired into.

Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan from Mysore arrived in Kerala when the land was administered by local rulers and chieftains. Tipu took over the control of Malabar. The rulers of Kochi and Travancore sought the help of the British to save their states from Tipu's invasion. Henceforth, it was in the English East India company that the local chieftains found their hope. The rulers of Kochi and Travancore, too, considered the British as their saviour. The Subsidiary Alliance introduced by Lord Wellesley enabled the British to bring the native states under their control easily. The British ruled Malabar directly according to the terms of the treaty of Srirangapattanam. Travancore and Kochi accepted the paramountcy of the British.

# **Subsidiary Alliance**

Lord Wellesley, the Governor General of India, introduced a clever device of Subsidiary Alliance to bring the native states under their control. According to this, the responsibility of protecting the native states was with the British army.The expenditure of maintaining that army should be met by the states. These states lost their rights to keep their own army. The sole right of deciding foreign policy of these states were vested with the British. A British Resident was sent to each state to ensure that the provisions of the agreement were observed. The mutually quarrelling native states considered this arrangement as an attractive one. The local rulers and chieftains hoped that they could continue their rule once their territories were saved from Tipu. But the British subjugated all of them. Thus the whole of Kerala came under the English East India Company.

Colonial domination existed not in the political sphere alone. Economic exploitation and intellectual hegemony were also part of this process. Above all, exploitation affected the livelihood of ordinary people.



The Subsidiary Alliance and the Treaty of Srirangapattanam brought the entire Kerala under British control. Analyse this statement.

## Against the Regime

The East India Company ruled the Indian territories by organising them as provinces. Malabar, which was under the Bombay Presidency till 1800, was later brought under the Madras Presidency.

The British followed anti people policies in Malabar. The Company declared that both the rulers and their subjects should be under its control. The people were required to pay the high taxes under pain of stringent action. This led to anti-British feelings everywhere in Malabar. When new officers were appointed to collect taxes, disputes began to surface.

Kerala Varma Pazhassi Raja was a ruler who questioned the British usurpation of the right to collect taxes and the removal of royal power. The revolt staged under his leadership was very difficult for the British to deal with. To begin with, Pazhassi Raja was among those who helped the British in collecting taxes and other things. But when he realised the real intention of the Company, he led a revolt against them. Kerala Varma knew very well that it was difficult for him fight the well equipped army of the British. He expected that in the feud among the members of the royal family the Company should stand by him. But he was disappointed. It was in this context that he mobilised his forces against the Company.

#### **Opposition Escalates**

Following the friendly relations with the British and the conclusion of treaties with them, Kochi and Travancore accepted their suzerainty. Against the attempts to intervene in the internal affairs of Travancore Divan Velu Thampi took an independant position. The Divan opposed the move of the Company to appropriate huge amounts from the royal treasury. This even cost him his Divanship. Thereupon he attempted to resist the British by strengthening anti-British feelings among the people. The Kundara Proclmation of 1809 was part of this move. In Kochi too Paliath Achan raised the banner of revolt against British hegemony. The Kurichia revolt of Vayanad was a reaction against the revenue reforms introduced by the British. The Kurichias used to pay tax in kind. But the British declared that tax would be collected only in cash. This caused resentment among them. Those who were in arrears of tax were punished by the British by confiscating their properties, household utensils, ransacking their huts, eviction from land, etc. With this, a spontaneous resistance against the British was thrown up. It developed into an open rebellion. The Kurichia revolt was a popular resistance against British domination.



It was the British land revenue policy and economic exploitation that formed the basis of anti-British revolts. Examine this statement in the light of the resistance led by Velu Thampi and Kerala Varma as well as the Kurichia rebellion.

Before the establishment of British rule the villages were more or less self-sufficient. The essential articles for day-to-day life and clothes were produced within the respective villages. Those things which could not be produced within were brought from outside. With the beginning of British rule the indigenous production of goods began to decline. British products were imported in their place.

The British took away raw materials necessary for the industries of England at cheap prices. The English products were imposed on the natives at high prices. Roads and bridges and rail roads were constructed for enabling the easy transportation of army and commodities. British products were available aplenty in every village. As a result the rural economy was in ruins. Many families were reduced to starvation. Our land became a ground for the British capitalists to make enormous profit. The establishment of monopoly in trade by the East India Company made the life of the people miserable. Trade on salt, tobacco, timber, spices, etc. came under the control of the Company. The prices of these products shot up. As a result, the poor people were thrown to great misery.

By making the teak wood industry of Malabar a monopoly of the Company, the timber workers and traders began to suffer. The Company tried to increase their income by imposing taxes irrespective of the size or quality of the houses.

# **More Taxes**

The strangle hold of revenue system heightened its grip on other articles of daily use besides taxes on land, salt, tobacco, etc. Houses, shops, cattle, ferry, fishing net, looms, toddy, arrack, knives, etc. were important among them. In effect, nothing was spared from the grip of the Government. About fifty more different taxes were imposed.

Table: Taxes on Tobacco and Salt   compared with land revenue				
Year	salt	tobacco	Total	Land revenue
1809-13	1,30,756	21,426	1,52,182	17,18,782
1819-23	1,84,517	2,21,267	3,04,784	17,45,587
1829-33	2,44,363	4,14,125	6,58,488	15,48,839
1839-43	3,40,12	5,34,006	8,74,127	16,40,098
1849-53	3,35,870	4,88,270	8,24,140	16,35,574
				* * * * * *

(Source: K.N.Panikkar: Against Lord and State

## These kinds of taxes, too!

The British tried to collect huge amounts through petty taxes. Let us have a look at the sufferings of the people on account of them.

Women who earned their livelihood by collecting firewood from the forests were not permitted to take home the same without paying the tax.

Those who had to cross rivers had to pay a tax. Many who tried to swim across to evade tax were drowned in the river.

#### **Easy Exploitation**

The land laws introduced by the British brought many hardship to the people.

- Land revenue was collected in cash
- · Land revenue was increased many times
- Actual peasants were denied ownership of land
- Landlords got rights over all land
- Landlords were granted more rights and powers
- The exploitation by, and cruelties of, landlords increased as never before.

When prices of products increased, landlords would evict old tenants whom they did not like. They would assign that land to tenants who were ready to pay higher rents. Each landlord levied many exactions from tenants over and above the rent. The plight of the tenants was made even more miserable by practices like "polichezhuthu".

# Renewal of lease and superimposition

Tenants had to renew the contract with the lord every twelve years. This was known as "Polichezhuthu". On this occasion the lord used to collect several kinds of levies from him. Assigning the land held by one tenant to another after receiving more rent was known as "melcharth". This was a super imposition. This harassed the peasants considerably.

The peasants had to but obey whatever the lord and his manager commanded. Or else, they had to suffer severe consequences. The peasants and leaseholders lived in utter fear of the landlords.

The peasants were harassed to the maximum by the British government, landlords, police and judiciary. Resenting this, peasants protested. Their ire turned against the lords and the officials who assisted them. This turned into organised revolts. The Government imposed mass fines not only on those who resisted but on entire villages. This resulted in furthering the resentment.



What kind of difficulties were caused to rural life by the alliance between the British and the landlords formed to plunder the ancestral wealth of our land?

## **Peasant Uprisings of Malabar**

The revolts against the British in Malabar were the culmination of the protests of the Mappila tenants, agricultural labourers, artisans, petty traders, etc. over a period of time.The involvement of the ordinary people in this struggle was noteworthy. A sizeable number of the peasants of Eranad and Valluvanad taluks of Malabar were Mappila Muslims. It was they who participated in these struggles. Hence these uprisings were called 'Mappila uprisings' by the British.

During the time of Mysorean invasion the chieftains and landlords of Malabar fled to Travancore for asylum. The land owned by them was distributed among the Mappila tenants. They enjoyed the land after paying tax. After Malabar came under the British, the landlords who had gone to Travancore returned. The British recovered land from the Mappilas and gave it back to the landlords. The landlords were allowed to collect revenue from the tenants.

The British realised that they could carry on imperialist exploitation only with the support of the landlords and chieftains. They never forgot how it took many years to suppress just one chieftain, Keralavarma. They realised that if the entire chieftains joined together and revolted, their interests would be heavily hindered.

The British calculated that if they were able to gain the support of the natives by winning over the landlords and chieftains, they could continue their rule for a long time. The landlords in their turn thought that they could remain influential in their locality collecting rents as they wished so long as they did not question the authority of the company. The landlords and chieftains realised that their interests would be safe under the political authority of the British. The British allowed them high social status and considerable economic power and rights. It was as a result of the British policy of exercising complete control over the natives through a number of local notables whom they so created and who depended on them in all fields, that landlordism was sustained in Kerala even under the imperialist regime.

# Janmam and Kanam

There were several shades of right over land enjoyed by many people. The highest of these was known as Janmam. He who had the Janmam right was the Janmi. The tenure under which land was taken from him for cultivation after depositing a certain amount of money as security to the landlord was called Kanam. He who took the land on Kanam tenure was the Kanam tenant. He should pay a fixed amount as money or paddy to the Janmi every year. This was rent. The interest on the security amount could be deducted from this. Its period was twelve years. When land was taken on lease from the landlord without any security for cultivation, it was known as Verumpattam. Such peasants were called Verumpattam tenants.

The landlords harassed the peasants by imposing excessive rent. This was the result of the British-landlord alliance. Most Mappila peasants were small scale peasants and agricultural labourers. The imposition of heavy rent sowed the seed of anger in them. The British and the landlords nursed a special enmity to the Mappila tenants and agricultural labourers on the plea that they were the aides of Tipu. This ended up in revolts. As those who revolted were Mappilas and those against whom the revolts were directed were Hindu landlords and officers who supported them, the British represented these peasant revolts as communal riots. The British employed the policy of divide and rule even in this context. The landlords and others assisted the British in their despicable acts of suppressing the revolt by creating a communal rift and increasing hatred in society.

#### **Pandarappattam Proclamation**

Circumstances arose in the princely states of travancore and Cochin following the establishment of British rule. It was in the 19th century that changes came about in the land relations of Travancore. During the time of Marthanda Varma, state-owned land (Pandaravaka) was leased out to Christians and Muslims on rent. Later, Ezhavas and other backward communities were also given land. The purpose of it all was to increase the revenue of the State treasury by expanding agriculture. Resources to maintain the British army and to pay tributes to the British had to be raised. This was the inspiration behind the proclamation.

A rich section began to grow in Travancore through agriculture and trade of pepper and cardomom. Gradually, these agriculturists tried to graduate their possession right into right of ownership. Clamours were made to this end. Finally, the Government of Travancore conceded this right. Through the Pandarapattam proclamation, those who possessed state-owned land got rights of ownership and inheritance.

However, even after the Pandarapattam proclamation and the Janmi Kudiyan proclamation that followed, the actual peasant did not get any right of ownership. It was only those who possessed land owned by the state or Devaswam or Brahmaswam land that got such right of ownership. Actual peasants were left out. They were subjected to severe harrassment. More rent were exacted from tenants. The Janmis got the right to evict the tenants who failed to pay such high rents and assign the lands to new tenents. They began attempts to evict actual cultivators from agricultural lands. The British officials, police, and judiciary stood for assisting the activities of the landlords in Travancore and Cochin.

The problems of the tenants continued unaltered. Their resistance grew into protests. Organized peasant movements came forward to take up their issues during the period by the Freedom Movement and after.

Although the Pandarapattam Proclamation and the Janmi-Kudiyan Proclamation aggravated the miseries of peasants, they created an atmosphere for the sale and purchase of land. With this, major changes began to come about in the use of agricultural land.



What were the changes effected by the Pandarappattam and Janmi-Kudiyan Proclamations? To what extent did they help the peasants?

# **Plantation Crops**

Cultivation of cash crops in the place of paddy became widespread in many areas. Crops linked to industry had a greater spread. The heavily forested High Ranges were opened up for cash crops and plantation crops. To begin with, huge plantations under the ownership of the British came up. Gradually, migrations began from the plains. Migrations spread to the High Ranges first and then to the forested areas of Malabar. Most immigrants became owners of large estates. Thus, the valleys of Kerala became the production ground of cash crops. "Devasyachan was thinking of buying some land in Malabar for some time. About fifty families from his own village had already taken the train to Malabar. Even an acre of wasteland, where nothing grows, costs about a hundred or two hundred Rupees in Travancore. In the case of Malabar, they say, good forest land is available for four or five Rupees an acre. It may not be proprietary right; but leasehold for fifty or sixty years, with good possibility of renewal. The rent, too, will be very nominal. In the event of eviction, compensation for improvement is also available..."

From Kadu, by E.M.Kovoor.



Discuss the transformation brought about by changes in land-ownership in the field of agriculture. Were they conducive to improvement in agriculture?

# **Capital Investment**

The British had started investing capital in Kerala by the second half of the nineteenth century. They invested in the field of plantations in the hilly regions to begin with. The investments made by Murdoch Brown, Kannan Devan Company, E & S Company, Malayalam Plantations, etc. are examples of this. The British had one-and-a-half lakh hectares of land in Travancore alone as well as fifty thousand in Malabar and twenty-five thousand in Cochin. Thousands of labourers worked in these. They were from both Tamilnadu and Kerala. Apart from the field of plantations, the British also invested in areas such as trade and banking as well. The Harrison and Crossfields Company, which invested in plantations, trade and banking, is a good example for this.

Companies such as Pierce Leslie and Aspinwall too invested capital in Kerala. Among the more important financial institutions were the Imperial Bank, The Indian National Bank, the Chartered Bank, etc. All these companies came together and established the Chamber of Commerce in Cochin in 1857. This facilitated closer connections between Kerala and the world market. British capital worked as a link in it.

With this, peasants and workers left their traditional occupation and moved to industrial fields such as in tile and coir. Many found employment in public works, police and the military. This resulted in clear changes in social relations. Behind the expansion of education in Kerala, too, changes in land relations were a major factor.



We saw that capitalist countries had invested capital in colonies the world over as a result of imperialist expansion. What are the different ways in which the investments made by British Companies in Kerala exerted influence in the economic and social fields? Discuss.

# Karshakasamgham

Peasants organized themselves into organizations in order to put an end to their hardships. They had to struggle for long in order to bring their demands to the attention of the Government and seek relief from their miserable plight. The first collective of the peasants in Kerala was the Akhila Malabar Karshaka Sangham.

The peasant movement in Kerala had its birth as a result of the protest against the disabilities of the peasants who had exerted considerable influence in social progress by taking part in the process of production.

See how A.K.Gopalan, the first people's representative in Parliament from Malabar in Independent India, describes the condition of peasants of those days in his autobiography:

The plight of peasants is ... pitiable. Unbearable burden of tax, debt, rent. He goes on incurring loss according to the needs, sorrow or urgency of the landlord. Each birth and death in the family of the landlord adds to the burden of the tenant. On each occasion he has to render unpaid labour service. He must tend the landlord's cattle for no wage. He must guard the lord's door; he must give landlord way, his head hanging low. He should not wear good clothes. His rags should not reach up to his knees. He should not grow stout. His women should not be beautiful. The lamp of knowledge should not light up his mind. The peasant should not approach or touch the landlord.

The landlord will not take up the planting, manuring and guarding the field. The only right he has over land is that piece of stamped paper authorizing his ownership by the Government. If the crop fails on account of storm, flood, drought or other calamities, it will not affect the landlord. He will not recognize fall in prices either. 'I must get what was previously agreed upon!' If the tenant failed, the Government and the law assured it to him. But the peasant could not tell between friend and foe. He thinks that the entire world is against him. He holds on to the ignorance and superstitions of the feudal system. He has no courage to take one step forward crossing it. 'The peasants, who are dying for a morsel of gruel, were like so many cattle on two feet' what the poet wrote is entirely true in the case of the peasants. (My Life Story - p. 63)

## **Education in Kerala**

The educational institutions of the past in Kerala included ezhuthupallis, salais, gurkulas, sabhamathas, kalaris, and suchlike. The majority of people had no relation whatever with these institutions of formal education, more particularly people of the lower castes and women. The complexity of caste system and attitudes towards education contributed to the continuance of this condition in the matter of education.

#### **Missionaries**

It was the Christian missionaries, who came to Kerala with the chief aim of religious propaganda under British rule, who started English education in Kerala. They established centres of public instruction. This helped in making at least some changes in the backward nature of public education.

The arrival of the missionaries and the public schools they established were immensely helpful to the British Government. The necessary justification of their ways of governance and the extension of English ways of life were achieved in an easy manner. The officials of the East India Company took particular care to ensure the necessary help from the native princes for the Missionaries.

The English East India Company was in need of people who were literate enough to manage their affairs. They took measures to extend education both in the directly administered Malabar and in Travancore and Cochin, where the British Residents had influence over the rajas.

It was the missionary organizations like London Mission Society (L.M.S.), Church Mission Society (C.M.S.), Basel Evangelical Mission (B.E.M.), etc. that inaugurated the spread of modern education in Kerala. The London Mission Society's area of activity was largely Travancore. It was among the Tamil-speakers and among a section of the Malayalam-speakers that they concentrated their work.

The Church Mission Society worked in Travancore and Cochin while the Basel Evangelical Mission was active in Malabar. The work of these organizations has been helpful in spreading modern English education. The missionaries used education also as a means of religious propaganda.

It was among the depressed communities that the missionaries had carried out their work. They took greater interest in establishing schools of the western style. They established separate schools for girls. Schools which would give admission to children without any discrimination based on caste and creed came into existence in many places. Dictionaries and grammars were prepared. The work of Benjamin Bailey, Rev. George Mathen and Hermann Gundert was in this direction.

It was following the work of the missionaries in the field of public education that the Government entered the field. In the Government Schools established in Travancore, only children of the upper castes got an opportunity to study. Children belonging to the lower castes studied only in private schools. In the beginning it was only caste Hindus who were taken to government service in that area. Many books were printed and circulated in the presses established by the missionaries. With the spread of printing and publishing, sections of society that did not belong to the upper castes started raising demand for modern education. Schools under the management of missionaries were more numerous than Government schools at that time.

# **Institutions**

The Church Mission Society established a College and Seminary in Kottayam in 1813 under the leadership of Rev. Mead. As per an order issued by the Regent of Travancore, Gouri Parvati Bai, Vernacular Schools were established in Travancore. It was from then that the Government started to bear all expenses of education. Svati Tirunal started the Raja's Free School in Trivandrum in 1836. A Government Press, too, was established in Trivandrum in the same year.

The progress registered in the fields of agriculture and commerce by the end of the nineteenth century caused economic prosperity among sections of population including Izhavas. This was helpful in spreading education among them. Attempts for education made by the backward communities inspired changes in the government policy on education. With this, many government schools were thrown open to all sections. The Government took up the responsibility of giving free primary education to all children in 1904.

#### **Education in Malabar**

The missionary presence was clear in the field of modern education in Malabar. Scholars like Dr. Hermann Gundert worked as both Inspector of Schools and authors of books. He established a school in Thalasseri in 1839. The English Primary School established by the Basel Evangelical Mission in Kallayi (Kozhikode) grew into the Malabar Christian College in course of time. It was with the establishment of schools under the leadership of the Malabar District Board that there was any progress in primary education. Children of all sections were given admission in such schools. The Ganapath Schools established in the Calicut region are examples of schools begun by individual management. Schools were also established in Nileswaram, Chirakkal and Kadathanadu by the Rajas of the respective regions. The Zamorin, too, established schools in Calicut and Kottakkal. As a continuation of school education, colleges were also established for higher education. It was the Free School established in Trivandrum that was later expanded into the Maharajas College (today's University College). The Maharaja's College in Ernakulam, Brennen College in Thallaseri and Victoria College in Palghat were established in subsequent years. They were affiliated to the University of Madras. The first university in Kerala, namely the University of Travancore, was established in 1937 in Trivandrum. The aim of the education introduced under the British rule was to propagate the superiority of Western education by denigrating native knowledge. It was as a result of this new style that modern knowledge reached here.



The new avenues of employment and economic growth opened up by imperialist expansion inspired the spread of modern education. Discuss this statement in the light of the history of the growth of education in modern Kerala.

#### Healthcare

Native systems of treatment such as Ayurveda, Unani, Siddha medicine, etc. were prevalent in Kerala before the spread of Western medicine. Later, with the arrival of Allopathy, the traditional systems of treatment were ignored. There were also laws which discouraged native medicine. The British government did not show any interest in understanding their importance or in promoting them.

The Western system of medicine reached India for the treatment of the employees and the soldiers of the East India Company. The spread of contagious diseases was responsible for gaining importance to this system of medicine in Kerala. "English Medicine" was very effective in preventing contagious diseases like small pox and cholera which took away the lives of many thousands. There was a time when people dreaded vaccination against small pox. The royal family of Travancore came forward to create an atmosphere among people conducive to the preventive measures by accepting vaccination against small pox. The princes of Travancore and Cochin created facilities for preventive measures and thus

# Aryavaidyasamajam

After the [Kottakkal] Aryavaidyasala had been established in Kanni 1078 (September 1902), Brahmasri Vellanasseri Vasunni Moossath decided to establish a Vaidyasala called Vijnanachinthamani and to convene an assembly of physicians on the day of its inauguration. It was decided that an annual assembly on these lines, to be called "Aryavaidyasamajam", should be formed. Its first meeting was held in Kottakkal on Makaram 12 and 13, 1078. Future plans of the organisation were chalked out and it was resolved to conduct an annual examination to qualify Ayurvedic medical practitioners. The second meeting, in 1079, was under the patronage of Vidwan Ettan Thampuran of Calicut and in his place. Many physicians from Kochi, Travancore and Malabar were present.

> (E.P.Krishna Varier Shashtivarshikacharitram, Kottakkal, 1929, p. 81)

took a position different from the areas directly under the British rule. They established hospitals and extended facilities for treatment in attempts useful to people. Travancore registered much progress in this field through adopting a scientific policy of public health, by ensuring healthcare at low cost, by facilitating education, etc.

The first modern hospital of Travancore was Trivandrum General Hospital. This was later raised to the status of Civil Hospital. Almost all modern facilities were available there. A hospital for women and children was established in Trivandrum. A major step forward in the field of healthcare was the establishment of a factory of small pox vaccine in 1888. Vaccines against typhoid and scabies were also made available in Travancore. The award of scholarships to women as an encouragement to gain medical education outside Travancore was a factor behind the awakening in the field of healthcare.



It is said that healthcare sector in Travancore maintained a higher standard than in Malabar during the British rule. What could have been responsible for this? Discuss.

### **Social Transformation**

Society in Kerala was based on caste system. Abuses and superstitions were rampant in all castes. So also, people of the lower castes were denied the right of passage, worship and holding government jobs. Social reform movements arose in order to seek redressal of such grievances. The leaders of Kerala renaissance fought against caste disabilities both theoretically and practically. Mention must be made of the work of Vaikunthaswami, who gave leadership to the movement to put an end to the disabilities of the Channar community in the Travancore region. It was he who provided the Channar sections with strong minds capable of fighting, by making them recognize their social position through making use of the educational opportunities inaugurated by the missionaries. The Channar women created history by staging a struggle for the right to wear upper clothes. The Channar Revolt for gaining this right, begun in 1822, came to a successful end in 1859. It was following this prolonged struggle that the Maharaja had to issue an order allowing Channar women to wear upper clothes.

Among the most prominent leaders who provided an ideological shield for the resurrection of non-Brahmins was Chattampi Swamikal. He argued through his work that all sections of non-Brahmins had the right to study Vedas and worship gods.

Sree Narayana Guru gave practical expression to the ideas and positions of Chattampi Swami. The ideas of Vaikunthaswami too had considerable influence on the Guru. Sree Narayana Guru was one of the chief architects of Kerala Renaissance. His attempt was to release man from the prison of a complex caste system and patterns of worship based on superstitions. He exhorted people to gain strength through organization and awaken through education. It is in Sree Narayana Guru that we can see the roots of the achievements of Kerala in 20th century in the social, cultural, literary and political fields. So also, the ideas and activities of many Renaissance leaders such as Ayyankali, Vakkam Abdul Khadar Maulavi and

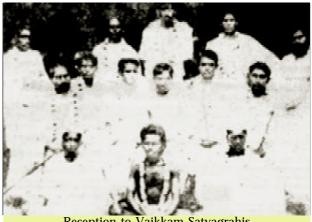
Kumaragurudevan were factors behind the birth of modern Kerala society.

In one sense, the protest movements which developed among different sections of society were part of the freedom movement led against imperialism. What the leaders of Renaissance did through breaking the shackles of caste was, in fact, to make a declaration of human freedom. It was the realizations arising out of these struggles that led the national liberation struggle in Kerala. The protests against the abuses and injustice in society were consciously linked to the independence movements against imperial rule. If that had not happened, the British authorities could have easily suppressed the protests here.

One of the chief aims of the national movement was to do away with social inequality. The Kakkinada session of Indian National Congress in 1923 had adopted a resolution to this effect. The leaders of Renaissance made people conscious of the importance of a strong movement against the all powerful untouchability, ensuring the unity of people. The recognition that activities against social abuses were very much part of anti-imperialist struggle became widespread. The Vaikkam Satyagraha and Guruvayur Satyagraha were parts of this.

## **Restrictions on right of passage**

It was only people of high castes who had the right of passage on the road around the Mahadeva temple of Vaikkam in Travancore. Demand for throwing the road open for all became stronger and stronger. A satyagraha was started in 1924 on the temple premises towards this end. T. K. Madhavan, K. P. Kesava Menon, Barrister George Joseph, A. K. Pillai, C. V. Kunjuraman and other leaders of the struggle for freedom and social reform were at the forefront of this. This struggle received considerable popularity in, and support from, all over the country. Representatives of the Akali Dal from the Punjab and a large number of people from Tamilnadu under the leadership of E. V. Ramaswami Naicker, along with a large number of people from different parts of the country, thronged at Vaikkam.



Reception to Vaikkam Satyagrahis

Mahatma Gandhi and Sree Narayana Guru supported the struggle. A procession on foot was taken from Vaikkam to Trivandrum under the leadership of Mannath Padmanabhan carrying a letter of consent from caste Hindus. This letter was submitted to the ruler of Travancore. The problem was solved following a settlement between Mahatma Gandhi and Government of Travancore. The Raja issued an order declaring all roads, except a small entrance to the temple, open to the public. The struggle, which lasted for about a year, came to an end with this.

#### **Freedom of worship**

The struggle for the right of passage had many repercussions in the social sphere. Those who were marginalized as lower castes among Hindus were denied the right of entering the temples. The Guruvayur Satyagraha was started with the demand that all Hindus should be allowed to enter the

temple. It was according to a decision taken by the Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee in August 1931 that the Satyagraha began on November 1st in that year. This struggle too attracted nation-wide support. Resolutions requesting the fulfillment of the demands of the protestors were sent to the trustee of the temple, the Zamorin of Calicut, from different parts of the country. Processions and public meetings were held. K. Kelappan, Subrahmanian Thirumunpu, T. A.K. Gopalan, P. Krishna Pillai and others gave leadership to the satyagraha. The orthodox sections cruelly manhandled A.K. Gopalan, who was the volunteer captain. With this, the premises of the temple became tense. Following a negative attitude towards the satyagrahis, the authorities of the temple closed the temple down.

The struggle which lasted for many days in different stages was stopped following the intervention of Mahatma Gandhi. Though belated, the satyagraha helped in creating an occasion for the Temple Entry



Proclamation. In a referendum held among the caste Hindus in the Ponnani taluk in which the temple was situated, 77 percent supported temple entry. The popular feeling which arose in support of such satyagraha was a warning against those who turned their face away from social change. It was following the struggles for achieving the freedom of worship that the Government of Travancore issued the Temple Entry Proclamation in 1936.



The social reform movements and struggles against caste segregation led by the harbingers of Renaissance in Kerala paved the foundation for anti-colonial struggles. Discuss.

## National Movement in Kerala

With the arrival of Mahatma Gandhi at the leadership of Indian National Congress, the national movement all over the country received a new awakening. He was successful in rallying all sections of population against the British through the non-violent means of non-cooperation. He tried to bring the Muslims and Hindus under one banner through the Khilafat Movement. The activities of Congress were lively only in Malabar and Kerala. The decision taken in the Nagpur session of Indian National Congress to reorganize states on linguistic basis and to include the native states within the purview of the states helped in bringing all regions together.

An all Kerala Congress session was held at Ottappalam in April 1921. A special feature of the session was that people from Malabar, Cochin and Travancore joined together in this. The workers of Kerala welcomed the decisions of the Nagpur session of the Congress. One of the resolutions of the Nagpur session was to request parents not to admit their children to schools run by the British Government or receiving Government grants. The other resolutions included

- Lawyers should stop practice
- Foreign clothes should be boycotted
- Only Swadeshi articles should be used
- Prohibition and removal of untouchability should be given importance.

Indian National Congress had decided to boycott the Simon Commission when its numbers disembarked in Bombay in February 1928. Organizing protest meetings and hartals in the nooks and corners of Kerala, people took to propagating anti-Simon Commission sentiments.

The World Depression of 1929 had affected our country also. The price of agricultural products in Kerala fell steeply. But the British did not make any compromise about collecting rent and tax from the peasants. Peasants and small landlords suffered under financial problems. Starvation and unemployment plunged the country into terrible fear. There was unrest everywhere.

#### **Civil Disobedience**

The national leaders were engaged in remarkable anti-imperialist activities by raising anti-British sentiments and thus bringing the people together. The Salt Satyagraha held in 1930 under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi brought the Indian minds together. In Kerala too, strong programmes of propaganda were organized as part of Salt Satyagraha. A batch of volunteers under the leadership of K. Kelappan took out a procession from Calicut to Payyanur on foot to break the Salt Law. Another group under the leadership of T. R. Krishnaswami Iyer too went there. The processions proceeded accepting greetings of people on route. The style of the struggle underwent a change following the arrest of the Mahatma on 5<sup>th</sup> May. The



police brutally suppressed the satyagrahis who came to break the Salt Law at Calicut beach on 12<sup>th</sup> May. Mohamed Abdul Rahiman Sahib, P. Krishna Pillai,



R.V. Sharma, T.R. Krishnaswami Iyer and K. Madhavan Nair were sentenced to rigorous imprisonment.

Civil Disobedience continued all over Malabar. Anti-British sentiments grew strong through the manufacture of salt, processions, public meetings and picketing.

Attempts were on from the 1930's to link locally arising issues and the National Liberation Struggle. Karshaka Sanghams had been formed in most places in Malabar in order to take up the peasants' problems in the villages. Workers were organized in the field of industrial labour. Consciousness



Memorial of Salt Satyagraha - Payyannur

of the rights and consciousness of freedom grew simultaneously as a result of this.

The Railway Strike of July 1928 had very good response in Kerala as well.

"Theses strikes are the inevitable reflections of the self consciousness and wakefulness that the workers have gained in recent times." (Editorial, The Mathrubhumi, July 31, 1928)

Such struggles inspired the workers in the field of small scale industries. The Civil Disobedience Movements of 1930-1932 created awakening among the workers. The workers of the Commonwealth Weaving Mill started a strike on March 5<sup>th</sup> 1931 following reduction of their wages. The

workers of Feroke Tile Factory struck work in February 1935. Similarly the workers of Calicut Cotton Mill staged a strike on 11<sup>th</sup> November 1935.

Struggles for rights gained in strength. Organized struggles became widespread. Anti-British sentiments were aflame. August 9<sup>th</sup> 1942 witnessed programmes of protest all over the country raising the slogan of 'Quit India'. Every street saw processions and every street corner, public meetings. Banned pamphlets were distributed and courts and educational institutions were boycotted. Protest took a violent turn in certain parts of Malabar. The Registry Office and railway station of Chemancheri were burned. Many were punished after being accused of making bombs in the Kizhariyur Bomb case.

The peasant revolts in Kayyoor in 1941 and Karivalloor in 1946 were popular expressions of the protest against landlordism and imperialism. The Punnappra-Vayalar Revolt of 1946 was an indication of the growth of the strong process of democratization under the leadership of working class against imperialism.



How are the strikes led by the working class related to the anti-imperialist struggles of the national movement? Examine.

## **United Kerala**

The importance of the notion of a united Kerala reached the people along with the emergence of the national movement. The people of Kerala, in spite of speaking the same language, had earlier the experience of living under different political systems. The distinct existence of the regions of Travancore, Cochin and Malabar stood in the way of the Malayali's sense of unity. When did the thought of a collective for the Malayali's emerge? The idea of a Kerala had taken shape long before the clamour for a united Kerala began. Such an idea can be seen in texts like the Keralolpatti. When the waves of national movement rose in different parts of country, everybody realized the need for unity of the lands where Malayalis lived. This idea took a practical shape when Pradesh Congress Committees were formed on a linguistic basis as per the decision of the Nagpur session of Indian National Congress in 1920. The Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee which included the regions of Travancore, Cochin and Malabar came into existence in 1921. In the Congress session held at Ottappalam in the same year, workers from all the regions participated.

On the occasion of the meetings of different organizations, resolutions in favour of a united Kerala were adopted. The Congress session held in Payyannur in 1928 demanded that Kerala should be reorganized as a separate state when a constitution for independent India would be given shape.

Going beyond resolutions, the demand for a united Kerala took shape as part of the freedom struggle. Indeed, in the Vaikkam Satyagraha of 1924 and the Guruvayur Satyagraha of 1931-1932, people from all parts of Kerala were participants. A committee to discuss the formation of a united Kerala was constituted in 1945. A United Kerala Convention was held at Thrissur in 1947 on this basis. Its president was K. Kelappan and it was inaugurated by the then Raja of Cochin. The Dhar Commission appointed by the constituent assembly came to Kerala and collected evidence. With the merger of Travancore and Cochin on 1st July 1949, the movement for a united Kerala gained strength. The legitimacy of a united Kerala was brought home by a book Onnekaal Kodi Malayalikal by E. M. S. Namboodirippad. The self sacrifice of Potti Sreeramulu in Andhra accelerated the process of state formation on linguistic basis. When, finally, the state of Kerala came into existence by joining together the regions where Malayalam is spoken, the Thovala, Agastheesvaram, Kalkkulam and Vilavankodu taluks of Trivandrum district became part of Madras State. Similarly the Kasargode and Hosdurg taluks, which were parts of the district of South Canara, were added to the State of Kerala. Thus came into existence a new state of Kerala comprising Malabar, Cochin and Travancore.



What are the changes possible in a region as a result of the formation of states on linguistic basis? Analyse in the light of the history of the formation of the state of Kerala.

#### Ministries

A general election was held in 1957 following the formation of the state of Kerala. The Communist Party of India formed a ministry under the leadership of E.M. Sankaran Namboodirippad. The legislative assembly passed a bill preventing eviction, the Land Relations Act giving fixity of tenure to the tenant and an education bill controlling the private management in running schools. Landlords who lost their lands and school managers who lost the right to appoint teachers raised their voice against the Government. This protest was staged in different parts of the state, calling itself a Liberation Struggle. At this juncture, the President of India invoked Article 356 of the Constitution and dismissed this ministry on the plea that law and order in the state had broken down. This was the first experience of a government which came to power through the ballot box by democratic means being dismissed.

A midterm election was held in 1960. A coalition ministry where Congress had the majority came to power. Pattam Thanu Pillai became the Chief Minister. The ministry resigned owing to differences among the

coalition partners. Thereafter it became a usual practice where the coalition partners would leave the coalition and ministries would collapse.

## Kerala marches ahead

It was in the fertile ground prepared jointly by the social reform movements, workers and peasant movements and the national movement that the state of Kerala sprouted. Land reforms brought about in the wake of the formation of the state helped in making the basic changes in the socio-economic fields of Kerala. Kerala is the first Indian state in which landlordism was put to a successful end.

Landlordism came to an end with the Land Reforms Act passed in 1969. The ceiling of land in the possession of individuals and families as well as the grant of land to hutment dwellers are the salient features of this act. The demand of the peasants, namely, 'land to the tiller', was achieved through this act. Peasants spent the income from agriculture in education and healthcare. This created social awareness and a consciousness of public health. This was also responsible for the increase in the number of educational institutions and hospitals. All children got an opportunity for education. School education was made free. The deserving were given scholarships. Institutions for acquiring higher education increased both in the public and in the private sectors.

Arrangements for public health were expanded. Contagious diseases like small pox and malaria were wiped out. The rate of infant mortality fell. Average longevity increased. Welfare activities proliferated. The number of institutions concerned with social security increased. Welfare pensions and schemes for senior citizens were started. Public distribution networks gained in strength. Kerala achieved total literacy in 1990, thus becoming an example for other states to follow. As part of the Constitutional Amendment, the three-tier Panchayat came into existence. Decentralization accelerated the process of democratization. The availability of resources to the three-tier Panchayaths and urban bodies in the fields public distribution and social of development further strengthened the process of decentralization of power. This gave a greater fillip to the social development in Kerala than in other states. 'The Kerala Model of Development', with low per capita income and high development index, is renowned all over the world.

#### Activities



- Assessing the past of Kerala, prepare suggestions for the creation of a new Kerala society.
- Collect from elders and reading materials more information regarding landlord-tenant relations and the conditions of life of peasants in those days. Prepare a paper on the subject "The Agricultural Sector in Kerala under the British".
- National Movement in Kerala was not only about national freedom but also about liberation from social abuses. Discuss this statement.
- Analyse the changes in Kerala society brought about by social reform movements.
- Substantiate the circumstances that led to the information of Modern Kerala.
- Kerala did not achieve necessary progress in the field of agriculture or industry; nor is there a condition of high per capita income. Yet, Kerala has been able to perform well in the field of healthcare. Analyse this statement.
- Female literacy is indispensable for progress in the field of healthcare. Explain how female literacy and progress in education are an index to the growth in the field of healthcare.
- Organise a discussion on the subject 'Colonisation and national liberation'.