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LIBERATION OF THE OPPRESSED A CONTINUOUS STRUGGLE

A CASE STUDY (Since 1822 A.D.)

**Socio-Economic and Political Liberation
Struggle in the Extreme South of India**

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DEDICATED TO OUR FOREFATHERS
WHOSE UNSUNG SACRIFICE IS THE PRICE
OF OUR LIBERTY AND DIGNITY
AND
TO THE RISING GENERATIONS OF YOUNG MEN AND WOMEN
WHO WILL NOT COUNT THE COST
TO SAFEGUARD THE TRUTH OF THEIR PRICELESS HERITAGE

Preface

Many great men all through human history have sacrificed their lives for the liberation of different people-groups from oppression. To many of them, Jesus Christ was the role-model. History of the various struggles for liberation is studied more than that of kings, kingdoms, persons and events. Today the social scientists make immense use of it to predict the future.

Man is a gregarious animal living in small groups called communities. They are formed on the basis of caste, colour, religion, region, language, culture and profession. As part of the survival of the fittest among such communities, one community or a few communities jointly oppress another community or communities to gain social, economic and political supremacy over others.

Every study of the history of the struggle for the liberation of an oppressed community provides one more evidence to confirm the theory, "Continuous Struggle". At the same time when we study our own or close and familiar community, that history has the ability to make us aware of our own deficiency and obligation to the society. It creates surprises and rouses our feelings and strains our nerves. We also get a chance to discover how history is being stolen, hidden and twisted by the dominant group or groups.

This reminds us that once oppressed and later liberated community must always be alert, because theoretically there are all chances of recurring oppression in the same form or another. The once dominant community

shall be waiting for a chance to oppress and to regain its supremacy over the once subdued but now liberated community. Hence liberation struggle is not a one time affair, but a continuous process. To maintain the continuity the liberation history must be passed on to succeeding generations.

The Jewish community was an oppressed community and it had a very long history of struggle for liberation. To maintain their liberated life, the Jewish Social Scientists ventured to pass on their liberation history to future generations so that they shall be alert. Jewish Liberation History was written, made into a Holy Book and taught as a part of their religion.

The prime aim of this book, *Liberation of the Oppressed : A Continuous Struggle - A Case Study (Since 1822 A.D.)* is to pass on the history of struggle for liberation of the oppressed community which lives in the extreme south of India, to the younger generation. It also aims to strengthen the theory - the liberation of an oppressed community is a continuous struggle - with one more illustration.

Nagercoil,
54th Liberation Day.

D. Peter

“Remember the days of old, consider the years of many generations. Ask your father, and he will show you; your elders, and they will tell you.”

– Deuteronomy, 32:7

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D. Peter

Contents

1. Background and Restrictions	1
2. Nadars on the Path of Progress	13
3. First Uprising : Against Nair Dominance	21
4. Second Uprising : An Introduction	33
5. An Organisation for Liberation	41
6. Oppression and Solidarity	55
7. Nairs at the Helm of Affairs	69
8. Trials and Triumph	77
9. Climax of Malayalee Dominance	87
10. Liberation by Separation	101
11. Oppressed Community Since 1956	109
Appendices	129
Bibliography	285

1

Background and Restrictions

1. The Subject	01
2. Social Background	02
3. Economic Background	05
4. Political Background	06
5. Social Restrictions	08
6. Religious Restrictions	09
7. Economic Restrictions	09

2

Nadars on the Path of Progress

1. Introduction	13	
2. Early Missionaries	13	
3. The Nadars in Christianity		14
4. Relief From Restrictions		15
5. Educational Progress	16	
6. Economic Progress	18	

3

First Uprising : Against Nair Dominance

1. Introduction	21
2. Kalkulam Struggle	22
3. Vilavancode Struggle	24
4. Nanjil Nadu Struggle	25
5. Government Order	26
6. Struggle Renewed	28
7. Interference of Missionaries	30

4

Second Uprising : An Introduction

- | | |
|------------------------------|----|
| 1. Introduction | 33 |
| 2. Decline of Nair Dominance | 33 |
| 3. Nair Dominance Rebuilt | 36 |
| 4. Struggle Continued | 38 |

5

An Organisation for Liberation

1. Introduction	41
2. Security in Question	41
3. Political Changes	42
4. Allen Memorial Hall Event	43
5. Father of Kanyakumari	45
6. Unlimited Support of Nadars	47
7. Limited Support By Others	51

6

Oppression and Solidarity

1. Introduction	55
2. Oppressions by Nair Government	55
3. Propaganda Meetings	57
4. Condemned	59
5. Police Attack	60
6. Compromise Failed	60
7. TTNC in Election	61
8. Police Persecution	62
9. Achievement of TTNC	64
10. Again Oppressions	65

7

Nairs at the Helm of Affairs

1. Introduction	69
2. Boycott of Assembly Session	70
3. A Nair Chief Minister	70
4. Fall of Ministry	71
5. Another Nair Chief Minister	72
6. Union of Travancore - Cochin	73
7. Another Fall of Ministry	74

8

Trials and Triumph

1. Introduction	77
2. Boundary Conference	77
3. First Trial	79
4. Second Trial	80
5. Third Trial	80
6. Split in TTNC	81
7. Triumph of Nesamony	82
8. A Nadar in The Ministry	83
9. Re-Election Ordered	84

9

**Climax of
Malayalee Dominance**

1. Introduction	87
2. Again a Nair	87
3. Subdued by Force	88
4. Deviculam Struggle	89
5. Deliverance Day	91
6. Manhunt at Marthandam	93
7. Manhunt at Puthukadai	94
8. Rule of Terror	95
9. Boycott of Enquiry	97
10. Pressure from all Quarters	98
11. In Darkness	98

10

Liberation by Separation

1.	Introduction	101	
2.	In the Supreme Court	101	
3.	Danger to the Nair Government	102	102
4.	Fall of Nair Government	104	
5.	Congress Rule	104	
6.	S.R.C. Report	105	
7.	Nesamony in Parliament	105	
8.	Saviour of Malayalees	106	
9.	Liberation Day	107	
10.	End of the Journey	108	

1 1

Oppressed Community Since 1956

- | | |
|--|-----|
| 1. Introduction | 109 |
| 2. Political Wisdom | 110 |
| 3. From Independence to Dependence | 111 |
| 4. First Priority | 113 |
| 5. The Evolution of a Conspiracy | 115 |
| 6. Futile Propaganda | 117 |
| 7. Counter Literature Campaign
and Research | 120 |
| 8. The Oppressed Community Today | 122 |

APPENDICES

1.	PERMISSION TO COVER BOSOMS (1812)	129
2.	PERMISSION TO INHERIT PROPERTIES (1815)	130
3.	ABOLITION OF TAXES (1815)	130
4.	EXEMPTION TO CHRISTIANS (1815)	131
5.	DECREE OF PALPANABAPURAM COURT (1823)	132
6.	RESTRICTIONS ON THE USE OF DRESS (1829)	133
7.	SUBJECT OF DISTURBANCES (1829)	135
8.	COURT CASES (1829)	139
9.	RETALIATION BY NADARS (1829)	147
10.	ATTACK ON CHRISTIANS (1829)	147
11.	ATTACK ON CHRISTIANS (1829)	149
12.	WHY THE DISTURBANCES? (1829)	150
13.	WHY THE DISTURBANCES? (1859)	151
14.	WHY THE DISTURBANCES? (1859)	152
15.	DISTURBANCES IN NEYYATINKARAI (1859)	153
16.	DISTURBANCES IN NANJIL NAD (1859)	155
17.	SAMUEL MATEER ON DISTURBANCES (1870)	157
18.	ATTACK BY VELLALAS (1859)	161
19.	COUNTER MEMORIAL (1891)	162
20.	TAMILIAN CONGRESS MEETING (1946)	171
21.	POLITICAL PARTY FOR TAMILIANS (1947)	172
22.	NESAMONY IN ALLEN MEMORIAL HALL (1947)	172
23.	REQUEST OF CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION (1947)	173
24.	DEWAN INVITED NESAMONY (1947)	173
25.	NESAMONY TO DEWAN (1947)	174
26.	CHARGES ON NESAMONY (1947)	174
27.	NESAMONY TO DEWAN (1947)	176

28.	PARTY WORK IN FULL SWING (1947)	176
29.	SUPPORT OF MUSLIMS (1947)	177
30.	SUPPORT OF SAMBAVARS (1947)	177
31.	SUPPORT OF SAMBAVARS (1947)	178
32.	DISTURBANCES IN MANALIKARAI (1947)	179
33.	T.T.N.C. WARNING TO GOVERNMENT (1947)	179
34.	MANHUNT IN KALKULAM & VILAVAN CODE (1948)	180
35.	MANHUNT IN KALKULAM & VILAVAN CODE (1948)	183
36.	MANHUNT IN KALKULAM & VILAVANCODE (1948)	191
37.	RESULTS OF ELECTION (1948)	194
38.	WHO SUPPORTED T.T.N.C. (1948)	195
39.	MERGER WITH MADRAS PROVINCE (1949)	197
40.	AREAS FOR MERGER - MAP (1949)	201
41.	AREAS FOR MERGER - POPULATION (1949)	202
42.	HINDU - CHRISTIAN DIVIDE IN T.T.N.C. (1950)	203
43.	RESIGNATION OF T.T.N.C. PRESIDENT (1950)	203
44.	T.T.N.C. MINISTER'S RESIGNATION (1953)	204
45.	T.T.N.C. MINISTER'S RESIGNATION (1953)	205
46.	CHOLERA AND T.T.N.C. (1953)	206
47.	WARNING TO GOVERNMENT (1954)	208
48.	PROCEEDINGS OF LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY (1954)	210
49.	REPLY TO THE AYKIA KERALA COUNCIL (1954)	211
50.	T.T.N.C. RESOLUTION (1954)	219
51.	NEHRU'S LETTER (1954)	220
52.	REPLY TO NEHRU (1954)	221
53.	STATEMENT TO "THE HINDU" (1954)	224
54.	AGAIN REPLY TO NEHRU (1954)	227
55.	STATEMENT OF M.P. SIVAGNANAM (1954)	229
56.	RULE OF STEEL AND FIRE (1954)	230
57.	11 AUGUST 1954 AND AFTER (1954)	232
58.	11 AUGUST 1954 AND AFTER (1954)	237
59.	11 AUGUST 1954 AND AFTER (1954)	238
60.	INFORMATION & CHARGES (1954)	239
61.	T.T.N.C. TO SUPPORT CONGRESS (1954)	244
62.	GOVERNMENT COUNTRY PETITION (1954)	245
63.	T.T.N.C. IN SUPREME COURT (1955)	254
64.	IN THE HIGH COURT OF MYSORE (1955)	265
65.	S.R. COMMISSION REPORT (1955)	266
66.	NESAMONY IN PARLIAMENT (1955)	269
67.	NESAMONY IN PARLIAMENT (1956)	278
68.	NESAMONY IN PARLIAMENT (1965)	281

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1.	PRIMARY RECORDS	285
2.	TAMIL BOOKS AND MAGAZINES	289
3.	ENGLISH AND MALAYALAM BOOKS AND JOURNALS	291
4.	NEWS PAPERS	294
5.	UNPUBLISHED THESES	295

1 Background and Restrictions

1. The Subject

Liberation of an oppressed community is a continuous struggle. This social science theory is strengthened by the liberation history of a socially, economically and politically oppressed community which lives in the extreme south of India. The Nadar community which was oppressed fought for its liberation during the first half of the nineteenth century, ie. from 1822 to 1859 A.D. and again during the middle of the twentieth century, ie. 1947 to 1956 A.D.

The present Kanyakumari District of the State of Tamil Nadu and southern portion of Kerala from Cochin formed the erstwhile State of Travancore. Travancore was an independent Princely State even while India was under the rule of the British Government. The oppressed community under discussion, the Nadars, formed a majority in the southern taluks of the State of Travancore. They were under the oppression of Nairs, a minority community in the southern taluks. But as the government was under their control, Nairs exercised much power on the Nadars and kept them under their sway. The Nadars had to fight continuously to gain and safeguard their liberty and dignity.

2. Social Background

Travancore Society was subjected to many divisions based on religion and caste. Hindus and Non-Hindus were the two major religious divisions in the State. The Non-Hindus were Christians, Muslims, Jains, Buddhists and Jews. Amongst the Non-Hindus, the Christians and the Muslims formed the majority. Hindus, on the basis of caste were divided into two, the Savarnas and the Avarnas. Savarnas were the high caste Hindus or the Caste Hindus and the Avarnas were the low caste Hindus or the Non-Caste Hindus¹.

Brahmins, Shatriyas, Ambalavasis, Nairs and Vellalas were the Caste Hindus and the Ezhavas, Nadars, Kammalas, Fishermen, Pulayas, Parayas, Pallas, Nayadis and the Hill Tribes were the Non-Caste Hindus².

On the caste hierarchy, the Brahmins were at the top. They had all privileges and status in the society. Brahmins were divided into two, namely, Malayalee Brahmins and Foreign Brahmins³. The Malayalee Brahmins or the Nambudiris were the religious heads and more powerful compared to the Foreign Brahmins. Foreign Brahmins were high officers in the government. They were emigrants from Canara, Maharashtra, Thulu and Tamil Nadu into Travancore⁴. The Shatriyas came second on the caste hierarchy. The kings of Travancore emerged from this caste⁵. Next came the Ambalavasis, who were the Hindu Priests⁶.

The lowest in the high caste ranking was the Nairs and Vellalas⁷. The Nairs were allowed to possess the titles, Pillai, Thampi

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1. A Sreedhara Menon, (Reprint) *A Survey of Kerala History*, Madras, 2000, p. 94
 2. Samuel Mateer (Reprint) *Native Life in Travancore*, New Delhi 1991, p. 32
 3. A. Sreedhara Menon, *op.cit.*, p. 275
 4. Samuel Mateer (Reprint). *The Land of Charity*, New Delhi 1991, p. 29
 5. K.M. Panicker, *A History of Kerala - 1408 - 1801 A.D.*, Annamalai Nagar, 1959, p. 10
 6. Durate Barbose, *An Account of Countries Bordering on the Indian Ocean and Their Inhabitants*, London, 1918, p. 79
 7. V. Nagam Aiya (Reprint), *Travancore State Manual*, vol. II, Madras 1989, p. 347

and Menon. Pillai was given to those who enjoyed the Royal Privileges, the Thampis were those who had blood relationship with the king⁸ and the Menons came from respectable families⁹. The Nairs mostly preferred to serve in the Army of the Country. The male children were trained in martial arts even at the age of seven¹⁰. When the opportunity in the army was reduced, they preferred to exchange rifle for the pen¹¹. More than 60 per cent of the government vacancies were filled by Nairs¹². They were the landlords and Jenmis in Travancore. Their luxury and high status in the society were ensured by the low caste people.

The most important pattern to be noted in the community of the Nairs was the system of inheritance. They followed the matrilineal system of inheritance. This system was called Marumakkathayam¹³. According to this system, sister's children were the inheritors. The Nair women were permitted to have marital relationship with any Nambudiri or Nair. Those Nambudiris or Nairs were not bound to care for the children born in such relationship. Polyandry prevailed among them. As Robin Jeffrey observed, no Nair knew his or her father. The mother alone was known. Properties were jointly used and it was managed by the eldest male member of the family on behalf of the female members¹⁴. So the female members of a family lived under one roof with authority, safety, security and rights. The Vellalas of Nanjil Nad were also called the Nanjil Nad Nairs. They also accepted the Marumakkathayam Law of inheritance and identified themselves with the Nairs¹⁵. But some families followed Makkathayam Law of inheritance like their ancestors in Tamil Nadu¹⁶.

8. Ibid, p. 368

9. Ibid, p. 369

10. *Census of India 1931*. Vol. XXVIII, Travancore - Part-I, Report, Trivandrum 1932, p.376

11. V. Nagam Aiya, *op.cit.*, p. 345

12. Robin Jeffrey, *The Decline of Nair Dominance : Society and Politics in Travancore 1847 - 1908*, London, 1975, p. XVI

13. A. Sreedhara Menon, *op.cit.*, p. 165

14. A. Sreedhara Menon, *Social and Cultural History of Kerala*, New Delhi, 1979, p. 88

15. V. Nagam Aiya, *op.cit.*, p. 363

16. Edgar Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India* Vol. V, Madras, 1909, p. 293

Under the low caste group, the Ezhavas of North and the Nadars of South Travancore were prominent¹⁷. Ezhavas depended on coconut trees while the Nadars on palmyrah trees¹⁸. They were also agriculturists. The Nadars largely lived in Thovalai, Agasteeswaram, Eraniel, Kalkulam, Vilavancode, Shencottai, Neyyatinkarai, Deviculam, Peermade and Chittoor taluks of Travancore¹⁹. Some people served as coolies under Nair and Vellala landlords and certain others as tenants to them²⁰.

Next to the Nadars came the Kammalas. They were Tattans, Kannans, Thatchans, Kalthatchans and Kollens. The Kammalas imitated the Nairs and considered themselves as high caste²¹. Next in the ladder was the fisherman community. People in the lowest strata of the community were the Pulayas and Parayas. They were called “soil slaves” and mostly lived away from the living areas²².

Next to the Hindus, the Christians were in majority in Travancore. They were divided into Syrian Christians, Catholic Christians and Protestant Christians. Syrian Christians were on par with the Nairs in status. They lived secluded from the other low caste Christians. They were agriculturists and traders and amassed wealth²³.

Francis Xavier came to India in the year 1542 A.D.. He concentrated on the people along the sea coast for conversion. A very large number of fishermen joined his denomination. He belonged to the Catholic Christian tradition²⁴. London Missionary Society (L.M.S.) missionaries landed in South Travancore, while

17. Madras Government permitted to call *Shanars* as *Nadars* in 1921 AD (G.O. No. 785, 7 July 1921 Law (General) Department, Government of Madras)

18. *Census of India 1931*, Vol. XXVII, Travancore, Part - I, Report, Trivandrum, 1932, p. 382

19. V. Nagam Aiya, *op.cit.*, p. 393

20. Robert L. Hardgrave, *The Nadars of Tamil Nad*, Bombay 1909, p. 56

21. *Census of India, 1931, op.cit.*, p. 373

22. Samuel Mateer, *op. cit.*, pp. 42 & 45

23. *Ibid.*, p. 238

24. *Ibid.*, p. 231

the Church Missionary Society (C.M.S.) in the north during the beginning of the nineteenth century and converted people to Protestant Christianity. London Missionary Society brought a large number of low caste people, especially the Nadars within its fold. Some soil slaves, Pulayas and Parayas also embraced Christianity during this period²⁵.

Many Muslims came from Arabia and Afghanistan and settled in Travancore. They had children born to the local women. But most of the Muslims in Travancore were converts. During the Mysore aggression between 1766 and 1790 A.D., a large number of natives were converted to Islam. Some people embraced Islam to relieve themselves from the high caste oppressions. Muslims believed in hard work and most of them were traders²⁶.

3. Economic Background

Feudalism prevailed in the erstwhile State of Travancore. During the rule of Tamil kings, Travancore was known as Chera Nadu²⁷. The Cholas waged war against the Cheras during the eighteenth century²⁸. This caused vast changes in the socio-economic and political set up of Chera Nadu. Many petty kingdoms cropped up²⁹. Those who were in the upper strata of the society and the temple trustees made use of the chaotic conditions that prevailed in Chera Nadu and they established authority over the temple properties. As there was no safety to life and property, the ordinary citizens entrusted their landed properties into the hands of the Nambudiris. Nambudiris established ownership over those lands by adopting injurious and dubious methods³⁰. Thus the Nambudiris became landlords and Jenmy System came into existence in Travancore³¹.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 254. Robin Jeffrey, *op.cit.* p. 131

26. Journal of Kerala Studies, Trivandrum, September 1945, Vol. II, Part III, Mammen P. Mammen, *Traditional Kerala Society*, p. 282

27. P. Shungoony Menon (Reprint) *History of Travancore from the Earliest Times*, New Delhi, 1985, p.1

28. K.K. Pillai, *The Suchindram Temple*, Madras, p. 26

29. A. Sreedhara Menon, *A Survey of Kerala History*, p. 141

30. A. Sreedhara Menon, *op.cit.*, p. 165

31. A. Sreedhara Menon, *op.cit.*, p. 76

The whole of Travancore was divided into Nadus. Each Nadu was divided into many Desams. The man who was employed to supervise the Nadu was called Naduvazhi and the Desam, the Desavazhi. The Nairs were appointed as Naduvazhis and Desavazhis by the Nambudiris. The Nairs were also addressed as Jenmies³². The Jenmies cultivated the lands which were under their control by making use of the low castes, the Nadars, Ezhavas, Parayas and Pulayas. Some Nadars and Ezhavas served as tenants to their lands. The landlords who sold their lands also sold the low caste people who were attached to the lands along with the land as commodities³³.

Jenmy System assured the Nambudiris and the Nairs the socio-economic and political stability and status. But the low castes, especially the Nadars were exploited from many angles³⁴. The Jenmies were exempted from taxes while the Nadars were burdened with innumerable kinds of taxes. The fruits of their labour were sucked in the form of innumerable taxes, fines and gifts. As a result, the Nadars found it very difficult to exist in Travancore and many escaped to British India. Like taxes, the system of Oozhiam and Viruthi were also responsible for the deplorable condition of the Nadar community³⁵. Oozhiam meant that the low caste people must do free services to the temples, government and landlords. Viruthi meant the land holders must provide things as required by the temples, government, officers and land lords. As per the records, in all these the Nadar community alone suffered much³⁶.

4. Political Background

Due to internal disorder and external aggression, Travancore was in chaos and confusion. Marthanda Varma who

32. *Ibid.*, p. 77

33. A. Sreedhara Menon *op.cit.*, p. 77

34. V. Nagam Aiya, *op.cit.*, Vol. III, p.116

35. Ivy Peter (Tamil) *Samaya Thondarkalum Samudhaya Marumalarchiyum*, Nagercoil. 1999, p. 60

36. *Ibid.*, p. 55

ascended the throne in 1729 A.D. set right the internal disorder and brought the administration under his control. He subdued the neighbouring Rajas and annexed their territories³⁷. Attingal, Kayankulam, Elayidathu Swarubam, Kollam, Ambalapuzha, Vadakancoor, Thekkancoor were annexed. He purchased 30 miles long portion between Kanyakumari and Kalacaud from the Tiruchinapally Viceroy³⁸. Hence the southern boundary became Kanyakumari and the northern Kochi, covering an area of 7,600 sq. miles³⁹.

Marthanda Varma concentrated on the internal administration of his country. He employed those in whom he had confidence. He removed the inefficient and insincere from the government services. Tamil Brahmins were appointed in various government departments. A Dutch captive, D' Lennoy was appointed as head of the State Army. The army was modernised by introducing imported modern weapons⁴⁰.

British East India Company set its foot in Travancore in the year 1644 A.D.⁴¹ In 1684, they built a factory and in 1690 constructed a fort with the permission of Attingal Rane⁴². Marthanda Varma maintained good relationship with the British East India Company. In 1789, Tippu Sultan waged war against Travancore. The British East India Company came to the rescue of Travancore. In return, Travancore had to pay a large sum of money as cost of war to the Company. As per the agreement between the Company and Travancore, the Company had to protect Travancore and Travancore had to pay a large sum annually to the Company for the maintenance of the army inside Travancore⁴³. Again the Company appointed a Resident in the Travancore Court in 1800⁴⁴. In 1805, the agreement was renewed.

37. V. Nagam Aiya, *op. cit.*, Vol. I. pp. 333 & 334

38. *Ibid.*, p. 354

39. Robin Jeffrey, *op. cit.*, pp. 3 & 4

40. V. Nagam Aiya, *op. cit.*, pp. 358 & 359

41. *Ibid.*, p. 302

42. *Ibid.*, p. 314

43. P. Shungoony Menon, *op.cit.*, p. 252

44. V. Nagam Aiya, *op.cit.*, p. 420

Accordingly, the East India Company got the right to interfere in the Travancore Administration. For all important decisions, the Raneer or Raja, as the case may be, should get the permission of the British Resident⁴⁵. Thus Travancore came under the sway of the British Government.

5. Social Restrictions

The low caste people suffered from unapproachability, untouchability and unseeability⁴⁶. They had to keep a distance from the high caste according to caste hierarchy. Since the Nadars belonged to the low caste group, they were segregated and not allowed to go near a Brahmin or Nair⁴⁷. Those who violated this rule of keeping distance would be immediately killed by a Nair. Nadars should keep a distance of 36 feet from a Brahmin and 12 feet from a Nair⁴⁸.

There were also restrictions in dress and use of ornaments to the Nadars. Their women were restrained to dress like the Nair women. Both male and female were restricted to cover below their knee and above their waist. Women were forbidden to cover their bosoms. Low caste women appearing before the high caste people covering the breasts was considered as an insult by the high castes⁴⁹. Such dress restrictions were thrust upon the Nadars particularly on the women⁵⁰. Those Nadar men or women who violated this rule were beaten up and tortured. The jacket or upper cloth worn by the low caste women were torn to pieces by the high caste Nairs.

Ornaments made out of costly metals were prohibited to the low castes. They should not use umbrellas, chappals and were also prohibited to tile their houses, own a cow or use vehicles⁵¹.

45. D. Daniel, *Struggle for Responsible Government in Travancore*, Madurai, 1985, p. 9

46. Harold R. Issacs, *India's Ex-untouchables*, Bombay 1965, p. 27

47. Walter Hamilton, *The East India - Gazetteer - Containing A Description of Hindustan*, Vol. II, London, 1828, p. 180

48. Samuel Mateer, *op.cit.*, p. 32

49. *Cover File No. 1231*, Report of Dewan Peishkar of Quilon, 30 September 1869, English Records, Kerala State Archives, Trivandrum

50. Silvester Horne, *The Story of the L.M.S. London* 1904, p. 296

51. *Cover File No. 1231*, Report of V. Rama Rao, Dewan Peishkar of Quilon to T. Madhava Rao, The Dewan of Travancore, 30 September 1869, English Records, Kerala State Archives, Trivandrum

Nadars were not allowed to decorate marriage pandals⁵² and their women should not carry water pots on their waist. They should carry the water pots on their head holding the pot by their right and left hands⁵³.

6. Religious Restrictions

The Nadars faced many restrictions in the worship of God. In the temples managed by the government and high caste Hindus, entry was prohibited to the low caste people. They could not even go near the outer side of the temples. Nadars had their own temples or worship places. In those temples, installation of and worship of Gods like Siva, Brahmma, Vishnu were prohibited. They were considered as high caste gods. The low caste gods like Veerabadran, Sudalai Madan, Irulan, Mutharamman, Padrakali were allotted to the Nadars⁵⁴. For the high caste gods, ghee and milk were offered while the Nadars were allowed to offer toddy and arrack to their gods⁵⁵.

7. Economic Restrictions

The Nadar community people had to lose a large portion of their income in the form of fines, taxes and gifts. Among the fines, Prayachittam was the most cruel levy on the Nadars. The amount of fine was fixed as per the will and pleasure of the officer who levied the tax. The officer who levied and collected the tax did not remit even 20 per cent of the amount collected to the government treasury⁵⁶. Prayachittam was collected even from those who did not do any wrong deed.

52. *Political Proceedings*, No. 23, P.2, G.A. Ballard to the Acting Chief Secretary to Madras Government, 23 April 1870, Tamil Nadu Archives, Madras

53. Samuel Mateer, *op.cit.*, p. 41

54. Samuel Zacharia (Tamil - Reprint) *Thenthiruvithankottu Thiruchabai Charitra Churukkam*, Part - I Nagercoil, 1991 p. 48

55. P. Parameswaran (Malayalam) *Sri Narayana Guru Swamigal Navothathinte Prevachekan*, Calcutta, 1978, p. 8

56. *Political Consultations*, Vol. 124, p. 875, Colonel Munro to Chief Secretary to Government, Fort St. George, 7 March 1818, Tamil Nadu Archives, Madras

Another major extortion from the Nadar caste people was in the form of taxes. The government collected hundreds of taxes from the Nadars. One of the important taxes collected was Purusantaram. This was a payment made to the government by those who inherit the ancestral property. It was more than 40 percent on the value of the inherited property. Like Prayachittam, the collectors of Purusantaram also misappropriated by not remitting the actual collection to the treasury⁵⁷.

Another cruel tax was Poll Tax⁵⁸. The male member of a family, aged between 16 and 60 years had to pay this tax⁵⁹. For the dead and for those who migrated from the country, the surviving family and the available male members had to pay Poll Tax⁶⁰.

The Nadars paid Professional Tax, House Tax and Land Tax. For the ladder they used to climb the trees, Enikkanam was collected, for the belt used to climb the trees, Thalaikanam was collected⁶¹, for the hut they lived one Fanam was collected and it was named as Kuppakachi, for changing the roof Manai Meyppan Kollum Irai was collected⁶². For all types of trees possessed by the Nadars, tax was collected. Married women had to pay Tali Irai. For some kinds of dress, ornaments, turban, umbrella, palanquin and conducting marriage one had to pay tax to the government. Always the tax collectors collected more than the prescribed amount and never remitted the actual collection. Hence the Nadars used to visit the officers and bribed them to lessen the burden of tax⁶³.

Those who failed to pay the tax were severely punished. A weighty stone was loaded on the back of the defaulter who was made to stand under the hot sun in the same posture for many

57. *Idam*

58. John A. Jacob (Reprint), *A History of the London Missionary Society in South Travancore 1806 - 1959*, Nagercoil, 1999, p. 41

59. *Neetu*, Vol. 13, p. 64, Kerala State Archives, Trivandrum

60. C.M. Agur (Reprint) *Church History of Travancore*, New Delhi, 1990, p. 573

61. *Travancore Archaeological Series*, Vol. I, p. 64

62. Samuel Mateer (Reprint) *Native Life in Travancore*, Madras, 1991, p. 292

63. *Ibid.*, p. 377

hours. Red hot iron was used to pierce the ears of the defaulter and the rod was allowed to hang in his ear for many hours. They were beaten, arrested and put in jail for many days⁶⁴. The women defaulters were molested by the government officers⁶⁵. High officers did not entertain the complaints lodged by the victims.

Another important factor that kept the Nadars under permanent poverty was Ooliam and Viruthi services. They had to carry salt from the field to the selling station on head⁶⁶. To guard the woods cut from the forest and elephant pits, the Nadars were employed without payment⁶⁷. Those who were drawn for such duties had to be away from family for many days⁶⁸. As the Nadars were called continuously to do Ooliam service, their own works suffered and thus they were driven to poverty⁶⁹. Even if the government paid for the work done, the wages were misappropriated by the officials. In all these, the Nadar community suffered much⁷⁰.

Those who held temple or government lands were called Viruthikars. Viruthikars were bound to supply things free of cost in addition to the Ooliam service. Palmyrah tree leaves used as writing materials and coconut tree leaves used as the main food of elephants were supplied regularly by the Viruthikars. During festivals, the Royal Families, Officers and Jenmies should be gifted with hens, eggs, vegetables, fruits, oil, firewood and vegetables should be supplied to the Ootupuras,⁷¹ free feeding centres for Brahmins by the Viruthikars. In all these, many a time the Viruthikars had to transport the things as head load to Trivandrum or Quilon where they lived⁷².

64. C.M. Agur, *op.cit.*, p. 585

65. *Ibid*, p. 586

66. Samuel Zacharia, *op.cit.* p. 250

67. *Cover file No. 1231* Report of Dewan Peishkar of Quilon, 30 September 1869, English Records, Kerala State Archives, Trivandrum

68. D. Peter (Ed) *Years of Challenge : Charles Mead*, Nagercoil, 1994, pp. 194-198, petition of Christians of Neyyatinkarai regarding their sufferings to C.S. Frazer, British Resident to Travancore, June 1837

69. *Idem*

70. C.M. Agur *op.cit.*, p. 584

71. Free feeding centres to the Brahmins

72. Samuel Mateer, *op.cit.* p. 359

2 Nadars on the Path of Progress

1. Introduction

The caste-ridden Travancore society imposed many restrictions on the low castes. During the beginning of the nineteenth century, a revolution took place. Even though the British rule in the country was a major factor for this revolution, the motivating force was the selfless service of the Protestant Christian Missionaries. The then British Residents in Travancore, Mecauly and Munro, were responsible for the entry and expansion of Protestant Christian Mission in South Travancore. The Missionaries joined hands with the oppressed community, the Nadars of this area and expanded their ministry. Major part of their ministry consisted of relieving the low castes from their miseries. Hence the oppressed Nadar community was awakened and established its liberation from oppression and helped to choose the path of progress¹.

2. Early Missionaries

London Missionary Society sent William Tobias Ringeltaube to India². He landed at Tranquebar on 4 December 1804³. Ringeltaube's attention was directed towards the Shanars

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1. Robin Jeffrey, *The Decline of Nair Dominance : Society and Politics in Travancore - 1847 - 1908*, London, 1975, p. 265
 2. William Robinson, *Ringeltaube The Rishi : Letters and Journals*, Sheffield, 1902, pp. 19 & 20
 3. Samuel Mateer. *The Land of Charity*, London, 1871, p. 259

of South Travancore. So he studied Tamil⁴, their language and proceeded to Travancore through Aralvaimozhi Pass and settled in South Travancore at a place called Mylaudy in Agasteeswaram Taluk. For his entry, settlement and work, the first British Resident Mecauly helped much. But for him, Ringeltaube would not have entered Travancore⁵. He laboured there for about ten years and converted the low caste people, particularly the Nadars to Christianity⁶. During his period he mingled with the low caste poor people and very clearly understood their sufferings. He, with the assistance of the Residents brought forth many reliefs to the poor low caste Christians as well as to the low caste Non-Christians⁷.

Following Ringeltaube, Charles Mead, the second L.M.S. missionary landed at Mylaudy in the year 1818 and he served for the betterment of the down - trodden for more than half a century⁸. During his period, people under his fold multiplied in thousands year after year and the mission centres expanded from Quilon to Cape Comorin. He brought more missionaries during this period from homeland and expanded the humanitarian outreach through educational, medical and technical services. Mead established mission centres in most of the important places. In those centres he also built churches and schools⁹.

3. The Nadars in Christianity

According to the 1815 statistics, during the period of Ringeltaube, there were only 1019 Christians¹⁰. But this multiplied during the period of Charles Mead. In his first year of service alone more than 3000 Nadars embraced Christianity¹¹. If the head of

4. William Robinson, *op.cit.* p. 3

5. Samuel Mateer, *op.cit.* p. 261

6. I.H. Hacker, *A Hundred Years in Travancore*, London, 1908, p. 27

7. Samuel Zachariah (Reprint - Tamil) *Then Thiruvithan Kottu Thiruchabai Charitra Churukkam*. Part - I, Nagercoil, 1991, p. 19

8. L.M.S. Report, 1819, p. 54

9. L.M.S. Report 1821, p. 6

10. John A. Jacob (Reprint), *A History of Lond on Missionary Society in South Travancore 1806-1959*, Nagercoil, 1990, p. 35

11. I.H. Hacker, *op. cit.*, p. 34

the Nadar community in a village joined Christianity, he was followed by the whole village¹². In Agasteeswaram taluk, village after village people embraced Christianity. In all these villages, churches and schools were established by the missionaries¹³. In 1824 the number of congregations nearly doubled, rising to 48, under the care of 27 native teachers, while 47 schools were in operation with a daily attendance of 1,300 scholars. In this expansion the participation of the Nadar community was immense¹⁴.

4. Relief from Restrictions

With the assistance of the Protestant Christian Missionaries, this oppressed community began to shed the restrictions they underwent in the name of caste, one by one. Nadars were subjected to innumerable cruel taxes of the government. From these they wanted relief¹⁵. When Ringeltaube came around the villages, the Nadar community people made him understand the cruelty of the taxes that were imposed on them by the government. Ringeltaube never missed the chance of relieving them from the burden of taxes by making use of his influence with the British Residents. The Nadars were relieved from Poll Tax, and Professional Tax¹⁶. This was a great boon to the Nadar community and it can never be forgotten¹⁷.

Next great burden which pulled down the economy of the Nadar community was the Ooliam services to the temples, government and landlords. Converts to Christianity did not like to serve in the Hindu temples¹⁸. Secondly they also wanted relief from Ooliam on Sundays as they had to attend the church services on that day. The Christian Nadars got relief from doing Ooliam service to the Hindu temples on Sundays in the year 1815¹⁹. Again

12. L.M.S. Report 1819, p. 125

13. P. Shungoony Menon (Reprint) *History of Travancore From the Earliest Times*, New Delhi, 1985, p. 505

14. I.H. Hacker, *loc.cit.*

15. Samuel Zachariah, *op.cit.* p. 19

16. *Appendix* No. 3

17. Samuel Zacharia, *op.cit.* p. 20

18. *Appendix* No. 3

19. V. Nagam Aiya (Reprint) *The Travancore State Manuel*, Vol. III Madras 1989, p. 564

during the time of Mead the question of doing Ooliam on Sundays to the government arose. Relief was granted to the Christians from doing Ooliam to the government on Sundays in the year 1821. But those who refused to accept Ooliam on other days were made liable for punishment²⁰.

Next restriction was using upper garment, covering the breast by the low caste women. Those women converted to Christianity wanted to dress decently covering their breast. The high caste Nairs considered the women of low caste covering their breast before them to be a sign of disrespect and insult. Hence Munro, the Resident on the request of Christian Missionary, Ringeltaube released an order in 1812 permitting the Christian converts to use upper garments²¹.

5. Educational Progress

Of all the progresses the Nadar community attained under missionary efforts, educational progress was enviable. The Christian Missionaries along with evangelism did yeomen service in the cause of providing useful knowledge to all. The first missionary Ringeltaube opened schools wherever he established a church. He taught the students English, Tamil, Mathematics and Scripture. Ringeltaube gets the credit of being the first to introduce English Education in Travancore²².

Next came Charles Mead who deserves the credit for introducing systematic English Education in Travancore. In 1819 Mead started a seminary in Nagercoil²³. His wife and the wives of other missionaries stationed at Nagercoil started girls' schools²⁴ as well as boarding schools for the slave girls. Mead also started schools exclusively for the Hindus and Muslims. The seminary started by Mead grew into a Second Grade College in Travancore in the year 1893. This college had produced eminent men useful to hold high posts in the government²⁵. Hence it attracted the king and he sought

20. *Appendix* No. 6

21. *Appendix* No. 1

22. V. Nagam Aiya, *op. cit.* Vol. II, p. 446

23. *Idem*

24. Samuel Zacharia, *op. cit.* p. 84

25. V. Nagam Aiya, *loc. cit*

the help of the missionaries for a similar educational work in the entire country. Missionaries established a network of schools based on all their mission centres catering to the need of the citizens of Travancore without caste or religious discrimination. The missionaries also started industrial schools with a view to provide employment²⁶.

It is worth to note the testimony of the Travancore State Historian, Nagam Aiya (1906) on the educational services rendered by the two Protestant Christian Missionaries, Ringeltaube and Charles Mead. It is as follows:

“The Protestant Missionaries, though later arrivals in the field, were the first to introduce English Education in the State. The originator of an English School in Travancore was Revd. William Tobias Ringeltaube, a native of Prussia and a man of great force of character. From 1806, when he came to Travancore, till 1816 he devoted his whole energy to evangelistic work, and wherever he went he carried with him the mission of English Education. He was incessantly preaching and teaching and he established many schools for poor children, Christian as well as Non-Christian. The progress of education through his instrumentality may be gathered from his reply to a query from Col. Munro, the Dewan-Resident of Travancore in 1813. He wrote that there were six schools for the laity. “the instructions that are given consist in lessons of reading, writing, arithmetic” and to Christian children the “catechism and reading the New Testament or religious books . . . The natives are not disposed to send their children to school . . . Books are supplied by presents from the Revd. Missionaries at Tranquebar but not in sufficient number”. Ringeltaube’s noble efforts in the spread of English education was aided, through the recommendation of the Resident Col. Munro, by a grant of land at a nominal rental made by Rani Lakshmi Bayi.”

“The most important name connected with educational work in Travancore was undoubtedly that of Revd. Mead. He was a most

26. *Ibid*, pp. 84 & 85

enthusiastic worker and from the date of his arrival in Travancore in 1817 as a Missionary of L.M.S till his death in 1873, he threw his heart and soul into the work of education. The year after his arrival, i.e., in 1818, he founded the Nagercoil Seminary which was the first institution to give regular English Education in Travancore. The great object of the founder in view, was “the communication of religious and useful knowledge”, and the languages taught were English, Tamil, Malayalm and Sanskrit. After a long and bright career, the Seminary has risen to the status of a Second Grade College. It has supplied two Dewans (N. Nanu Pillai & T. Rama Rao) to the State, and the first Headmaster and organiser of the Rajah’s Free School at Trivandrum, Mr. Roberts, was drawn from it. Mr. Mead who had settled at Nagercoil, established several schools besides the Nagercoil Seminary. His long and intimate connection with English Education induced the government to appoint him as Superintendent of Schools in 1855, and in this capacity he did much to further the cause of education in Travancore.”

“Mead was also the pioneer of female education in the State. He established industrial schools and did much to bring about the abolition of slavery. As a Judge, Missionary and Superintendent of Education and of the Government Press, he put forth his best efforts for the amelioration of the condition of His Highness’ subjects. After him the L.M.S. did not relax efforts and their remarkable activity in this direction may be gathered from the fact that according to the statistics of 1904, they had under their charge 384 schools with 15,641 pupils.”²⁷

6. Economic Progress

The education that they obtained due to the labours of Protestant Christian Missionaries not only enlightened the oppressed Nadar community but also brought them economic progress. Munro removed the discrimination policy of the government²⁸. He and the subsequent non-Nair Dewans were interested in the employment of qualified people irrespective of caste in the government²⁹. As the converts were able to get

27. V. Nagam Aiya, *op.cit.*, p. 446 & 447

28. V. Nagam Aiya, *loc. cit.*

29. V. Nagam Aiya *op.cit.* p. 379

education under the missionary care, especially the English language, opportunities in government automatically invited the Christian Nadars.³⁰ Teaching jobs both from the schools in Travancore and elsewhere³¹ came in search of the Nadar Christians. Their proficiency in English helped to find employment in European - managed production firms and estates³². Those who obtained industrial training from the mission schools were able to start their own business or industrial unit. In almost all Christian homes, the women were engaged in lace-making which ensured additional and permanent income to the family.

In the tea estates started by the Europeans in Sri Lanka, the Nadar Christians of South Travancore found accommodation. The missionaries introduced many young, educated and intelligent lads of the Christian Nadar community to the European planters. One such person was Devasahayam who served in Sri Lanka estates owned by Europeans³³. Devasahayam came to India and started coffee plantations in 60 acres with the consent of the Maharaja of Travancore³⁴. All these efforts provided employment to the young and educated Nadar Christians of South Travancore and they, their friends and relatives could lead a decent life on par with the high caste Nairs³⁵.

30. *Idem*

31. Robin Jeffrey, *op.cit.*, p.51

32. *Ibid*, p. 131

33. John A. Jacob, *op.cit.*, p. 157

34. *Ibid*, p. 156

35. Samuel Mateer, *op.cit.*, p. 236

3 First Uprising : Against Nair Dominance

1. Introduction

The educational and social services rendered by the Protestant Christian Missionaries, in addition to their usual evangelism among the oppressed community of South Travancore opened the eyes of the Nadar community which suffered most, towards liberation. In the persecutions which followed in various places in South Travancore the Hindus, Romanists and Muslims united together against the Protestant Christians particularly Nadars. The Nairs were foremost in action, but the Brahmins and others were behind the scenes. Samuel Mateer observed¹, “On the whole then, it was determined, that by some means or by any means a stop must be put to the progress of Christianity and to the spread of the reforms and innovations already in progress and impending.” The Christians, particularly the Nadar Protestants rose up to break the yoke of bondage imposed on them by the high castes, particularly by the Nairs.

The Nadars who embraced Protestant Christianity with the help of the missionaries managed to obtain many a relaxation from the government. In all, the relief from the Ooliam service hurt much the Nairs directly. For the Nairs lived by the exploitative

1. Samuel Mateer, (Reprint) *The Land of Charity*, Madras, 1991, p. 278

labour freely rendered by the Nadars at their beck and call. Nadars began to refuse their invitation and often demanded wages for the work done². Hence the Nairs were infuriated.

Secondly, the women of those who embraced Christianity were allowed to use upper garment to cover their bosom like the high caste Nair ladies³. This was considered an insult by the Nairs.

Thirdly, the economic and social progress of the Christian Nadars under the patronage of the missionaries irritated the Nairs. Their anger was mainly on the missionaries who were responsible for the progress and courage of the Nadars. Therefore the Nairs decided to wipe out the missionaries, their mission churches the schools and the Nadar converts⁴. In all these struggles, Nadars of Kalkulam and Vilavancode taluks of South Travancore suffered much, since the Nair settlements were comparatively high in those taluks.

2. Kalkulam Struggle

The struggle first started in Kalkulam taluk. In May 1822, a few Nadar women went to the church covering the upper part of their body with a jacket. They were molested by the Nairs, their jackets were torn to pieces and filthy words were used against them⁵. Retaliation proceeded from the Nadars. The missionary, Charles Mead reported the matter to the British Resident in Travancore. The Resident directed the Padbanabapuram Court to study the matter and report. The judgement came in favour of the Christians⁶.

Jubilant over the judgement the Christian ladies gained confidence and boldly began to use upper garments and freely moved to market places and to the church. The Nairs were

2. *Appendix No. 4*

3. *Appendix No. 1*

4. *Appendix No. 7*

5. R.N. Yesudhas, *The History of London Missionary Society in Travancore -1806-1908*, Trivandrum, 1980, p. 175

6. *Appendix No. 5*

determined to assault those who violated their wishes. In the year 1828, struggle burst out at Attoor, Kannanoor, Thirparappu, Arumanai, Udayarvilai and Pulippanam in Kalkulam Taluk⁷. Under the leadership of Eswara Pillai, the Revenue Inspector of those places in collusion with Pidagaicars plotted against the Christians. Christian churches were burnt, Christians were caught, tied together, thrashed and put in jail. To hunt the Christians, they used bow and arrow, sticks, swords and guns. They came round and round with all these weapons to spread fear over the Christian areas. The Christians were branded as terrorists and traitors and their movements were watched⁸.

As Kalkulam taluk had a sizable number of Nairs, the Christians of that taluk had to suffer a lot. Kaisapillai, Neelakandapillai and Madhavan Pillai of the Attoor locality terrorised the Christians and placed their lives and properties under insecurity⁹. Raman Pillai said, “What business have the gentlemen in this country? What can these Kaluvaris Naughty fellows do? If we burn down all the chapels so that no one should remain, these Kaluvaris will return to their country¹⁰.”

Attoor Church and the houses of Christians were burnt down. Their paddy, jaggary, clothing, ornaments, etc. were destroyed. Attoor school master and some Christians were tied together and elephants were employed to drag them to Thuckalay jail¹¹. A dead man’s body was lying on the road side. Responsibility for his death was thrust on some Christians and they were arrested and brought under custody. The ears of a woman aged 90 were cut and the ornaments were stolen. One Vedamonikam of Pampadikonam was murdered by the Nairs. They threatened to destroy the bungalow of Resident Colonel Mecauly¹².

7. *Appendix No. 7*

8. *Appendix No. 8*

9. *Appendix No. 11*

10. *Appendix No. 7*

11. *Appendix No. 7*

12. *Appendix No. 7*

Even though the Christians were exempted from Ooliam services on Sundays, they were caught and compelled to do Ooliam services on Sundays in order to prevent them from going to the Church¹³. A Christian from Kannanoor refused to do Ooliam service on a Sunday. He was caught by the furious Nairs on a Sunday 21 December 1826 and was forced to carry coconut leaves to Padbanabapuram to feed the elephants in the Fort. On hearing this a Nadar named Esakimadan who embraced Christianity with the co-operation of certain others relieved that Christian who was loaded with coconut leaves. The same leaves were loaded on a Nair and transported back to Kannanoor Church. This incident shook the Nair society very badly¹⁴.

With a view to punish the Nadar Christians who were responsible for such an incident, some Nairs of Attoor Adigaram, after two days assembled one mile away from Kannanoor Church with sticks, swords, guns and other weapons. Hearing this the Christian Nadars of Kannanoor Church left their houses and ran away. Those who remained in the houses were beaten and the houses were plundered and the Church was burnt¹⁵.

After this incident, during nights, the Nair terrorists used to go round with deadly weapons and torches, shouting slogans against the missionaries. Wherever they went, the churches and schools of the mission were burnt down and the Christians were severely beaten. On 22 December, the servant of Charles Mead went to Trivandrum to get bread for Mead. On his way he was stopped and enquired. He said that he was from the Army Camp. The Nairs who stopped him said that he would have been killed if he was associated with Mead¹⁶.

3. Vilavancode Struggle

In the Vilavancode taluk region, the Nairs pervented the Christians from going to the Church and giving sermons in the

13. D. Peter (Ed). *Years of Challenge : Charles Mead*, Nagercoil 1994, p. 33

14. *Ibid.*, p.158

15. C.M. Agur (Reprint), *Church History of Travancore*, New Delhi, 1990, p. 834

16. *Ibid.*, pp. 840 & 841

17. *Appendix* No. 8

Church¹⁷. Packianathan of Kanjiracode Church was prevented from preaching the gospel. He was threatened by saying that his house and the Church would be burnt if he violated their wish. Savariyal Gnanappu and Annal of this village were teased and their jackets were torn to pieces while going to the market. Mallam Pillai of the same village, under the instigation of Nattalam Pakuthi Provertikar and the head of the same village did all these things¹⁸. When this matter was complained to the Provertikar by the Reader of the Church, he was warned that he would also be beaten if these women wore jackets any more¹⁹.

Gunamudayal and Neetiudayal of Kunnathoor went to the market at Kallankuzhi. They were beaten and their jackets were torn to pieces. Likewise Yesudial who went to the Kuzhivilai market was also beaten and her jacket was torn to pieces by Poothamadan Chetty and Mallan Pillai. Women of Vetha Madan's and Arumugam's house went to the market wearing the jacket²⁰. Sankara Pillai threatened them saying that they were violating the usual custom. Those ladies went to the house and returned with broom-stick in their hand and their men followed them with stick and other weapons. Seeing this, Sankara Pillai ran away²¹. This was complained to the Midalam Pidagaikar.

The climax in this struggle was that an attempt to the life of the Missionary, Charles Mead was made. On 3 January 1829, the Nairs planned to attack his residence at Mondaicaud. Knowing this, Mead secretly informed the matter to Captain Sibald who was stationed at Oodayagiri Fort. Captain Sibald came in time and rescued the life and properties of Mead²².

4. Nanjil Nadu Struggle

Vellalas who enjoyed social status on par with the Nairs lived in Thovalai and Agasteeswaram taluks in Travancore. They

18. D. Peter, *op.cit.*, p. 10

19. *Appendix* No. 8

20. D. Peter, *loc.cit.*

21. *Appendix* No. 9

22. C.M. Agur, *op.cit.* p. 838

also oppressed the Christians. Vellalas of Bhoothapandi, Maravas and certain others joined together and attacked the Christians of Thittuvilai area. One school teacher and thirteen other Christians who were in their houses were dragged out and put into the Bhoothapandi Satram Jail. Some of them confessed that they were not Christians²³. Those who recanted were released and others were tortured. Watching this tragedy, the Muslims and the Catholic Christians of the area rejoiced. The reason was that the growth of the Protestant Christians was considered as a menace to them²⁴.

In 1828, rioting started and extended for six months. Hence the Missionaries, Mead and Mault requested the British Resident Colonel Morrison to give protection to the Christians²⁵. The Resident requested Dewan Venketa Rao to enquire the matter. Accordingly Dewan came to Padmanabapuram Fort on 11 January 1829 and made an enquiry²⁶.

5. Government Order

Dewan Venkata Rao conducted an enquiry, accordingly an order was released in February 1829²⁷. Those woman converts to Christianity were allowed to wear Kuppayam, (a loose jacket) only and were prohibited from wearing dresses like those of the Nair women. Next, those who embraced Christianity were exempted from Ooliam duties only on Sundays and they had to do Ooliam duties on other days. But they were not bound to do Ooliam service to the Hindu temples and Devasams. Thirdly, it was declared that low castes of all categories were prohibited to follow or imitate the high caste customs and manners. Construction of worship places without the permission of the Government was barred. Again the order insisted that the complaints, if any, should be lodged only to the government officials and not to any non-governmental officer or person²⁸. The officials were Nairs and they

23. *Appendix* No. 10

24. Samuel Mateer, *op.cit.*, p. 276, D. Peter, *op.cit.*, p. 32

25. D. Peter, *op.cit.*, p. 36

26. *Appendix* No. 6

27. *Appendix* No. 6

28. *Appendix* No. 6

supported always the Nairs. So the low caste people lost confidence in them. The order was intended only to prohibit the Christians from complaining to the Missionaries.

1829 order was painful to the Protestant Christians and to the Missionary, Charles Mead in particular who fought for the liberation of low castes from the clutches of high caste Nairs. Mead considered that this order was an attempt to suppress the growth of Christianity. By this order the Christians did not get any relief. Those who languished in jail due to false cases lodged by the high caste Nairs were suffering from diseases also. Their families were in starvation. Considering the sufferings of his converts, Mead had to fight with the Government for long²⁹.

By the 1829 order, the Government could neither stop the growth of Christianity nor find solution to the problems of Christians. Christians were occasionally and, here and there attacked by the Nairs and it was a continuing story. Under such circumstances, in the year 1855 the order relating to the abolition of slavery was proclaimed. The Nairs who were benefitted much by the slaves were severely affected by the proclamation for which the Christian Missionaries were instrumental. The slaves attained the ownership of the land which they cultivated. The control the Nairs had over the slaves vanished. This order put the Nairs in shame and they began to crush the Christians and the Missionaries who were responsible for their pitiable plight³⁰.

The Proclamation of Queen Victoria of England in the year 1858 confused both Nairs and the Nadars. The Nairs considered that the Proclamation was in their favour. With the help of the Nair officials, the Nairs took the law into their hands and started oppressing the Nadars. The Nadar community thought that they were given the right to disobey the existing social customs and traditions³¹. The Hindu Nadar women also began to dress like

29. D. Peter, *op.cit.*, pp. 113 - 115

30. Samuel Zachariah (Reprint Tamil), *Then Thiruvithankottu Thiruchabai Charithira Churukkam*, Part - II, p. 14

31. V. Nagam Aiya (Reprint) *The Travancore State Manuel*, Vol. I, New Delhi, 1989, p. 526

the Christian Nadar women covering the upper part of their body. For this, the Christian Nadars helped the Hindu Nadars. The Nairs began to attack brutally the Christian Nadars with the assistance of other low caste communities³². As a result in Neyyatinkarai, Kalkulam, Vilavancode. Thovalai and Agasteeswaram rioting burst out severely in December 1858³³.

6. Struggle Renewed

Rioting vigorously cropped up in Neyyoor region on 25 December 1858³⁴. The Nairs entered into the Neyyoor village and manhandled all those Christians whom they came across. The women who wore jackets were attacked and jackets were torn to pieces. Fearing the Nair attack the Christian Nadars of that village ran away. Children and women found shelter in the Mission Bungalow. This struggle reflected in almost all the Neyyoor Mission villages. Under the pretext of service to the government, the Nairs captured four people from the Kallankuzhi village, tied them together, beat them severely, put them under lock-up and released them after many days³⁵. After two days, the Kallankuzhi Church was burnt down. On 27 December the Meicode Church was also burnt down³⁶.

The taluks of Agasteeswaram and Thovalai were also affected severely. Houses of three Nadars were burnt down in the James Town village on 29 December 1858³⁷. On 4 January 1859 rioting started at Kottar near Nagercoil. Nairs and Vellalas joined together and attacked the Nadar Christians and their properties³⁸.

32. Appendix No. 15

33. V. Nagam Aiya, *op.cit.*, p. 526

34. F. Baylis, *Report of the Neyyoor Mission District* for the year 1859, UTC Archives, Bangalore, (Referred by J.W. Gladston, *Protestant Christianity and People's Movements in Kerala*, Trivandrum, 1984, p. 88)

35. John A. Jacob (Tamil) *Then Thiruvithancore London Missionary Sanka Charitran* - 1806 - 1956, Nagercoil, 1956, p. 68 & 69

36. C.M. Agur, *op.cit.*, p. 932

37. Samuel Mateer, *op.cit.*, p. 302

38. Robin Jeffrey, *The Decline of Nair Dominance : Society and Politics in Travancore*, 1847 - 1908, London, 1975, p. 60

The Christian women were beaten up and their upper garments were torn to pieces. Under the leadership of Vaidiyalingam Pillai and Neelam Pillai nearly 200 Vellalas and Nairs assembled and marched towards Thazhakudy village with sticks and cutting knives. The party attacked the Christians, beat and tore the jackets of the women. They planned to burn the church and the school and to kill the catechist and the school teacher. Hence the Church and the school were closed for many weeks. Christians of Thazhakudi evacuated the village³⁹. Three days prior to the Thazhakudi incident, nearly 500 vellalas along with the government officers marched to Kumarapuram, Iraviputhur and Marungoor villages, entered into the houses of the Christians and plundered. Men ran away and women were dragged out of their houses, molested and the upper garments were torn to pieces⁴⁰. Such type of rioting happened at Aralvaimozhi, Chemponvilai and Kattuputhoor villages.

On 10 January 1859, the Church at Vadakkankarai and the Resident's Bungalow at Nagercoil were burnt down. On the same day about 50 Vellalas met catechist of Chellamthuruthi and ordered him not to open the church and preach. If he obeyed their order, they promised him to offer half a kottah a local measure of paddy per month⁴¹. Between 11 and 16 January, two churches and schools were burnt down. In Thittuvilai a Nadar Christian and his wife were assaulted severely and his house and the adjoining 27 houses were set on fire⁴². In many places, Christians were dragged to render Ooliam services to the Hindu Temples on Sundays. They were compelled to give up Christianity and to mark Hindu symbols on their forehead⁴³. As there prevailed insecurity to the Christian Missionaries and to their family members, special guards were arranged to watch their living places⁴⁴. In Agasteeswaram, the Nadar

39. *Appendix* No. 16

40. *Appendix* No. 16

41. *Appendix* No. 16

42. V. Nagam Aiya, *op.cit.*, p. 529

43. *Appendix* No. 16

44. Samuel Mateer, *op.cit.*, p. 303

Christians gathered people and raised funds to give a counter attack to the brutal deeds of the Vellalas and Nairs. They sought the support of the Tirunelveli Nadars also⁴⁵.

In Neyyatinkarai, two women went to Aralumoodu market. They were beaten up by a last grade government servant and brought before the Neyyatinkarai jail officer. The jacket of one woman was torn into pieces, pulled off and hung on the tree near the jail. A group of nearly 400 people consisting of Muslims, Chetties and others were roaming about Aramanoor, Puthenkarai and Thirupuram markets on 15 and 19 January 1859 with a view to attack Christians⁴⁶.

7. Interference of Missionaries

When rioting was at its peak, the Missionaries, John Cox, Russel, Whitehouse, Lewis and Baylis jointly complained to the British Resident in Travancore⁴⁷. They wrote and met the king directly and explained to him the sufferings of the Christians⁴⁸. As the missionaries could not get any solution from the King of Travancore, they sought the help of the British Governor at Madras, Charles Trevelyan. On 6 May 1859, Trevelyan wrote a letter to the British Resident in Travancore, General Cullen expressing his dissatisfaction over the unlawful customs and traditions followed in Travancore. He asked General Cullen to impress upon the Maharaja regarding the painful dress regulations adopted against the traditions of Christians and others⁴⁹.

45. V. Nagam Aiya, *loc. cit.*

46. *Idem*

47. *Cover File No. 2115*, F. Baylis to Cullen, Neyyoor, January 1859, English Records, Kerala State Archives, Trivandrum

48. Petition of the LMS Missionaries, dated February 7th, 1859, *Madras Political Proceedings* 27th August to 2nd September 1859 Referred by J.W. Gladston, op.cit., p. 90

49. *Copies of Official Papers* sent from India Touching the Recent Disturbances in Travancore, p. 39-47, Minutes of the Hon. President, 7th May, 1859, Tamil Nadu Archives, Madras.

On the compulsion of the government of Madras, the Dewan and Maharaja had half a mind to agree to the demand of the Nadars. Accordingly on 26 July 1859, the Travancore Government permitted all the Nadar women to wear Kuppayam like the Christian Nadar women, irrespective of religion. The Nadar women of any religion were permitted to cover the upper part of the body by any means excepting the style of the Nair women.⁵⁰ Even though this order was not satisfactory to the Nadars, this privilege was not granted to the other low castes.

Missionaries were not satisfied with the 1859 order of the Government. As the other low caste women were not permitted to cover the breast, the missionaries expected clash in the future. Hence regarding the dress, they again wrote a letter to the Governor of Madras condemning the attitude of the Travancore Government. The Governor summoned the Resident to his office and had a talk on the subject. The Governor advised the Resident, Maltby to use all his influence on the Maharaja to remove all dress restrictions imposed on all castes. Maltby reported the wish of the British Government to the Maharaja⁵¹. Maharaja felt that if he did not oblige, there would arise strained relationship between Travancore and the British. Hence in 1865 an order was released permitting all low castes to dress like the Nadar women. Even then the low caste women were not permitted to dress like the Nair women⁵².

As time passed by, all the restrictions imposed on the low castes vanished one by one. However the enmity that arose between the Nairs and the Nadars remained submerged and unresolved. It re-emerged after one century and the Nadars had to fight again during the middle of the twentieth century to reclaim their

50. *Proclamations* from 1858 to 1874 A.D., Proclamation of 1859 A.D., Kerala State Archives, Trivandrum

51. *Political Proceedings* 28th August 1860, Despatch from the Rt. Hon. Sir. C. Wood, Secretary of State for India, to His Excellency the Hon. Governor in Council. Fort St. George, 24th July 1860. No. 17, Tamil Nadu Archives, Madras

52. *Neetu*, Vol, 71, pp. 210 & 211, Proclamation of Mithunam 1040 ME (1865 A.D.) Kerala State Archives, Trivandrum

liberation. This liberation is neither the gift of the Travancore Kings nor the generosity of the Nairs and Vellalas but was the prerogative attained by the sustained efforts of the oppressed community, the Nadars, unrelenting support of Protestant Christian Missionaries and the unrestricted co-operation of the British Residents in Travancore.

4 **Second Uprising :** **An Introduction**

1. Introduction

The Nairs had marital relationship with royal families and Nambudiri families; consequently they were socially, economically and politically in a privileged position in Travancore. Social Revolution that took place during the nineteenth century in South Travancore due to the labours of Protestant Christian missionaries, the process adopted by the sovereigns to strengthen the administration of the State, the influence of British rule in the administration of Travancore and the break-down of Nair Tarawads as a result of the educational and employment policies adopted by the government marked the decline in power and authority of the Nair community in Travancore. The Nairs were determined to capture political power to restore their past glory in the society. After attaining political power, once again they began to oppress the Nadar community of South Travancore because their representatives in the legislature refused to pay heed to their dictates. There resulted the Nadar Revolt against the Nair domination under a different scenario during the middle of the twentieth century. This is addressed as a continuation of the struggle that broke-out during the first half of the nineteenth century between the two said communities.

2. Decline of Nair Dominance

Marthandavarma Maharaja was the maker of Modern

Travancore. He abolished the feudal system of agrarian economy that prevailed at the time of his ascendancy to the throne and reduced the power of Nair Jenmies. He also reduced the strength of Nair Brigade in the army¹ of the land and abolished the system of controlling the army by the Nair landlords. The Nair traitors of the country were subdued and their lands were confiscated and treated as government lands².

The agreement executed by Travancore with the British East India Company in 1805 gave power to the British to interfere in all the matters of administration and appointment in Travancore³. Nairs were normally appointed as Dewans of Travancore. Veluthampy and Umminithampy who were the Dewans of the country proved their worthlessness in administration⁴. Therefore Rani Lekshmi Baye who ascended the throne in 1810, appointed the British Resident, Colonel Munro as the Dewan of Travancore⁵. Munro brought forth drastic changes in the administration of Travancore for which Travancore, the present State of Kerala, is still grateful to him. Within one year the country which was in chaos and confusion was brought under control and order. The affairs of the revenue department, judiciary, and government administration received his immediate attention. His administration aimed to ensure security and safety to the life and properties of all sections of the people of the country⁶. This attitude of Munro dismantled the Nair domination in Travancore.

Munro abolished the National Council of the Pidagaicars of Nanjil Nad⁷ which was supervising and punishing the low caste

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1. Robin Jeffrey, *The Decline of Nair Dominance : Society and Politics in Travancore, 1847 - 1908*, London, 1976, p. 3
 2. P. Shungoony Menon (Reprint), *History of Travancore From the Earliest Times*, New Delhi, 1985, p. 125
 3. K.R. Sukumar (Tamil), *Veluthampy Dalavai*, Nagercoil, 2000, p.6
 4. V. Nagam Aiya (Reprint) *The State Manual of Travancore*, Vol. I, 1989, p. 448
 5. "She had a degree of confidence in his justice, judgement and integrity which she could not place in the conduct of any other person" - V. Nagam Aiya, *op.cit.*, p. 458
 6. A. Sreedhara Menon (Reprint), *A. Survey of Kerala History*, Madras, 2000, p. 339
 7. V. Nagam Aiya, *op. cit.*, p. 261

people who violated the restrictions imposed on them. At times this so called National Council dictated to the king of the land⁸.

After Munro, the post of the Dewan was rarely offered to a Nair⁹. In 1817, one Reddy Rao of Maratha was appointed as Dewan of Travancore. Upto 1877 the non-Malayalee Brahmins held the post of Dewan in Travancore. Thus for long the Nairs who lost the confidence of the British due to the treacherous action of Veluthampy had to lose the highest post, the Dewanship in the country. In the administration of the country, the number of Nairs employed as staff was also reduced considerably¹⁰.

Next to the British Resident Colonel Munro, the man who restricted the entry of Nairs in the government services was Dewan Madhava Rao¹¹. The reforms he brought in the education department very much reduced the domination of Nairs in the country. Educational qualification and written tests were made compulsory for government services. Even for the appointment of engineers, judges and government pleaders, competitive examinations were conducted¹². As a result, the non-Malayalee Brahmins entered government services in large number¹³. The Nairs found that sending their children to schools was inevitable to secure government jobs¹⁴. In 1872 out of the 14 graduates, 10 were non-Malayalee Brahmins, but Nairs numbered only three¹⁵. Among those who studied in the Maharaja's College in 1891 only 67 students were Nairs out of a total of 232, but the non-Malayalee Brahmins were 112. Hence the opportunity for the Nairs to enter the government services became limited.

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8. C.M. Agur (Reprint) *Church History of Travancore*, New Delhi, 1990, pp. 568 & 569
 9. Robin Jeffrey, *op.cit.*, p. 6
 10. *Ibid*, p. 8
 11. V. Nagam Aiya, *op.cit.*, p. 523
 12. *Travancore Government Gazette*, Vol. X, No. 32, 6th Aug. 1872
 13. Robin Jeffrey, *op. cit.*, p. 77
 14. *Travancore Administration Report 1895 - 96*
 15. Robin Jeffrey, *op.cit.*, p. 78

Growth of higher education in the country led to the split in the Nair Tarawads¹⁶. All the members of the family preferred to obtain collegiate education. As it was costly the manager of Tarawad, the Karanavar¹⁷, preferred to send his direct descendants, son or daughter to obtain collegiate education and the other members of the Tarawad were compelled to work in the fields¹⁸. This attitude of the Karanavars, in general invited rift in the Tarawads of the Nairs. As per the 1865 Proclamation of the Government, individuals could own and sell properties¹⁹. The Tarawad lands were subjected to ownership among its members. Hence the joint family system that prevailed long in the Nair society broke down. The 1865 Proclamation drove members to litigations and to wait long on the verandhas of the Law Courts. In the same year nearly 284 cases were filed regarding the division of family properties²⁰. Between 1881 and 1891, 660 cases were filed in the division of family properties alone²¹. Because of the long pending court cases and extravagant family expenditures on ceremonies, the economy of the Nair families enfeebled and crashed. As a result the Nair dominance in Travancore declined.

3. Nair Dominance Rebuilt

The Nairs miserably failed in their attempt to bring the Christian Nadars under their control and to extract from them free labour by force. Hence they determined to capture political power in Travancore. In 1884 they founded an organisation called Malayalee Sabha²² to promote their socio-economic and political clout in the country. The Malayalee Sabha submitted a memorandum to the government called Malayalee Memorial in 1891²³. The memorandum was against the domination of non-

16. Tarawad refers to the Nair's Joint - Family

17. The eldest male members and manager of a Tarawad

18. Robin Jeffrey, *op. cit.*, p. 152

19. *Ibid*, pp. 88 & 89

20. *Travancore Administrative Reports 1866-67 to 1871 - 72*

21. Robin Jeffrey, *op.cit.*, p. 153

22. *Ibid*, p. 158

23. *The Malayalee Memorial*, Archives Treasury, Kerala State Archives, Trivandrum, 1993, p. 137

Malayalee Brahmins in the government. To give a national colour to that memorandum they managed to get the signatures of some Syrian Christians, Ezhavas²⁴, Muslims and Vellalas of Nanjil Nad²⁵. The Nairs did not seek the support of the Protestant Christian Nadars of South Travancore for they classified them as foreigners²⁶.

As a result of the submission of the Malayalee Memorial to the government, the Nair community alone was benefitted²⁷. Hence the Syrian Christians, Ezhavas and Muslims formed a group and announced the boycott of elections. This was called the Abstention Movement. They formed a political party called All Travancore Joint Political Congress on 17 December 1932²⁸. This organisation sought the support of the Protestant Christian Nadars of South Travancore²⁹.

According to the constitution of the country the powers were concentrated in the hands of the Dewan of Travancore. To decentralise his power and to abolish that post and to empower the Representative Body, the Nairs demanded Responsible Government in Travancore³⁰. Syrian Christians, Ezhavas and Muslims of the country once again came forward to support the move of the Nairs³¹. After obtaining Responsible Government, elections were conducted in Travancore. The first ministry was formed by a Nair³². Thus the Nairs regained their political power. With the power they had obtained once again, they began to oppress the Nadar Community of South Travancore for they refused to fall under their influence in the Representative Body.

24. C.R. Mitra, *Sri Narayana Guru and Social Revolution*, Shertalli, 1979, p. 30

25. *The Malayalee Memorial*. op.cit., p. 137

26. *Appendix No. 19*

27. Suresh Kumar, *Genesis of Political Movements 1859 - 1928*, New Delhi, p. 64

28. K.K. Kusuman, *The Abstention Movement*, Trivandrum, 1976, p. 31

29. K.K. Kusuman, op.cit., p. 43

30. D. Daniel, *Struggle for Responsible Government in Travancore 1838-1947*, Madurai, 1985, p. 39

31. A.A. Razak, (Tamil) *Nesamony Oru Charitra Tiruppam*, Nagarcoil, 1998, pp. 12 & 13

32. *Travancore Information and Listener*, Vol. VIII, No. 8, April 1948, p.7

4. Struggle Continued

At first the struggle took place during the middle of the twentieth century mainly in Kalkulam and Vilavancode Taluks³³ of South Travancore as in the case of the struggle that happened during the first half of the nineteenth century³⁴. The main reason for this concentration in these two taluks was that the Nair settlements in these two taluks were greater than in Thovalai and Agasteeswaram Taluks.

The police firing of 1948 and 1954 also took place only in Vilavancode Taluk³⁵. The legislative council members of Agasteeswaram and Thovalai wrote on 7 March 1948 to the high police officer thus: "The Tamilians of Kalkulam and Vilavancode feel their life, properties and liberty are most insecure . . ., the District Magistrate had passed a curfew order in Kalkulam and Vilavancode . . . the Tamilians of these two unfortunate taluks may be saved from the valley of death . . ."³⁶

The president of Travancore Tamil Nad Congress (TTNC), a native of Agasteeswaram Taluk, Sam Nathaniel wrote in his letter to the Governor General of India on 22 August 1948 as follows : "Together they launched a bitter crusade against the Tamilians mainly of Vilavancode and Kalkulam. Hundreds of false cases were foisted on them and they made an occasion for a systematic manhunt by the Armed Reserve. Looting and plunder became the order of the day. Young men were hammered and clapped in jails. Black terror stalked in the two taluks for months."³⁷

Secondly, like the nineteenth century struggle, the present one also clearly showed that the Nadars were on the defensive side and as usual, the Nairs were on the offensive. The hero of the twentieth century struggle, Nesamony who was on the defensive

33. *Appendix* No. 36

34. *Appendix* No. 7 & 8

35. *Appendix* No. 34, 35 & 36

36. *Appendix* No. 36

37. *Appendix* No. 34

side indicated in his book, “Inside Travancore Tamil Nad” (1948) as follows : “Tamilian taps the palms for toddy and sweet juice and boils it into jaggery. He tills the soil and reaps the harvest. He is the sole manufacturer of salt. He has developed spinning and weaving as a cottage industry. The bleak and barren slopes of the hills have yielded to his pickaxe and spade and are covered with resplendent vegetations and food crops of various kinds. His hands built the Kodayar Dam and dug the channels.”³⁸ All the works he referred in this statement were related only to the Nadars of South Travancore.

In the twentieth century struggle, like the nineteenth century, the other caste people offered only a limited support to the Nadars. Regarding the support of other caste people to TTNC candidates in the 1948 election, Nesamony wrote as follows : “Voting showed that the Nairs, the fisherfolk and the barbers mainly supported the State Congress. . . The fisherfolk were misled by the Malayalee priests. The Kerala Mudalis had to support the State Congress as the Textile Commissioner was out and out a Nair and State Congressite.”³⁹

Thirdly, in the second struggle Malayalee meant the Nairs and the Tamilians meant the Nadars of South Travancore. During the struggle wherever the Nadars lived the effect of the struggle was deeply felt. Nesamony observed as follows : “Travancore Government is mainly a Nair Government. The Dewan, the District Magistrate of Trivandrum and the District Superintendent of Police, Trivandrum and Assistant Superintendent of Police, Nagercoil, when the struggle began were all Nairs and most of them were relations of Nair State Congressites. The Police Inspectors of Vilavancode, Eraniel, Thuckalay, and Thiruvattar are Malayalees. They are holding all the key positions in Travancore Tamil areas. They have no sympathy on the Tamils.”⁴⁰ “We are witnessing today the worst forms of communalism making strident march in Tamil Nad. Sri. Pattom

38. *Appendix No. 38*

39. *Appendix No. 38*

40. *Appendix No. 35*

Thanu Pillai is a Malayalee and he cannot brook the sight of a Tamilian crossing his path. He is a Nair who thirsts for the blood of the Nadar, his opponent. He has drunk enough of it not once but twice. Could not this orgy of man hunting and man slaughter be put an end to?"⁴¹

Again from the statement of Nesamony one could easily come to the conclusion that the second struggle was a continuation of the struggle that took place during the nineteenth century between the Nairs and Nadars. His statement: "I had occasion to witness heart - rending scenes reminiscent of what our forefathers suffered a hundred and fifty years ago at the hands of the Nairs and the Nair Government."⁴² Hence the struggle that took place in South Travancore during the middle of the twentieth century under the leadership of Nesamony was a continuation of the struggle that took place during the first half of the nineteenth century under the influence of Protestant Christian missionaries.

41. *Appendix No. 57*

42. *Appendix No. 35*

5 An Organisation for Liberation

1. Introduction

In the event of India's freedom the Indian National Congress would take over the administration of India. It was believed that the Congress Party would go in for the reorganisation of the states on linguistic basis. Under such circumstances the Malayalees wanted the formation of Kerala State adding Malabar and Cochin with the existing Travancore. If that was materialised by the Malayalees, the Tamilians in Travancore would go voiceless and helpless in the administration of the State. Hence the Tamilians wanted an organisation to voice their right to join Madras Tamil Nadu in the event of Reorganisation of States. A political party was founded and to elicit the support of the Tamilians, canvassing was done vigorously by the leaders. The Nadar community extended unlimited support while the other communities extended only limited support.

2. Security in Question

Right from the beginning of 1947, far reaching and serious changes followed one after another in the political scenario of Travancore. British Prime Minister, Clement Atlee, in the month of February confirmed India's freedom. Handing over the administration to the Indian National Congress, which was the popular political party, was also made clear. Congress Party as early

as 1927¹ accepted the principle of forming the states on the basis of language. If the Congress Party was to proceed to implement its linguistic reorganisation of states, the Malayalees would be very firm in forming the State of Kerala, joining Cochin and Malabar with the existing State of Travancore². Under such circumstances, the position of the Tamilians in the Representative Body of Travancore State would be insignificant. Then the very existence of the Tamilians in Kerala would become a very big question³. Organisations of Tamils that existed in South Travancore were incapable to compete on equal footing with Malayalee organisations⁴.

To restore the very fundamental rights and to wrest powers, the senior and responsible citizens of the Tamil society wanted a political party of their own without caste or religious affiliations⁵. Nesamony, a senior advocate, belonging to the Protestant Christian Nadar community, was approached. The matter regarding the future of Tamils in Travancore was discussed. He wanted to have more discussions on the subject with many more friends and hence he wrote letters to them⁶.

3. Political Changes

Many political changes took place from April 1947 onwards in Travancore. The rewritten constitution was published on 7 April⁷. In June, the Travancore Country declared its independence⁸. By July, the British relinquished its connection with the Indian States⁹.

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1. Government of India, *Report of the State Reorganisation Commission*, New Delhi, 1955, p. 13
 2. A. Sreedhara Menon (Reprint) *A Survey of Kerala History*, Madras 2000, p. 380
 3. B. Maria John, *Linguistic Reorganisation of Madras Presidency*, Nagercoil, 1994, p. 73
 4. *File No. D. Dis. 88/1946*, C.S., English Records, Kerala State Archives, Trivandrum
 5. *Appendix No. 21*
 6. *Appendix No. 21*
 7. *Administrative Report of Travancore, 1947-48*, p. 10
 8. *File No. D. Dis. 268/1947*, C.S. English Records, Kerala State Archives, Trivandrum
 9. B.L. Grover and S. Grover, *A New Look at Modern Indian History*, New Delhi, 1994, p. 578

In August, Dewan Ramaswamy Iyer left Travancore¹⁰. Unnithan was sworn in as Dewan of Travancore temporarily. On 4 September 1947, the Maharaja proclaimed Responsible Government to Travancore¹¹. As Dewan Unnithan was the son of the soil and a Nair, the Tamilians apprehended oppression. The on-going actions of the Dewan confirmed the expected oppression¹².

Since Responsible Government was installed, there arose the necessity of rules making, voters list preparation and the conduct of peaceful election. So the Reforms Committee was appointed immediately for the said purposes¹³. The State Congress claimed that it was the only political organisation in the State and it demanded the right to fill all the 14 vacancies that arose in the Reforms Committee¹⁴. Travancore Tamil Nad Congress, the only organisation of the Tamils of the State wanted one-fourth of the seats in the Reforms Committee¹⁵. But all the 14 seats in the Reforms Committee were filled by Pattom Thanu Pillai, the leader of State Congress and a Nair by caste¹⁶.

4. Allen Memorial Hall Event

Under such circumstances the Tamilians of the State were in the dark and did not know the direction in which they should proceed. A senior advocate, a journalist and a respectable man of the Nagercoil Bar Council, Chidambaram Pillai requested Nesamony to give leadership to the Tamilians who were at a loss¹⁷. Accepting his request, Nesamony assembled some important persons to have a discussion on the subject at Allen Memorial Hall in the Nagercoil Mission Compound¹⁸.

10. Travancore Government *Gazette Extra Ordinary*, 20 August 1947

11. *Travancore Information and Listener*; Vol. VIII, No.2 October 1947, pp. 5 & 6

12. *Ibid*, Vol. I, September 1947, p. 13

13. A. Nesamony *Inside Travancore Tamil Nad*, Nagercoil, 1948, p. 3

14. *Idem*

15. *Idem*

16. *Idem*

17. Nesamony Centenary Souvenir (1895 - 1995) Nagercoil 1995. Darling Wilson Appolose, "His Highness Nesamony : A History:

18. *Appendix 22*

On 8 September 1947, at about 5.30 p.m. under the chairmanship of Nesamony, nearly 200 people mainly advocates, assembled at Allen Memorial Hall. A staunch member of the State Congress, Muthukaruppa Pillai¹⁹ who was present at that meeting said that Travancore State Congress was the only organisation in the State and that represented both Malayalees and Tamilians in the State. So a new organisation to look after the welfare of the Tamilians was not needed. Some others argued that Travancore Tamil Nad Congress was the only organisation which was looking after the interests of the Tamilians and so all the Tamilians should join to strengthen it. These two resolutions were put to vote. TTNC was accepted as the Representative Body of the Travancore Tamilians. Henceforth TTNC under the leadership and guidance of Nesamony marched forward from Allen Memorial Hall on 8 September 1947 towards victory²⁰.

One may pause here to re-examine the statement of Muthukaruppa Pillai. Whether his political party, the State Congress was looking after the interests of the Tamilians or not was not the question. He categorically said that there was no political party in the State except the State Congress. Pattom Thanu Pillai, the leader of the State Congress claimed the right of appointing all the fourteen members of the Reforms Committee stating that there was no other political party in Travancore²¹. He got that right to the State Congress and it appointed all the fourteen members. TTNC was not given any representation in the Reforms Committee.

A small group of people might have perhaps functioned under the presidentship of Sam Nathaniel on the title, Travancore Tamil Nad Congress. When Travancore announced its independence there were mixed feelings among the members of that organisation whether to support it or not and finally, in the

19. *Appendix 22*

20. *Appendix 22*

21. A. Nesamony, *op.cit.* p. 3

meeting held at Maruthuvalmalai in July 1947, there arose a quarrel and fight and the organisation was wound up and the members found shelter in Sivagnana Gramony's Tamilarasu Kazhagam²². So what was stated by Muthukaruppa Pillai on 8 September 1947 at Allen Memorial Hall meeting regarding the non-existence of other political parties in Travancore except the State Congress was true.

5. Father of Kanyakumari

Nesamony who accepted the leadership of the TTNC was a native of Palliady in Vilavancode Taluk. He was born on 12 June 1895 in a middle class family as the second son of Appolose and Gnanammal at his mother's birth place, Maranconam in Kalkulam Taluk. As he was born in Kalkulam Taluk and brought up in Vilavancode Taluk, he might have obtained direct and first-hand experience of the Nair oppression on the Nadars. Perhaps that might be the motivation for him to liberate his people from the clutches of the Nairs.

Nesamony completed his degree course at Trivandrum Maharaja's College and started his life as a teacher. As he had interest in public life, he joined the Law College, studied law and registered himself as a Lawyer in 1921 at Nagercoil Sessions Court²³. His knowledge in law, the style of argument and presentation attracted the judges many times and that reputation placed him on the list of very eminent criminal lawyers in Travancore.

As he was a reputed lawyer, many young advocates irrespective of caste or religion wished to become his juniors. They gained much from him and later contributed to the society as lawyers and politicians. A few among them were Chidambaranathan Nadar, Ponnappan Nadar, Gopalakrishnan, Fakrudeen Adam and Razak. The TTNC president Sam Nathaniel was also his junior.

22. D. Daniel, *Travancore Tamils : Struggle for Identity 1938-1956*, Madurai, 1992, p. 126

23. Marshall Nesamony (Souvenir) K.P. Samsudheen, '*Heroic History of Nesamony.*' Nagercoil, 1969, p. 1

Nesamony was very closely associated with the religious organisation in which he was a member²⁴. He was made Neyyoor District Secretary in 1933 and in the same year he was elected to the Travancore Mission Council. The Council elected him as its secretary. When the question of Union was on its agenda it benefitted much by making use of his personal influence. In 1939, he wrote the Constitution and Rules of the Church Council. He was elected to the post of Vice-President in the South Travancore Diocese and when it was bifurcated in the year 1959, he became the Vice-President of Kanyakumari Diocese, CSI and in that position he served until his last.

Nesamony was called to serve the public. He was elected as the President of Nagercoil Lawyers' Association in 1943²⁵. In the same year, he was elected as the chairman of the Nagercoil Municipal Council. He served as a member of Sri Mulam Assembly of Travancore, a member of the Madras State Assembly and a member of the Parliament or the Lok Sabha.

The short period he served as Municipal Chairman is remembered even today. During his period, he improved the finance of the Municipality, rescuing it from a state of bankruptcy, added the suburban areas with the existing area of the Municipality, provided street lights and drinking water to the town and started a Rehabilitation Centre for the beggars. As a representative in the Sri Mulam Assembly, his speech on adult franchise was hailed as a land mark. Seeing his great and extra-ordinary capacity the then Dewan, Ramaswamy Iyer appointed him as a member of the Senate of the Travancore University²⁶.

When the freedom of India was nearing, the Malayalees wanted to form Kerala State extending from Kanyakumari to Kasarcode. Nesamony was called to counter the proposal of the Malayalees by the respectable citizens of the Tamil areas. He never

24. Desopakari, (Centenary Souvenir) M.K. Bhava, *People's Leader Marshall A. Nesamony*, Nagercoil, 1963, p. 16

25. *Ibid*, p. 17

26. *Ibid*, p. 18

hesitated to shoulder the great burden entrusted to him by the people. Nesamony carried TTNC across the oppressed people of Kalkulam, Vilavancode, Neyyatinkarai, Deviculam, Peermade and Chittoor Taluks. It was made the sole political as well as welfare organisation of 15 lakh of Tamilians of Travancore. Nesamony was the uncrowned monarch of the Tamils²⁷ and so he was crowned by the people with the title, “Kumari Thanthai” (Father of Kanyakumari)

6. Unlimited Support of Nadars

Under the leadership of Nesamony, the TTNC was made popular among the oppressed community, the Nadars²⁸. To explain the aim and objectives of TTNC and to gather support, propaganda meetings were arranged in the southern taluks²⁹. The main aim of TTNC was formation of a Tamil State under the aegis of Maharaja with full autonomy³⁰. The movement became very popular within a short period among the Nadars of Kalkulam and Vilavancode Taluks as Nesamony was a very popular advocate, friend and protector of the Nadars of those areas.

When TTNC was Agasteeswaram-Thovalai movement, in the propaganda meetings, only 10 to 15 people attended³¹. But when it became Kalkulam-Vilavancode movement, in the propaganda meetings, the Nadars attended in thousands. Since many people attended the propaganda meetings, holding meetings without audio equipments was impossible³². In those meetings, copies of a map denoting the areas where the Tamilians were in the majority according to the 1941 census, were distributed³³. For the four southern taluks, Taluk Committees, Town Committees and Paukuthi Committees were formed and membership campaign

27. M.P. Sivagnanam (Tamil) *Enathu Porattam*, Chennai 1974, p. 719

28. *Idem*

29. A. Nesamony, *Inside Travancore Tamil Nad*, Nagercoil, 1948, p.5

30. *Idem*

31. *Mony 70* (Souvenir) Nagercoil, 1987, p. 278

32. A. Nesamony, *op.cit.*, p. 6

33. D. Daniel, *op.cit.* p. 149

was carried out vigorously³⁴. Within a period of one month, more than 10,000 people joined the movement³⁵.

TTNC leaders were engaged in the celebration of Gandhi Jayanthi in the month of October 1947. In connection with that celebration, a procession and a public meeting were arranged. The State Congress also proposed to celebrate Gandhi Jayanthi on the same day, 6 October and at the same place. On that day, TTNC procession started from Kandavilai Church at about 4 p.m. Mahatma Gandhi's portrait was taken in procession in an open chariot drawn by 79 bullocks. The procession marched forward with musical accompaniments. When the procession approached the TTNC office at Monday Market, it was noticed that the board on which, the slogan, "We will form the Tamil State" was written, was removed by the State Congressites. Scuffle started between the volunteers of TTNC and the State Congress. Police interfered and restored peace³⁶ by stopping the TTNC procession at Monday Market. Condemning the atrocities of the State Congress activists, a bundh was observed on 7 October at Eraniel, Monday Market and Neyyoor³⁷. The TTNC President Sam Nathaniel sent a telegram to the Maharaja explaining the whole story and requested him to interfere at the earliest. But the government remained silent. The Eraniel incident at the time of Gandhi Jayanthi celebration still worsened the relationship between TTNC and State Congress. In the Eraniel region, the two parties had equal influence. So tension mounted at Eraniel.

After the Eraniel incident, TTNC grew very fast in Kalkulam and Vilavancode Taluks. Seeing the growth of TTNC in these two taluks, State Congress leaders thought of coming to a compromise with TTNC instead of fighting each other. In connection with this, Pattom Thanu Pillai, the State Congress leader met Sam Nathaniel, the President of TTNC. But on 30 October,

34. A. Nesamony, *op.cit.*, p. 6

35. *Appendix No. 28*

36. *File No. D. Dis 424 / 1947, C.S.*, English Records, Kerala State Archives, Trivandrum

37. *Appendix No. 35*

the Executive Committee of TTNC passed a resolution reiterating its demand, a state within Travancore under the aegis of Maharaja for Tamils with full autonomous status. The attempt of State Congress for compromise thus failed³⁸.

In November 1947, TTNC arranged meetings throughout Kalkulam and Vilavancode to explain the aim and objectives of TTNC to the people. In all these meetings, the Nadar community people attended in large numbers and assured their support. On 11 November in the meeting held at Pacode in Vilavancode Taluk, under the presidentship of Meetheen Pillai, Shanmugam of Bhoothapandi, Abdul Khadar of Peruvilai and Dhas advised the youngsters to join the movement and strengthen it. In the meeting some 500 Nadars were present³⁹.

On 15 November, a mammoth meeting was held at Kuzhithurai in Vilavancode Taluk. Nearly 30,000 people attended and the meeting was presided over by a Nagercoil advocate, Sivaraman⁴⁰. On 16 November, the meeting held at Mylode of Kalkulam Taluk was presided over by Chidambara Nathan Nadar. A procession was led from Monday Market at about 6.00 p.m. to the meeting place at Mylode. In that meeting, nearly 5000 Nadars participated⁴¹.

On 16 November, nearly 4000 Nadars participated in the Thennithottam meeting at Vilavancode. It was presided over by Dhas and all the speakers condemned the attitude of the Nairs who were against the Tamilians, particularly the Nadars⁴². On the

38. *File No. D. Dis. 424/1947, C.S.*, English Records, Kerala State Archives, Trivandrum

39. “. . . About 500 persons mostly Nadars of the locality attended. The speakers appealed to the Tamilians in general and Nadars in particular to stand united under the Tamil Nad Congress . . . They also warned the Nadars against falling a prey to the tricks played by the State Congressites to get the support of the Nadars in the election” - From the Inspector General of Police to the Registrar, Huzur Secretariat dated 14 - 11 - 1947. *Ibid*.

40. *File No. D. Dis. 199/1947, C.S.*, English Records Kerala State Archives, Trivandrum

41. *File No. D. Dis. 424/1947, C.S.* English Records Kerala State Archives, Trivandrum

42. “. . . All Speakers condemned the attitude of the Nairs towards the Tamilians, About 4000 persons mostly Nadars attended” From the Inspector General of Police to the Registrar, Huzur Secretariat, dated 18-11-1947, *Ibid*

same day a meeting at Vanniyur of Vilavancode Taluk was conducted under the presidentship of Ram. Nearly 2000 people attended the meeting and most of them were Nadars⁴³. On 21 November, a meeting at Cheruppalore of Kalkulam Taluk was held under the presidentship of Ponnappan Nadar⁴⁴. On 22 November, under the presidentship of Sivaraman a meeting was conducted at Viralikattuvilai of Kalkulam Taluk⁴⁵. Nearly 5000 Nadars attended the meeting at Chennithottam of Kalkulam and it was presided over by George⁴⁶.

On 23 November, under the chairmanship of Nesamony a meeting was held at Attoor of Kalkulam Taluk in which 5000 Nadars attended. In the meeting Nesamony pointed out the anomalies found in the report of the Reforms Committee. He said that the representation in the Reforms Committee for SIUC Christians, Asaries and Kammalas was neglected. He assured that the Tamilians in South were determined to restore their right of forming a separate state under the aegis of Maharaja for Tamilians in Travancore with full autonomous status even at the cost of their lives⁴⁷. On 27 November, Nesamony presided over a meeting held at Keezhkulam Village of Vilavancode Taluk. More than 5000 Nadars attended the meeting⁴⁸.

43. “. . . About 2000 persons, mostly Nadars were present” - From the Inspector General of Police to the Registrar, Huzur Secretariat, dated 21-11-1947, *Ibid*

44. *Ibid*

45. *Ibid*

46. “. . . About 5000 persons, mostly Nadars of the locality were present” - From the Inspector General of Police to the Registrar, Huzur Secretariat, dated 25-11-1947. *Ibid*

47. “. . . 5000 persons mostly Nadars attended. The President (A. Nesamony) criticised the Report of the Reforms Committee and pointed out the inadequate representation given to SIUC Christians and depressed classes such as Asaris, Kammalars, etc. in the Tamil Areas. Tamilians have once for all decided to establish a Tamil Province in the State even at the risk of their lives” - From the Inspector General of Police to the Registrar, Huzur secretariat, dated 25-11-1947, *Ibid*

48. “. . . A Nesamony presided. 5000 persons mostly Nadars attended the meeting” - From the Inspector General of Police to the Registrar, Huzur Secretariat dated 27-11-1947. *Ibid*

7. Limited Support by Others

The political party TTNC which gained momentum among the Nadars tried to enlist the support of the other community people. To get the support of the Muslims, public meetings were conducted at Thiruvithamcode where Muslims were in majority. Muslims extended their moral support but refused to involve in all its activities⁴⁹.

To get the support of Catholics, the TTNC leaders Nesamony, Sam Nathaniel and Fenn Russaliah approached the Kottar Catholic Bishop Agniswamy. He sent secret message to all the Parish Churches to extend their support to TTNC to safeguard the rights of Catholic Christians⁵⁰. The leaders could not succeed in their attempt. Wherever Malayalee priests were posted in the Catholic Churches they worked against this Tamilian organisation, the TTNC. Fishermen formed the majority among catholic population of Tamils in Travancore. In most of their churches, Malayalee priests were in-charge. They advised their church people not to support TTNC and asked to extend the support to State Congress in which the Catholic Christians, John, Chakko and Akkamma Cherian were the leaders. They canvassed support for State Congress even by distributing hand bills to their church members⁵¹. Another reason for which the fishermen hesitated to support TTNC was that they feared Nadar domination in future⁵².

Parayar community also refused to extend its support to TTNC. They organised themselves under the banner, All India Scheduled Caste Federation. This organisation held meetings and did anti-propaganda⁵³. They opposed the division of Travancore on the basis of language and also demanded to drive away the Tamil plantation workers from Devikulam and Peermade and to

49. *Appendix No. 29*

50. *File No. D. Dis 424/1947, C.S., English Records, Kerala State Archives, Trivandrum*

51. *Ibid*

52. C.R. Narseson (Tamil), *Kumari Christavarkal Payanappathai*, Nagercoil, 2000, p. 145

53. *Appendix No. 31*

appoint Malayalees in their place. They appealed to their people not to support TTNC.

In October 1947, under the auspices of the Federation a meeting was held under the chairmanship of Retnaraj. Those who spoke in that meeting requested the scheduled caste people not to join any organisation other than the Federation. Nearly one hundred people of that community attended the meeting⁵⁴. Kerala Mudalis did not evince interest in joining TTNC. Kerala Mudalis had to support the State Congress for the Textile Commissioner was a staunch State Congressite and a Nair⁵⁵.

In November 1947, a TTNC meeting was arranged at Brahmapuram of Kalkulam Taluk under the chairmanship of Kochappan of Krishnavaga community. Nearly 1000 people of that community assembled at the meeting place and prevented from holding the meeting at Brahmapuram. Since tension prevailed in that area, the magistrate passed prohibitory order⁵⁶.

As far as the Vellalas of Nanjil Nad were concerned, a few people were seriously involved in the activities of TTNC. Certain others came closer to the organisation and at times they kept themselves away when personal benefits were uncertain. At one time they were active in TTNC and at another time were active in some other organisation. Thus they did not give whole hearted support to TTNC. The reason might be that they were never subjected to torture by the Nairs, and so they always identified themselves with the Nairs and suppressed the Nadars. The Vellala Maha Sabha advised its community people to abstain from supporting TTNC and not to vote for its candidates in the elections⁵⁷. Those Vellalas who followed the Nair culture and traditions were always in support of Nairs and members of the

54. *Appendix* No. 32

55. A. Nesamony, *op.cit.*, p. 27

56. *File No. D. Dis. 424/1947*, C.S., English Records Kerala State Archives, Trivandrum

57. J. Alasiar, K.K. Kusuman (Ed) *Aspects of South Indian History*, Nagercoil, 2000 & V. Sathianesan, *Tamil Separatism in Travancore : A Movement for Social Liberation*, p. 267

State Congress. Muthukaruppa Pillai, a strong supporter of State Congress was a Vellala. Sivathanu Pillai who was nominated to the Reforms Committee by State Congress was a Vellala.

TTNC was once an organisation of a few people of Agasteeswaram and Thovalai Taluks. After it became a political party under the leadership of Nesamony, it became a people's party and a party of Kalkulam - Vilavancode Nadars. In spite of it, people belonging to different castes, religions and places offered opportunistic support based on circumstances and personal benefits.

6 Oppression and Solidarity

1. Introduction

The growth of Travancore Tamil Nad Congress within a short period irritated the Nairs and became a threat to the State Congress. The Nairs of State Congress began to attack the members of TTNC. TTNC sympathisers, volunteers and leaders were manhandled and kept under panic. There was no safety for their lives and properties. This physical attack was rampant in Kalkulam and Vilavancode Taluks where the Nair settlements were found in large number when compared to Thovalai and Agasteeswaram Taluks. The government actions were set in support of the Nairs. In spite of these, the State Congress was not able to prevent the victory of TTNC in the Southern Taluks in the 1948 Assembly Elections.

2. Oppression by Nair Government

In those times, Travancore Government was a Nair Government. The Dewan, high officials and even the last grade servants were all Nairs. They held important posts both in the Police Department and Judiciary. Trivandrum District Judge, Trivandrum District Superintendent of Police, Nagercoil Assisant Superintendent of Police, Sub-Inspectors of Vilavancode, Eraniel, Thuckalay, Thiruvattar were all Nairs. They were the sympathisers

of State Congress. So it was clear that the atrocities of the State Congress were perfectly known to the government¹.

In order to prevent the growth of TTNC in the Tamil regions, government created a lot of disturbances to the Nadars. Those who were involved in the activities of TTNC were denied employment opportunities. All those who were already employed were denied promotions and transferred to distant Malayalam regions. In the Tamil regions, Malayalees were appointed by the government. The government did not allow the Weavers Advisory Committee of Kalkulam and Vilavancode to function, for the government suspected the members of the committee as sympathisers of TTNC. The government dropped the Perunchani Dam construction and Thirparappu Channel construction schemes for they were beneficial to paddy cultivation in the Tamil areas only. With the assistance of special police, compulsory paddy and rice procurement was made indiscriminately in Thoivalai and Agasteeswaram Taluks. In Nagercoil Municipality, all the Municipal Development Schemes were dropped². The police personnel who were trained in modern methods to control Punnapura-Vayalar Revolt were deployed in the Tamil regions of Travancore. Reserve Police equipped with weapons roamed about the Tamil areas in police vans and created panic among Tamilians³. Travancore so far had never experienced such police atrocities in its history.

Due to the pressure given by the government and State Congress, TTNC experienced very many difficulties in holding propaganda meetings in connection with the state elections. Wherever meetings were arranged, State Congress volunteers created trouble. Under the pretext of restoring peace, the police interfered and brutally attacked the TTNC volunteers and leaders. Immediately the magistrate visited the spot and declared ban order. Thus TTNC had to close the meetings arranged at Brahammapuram, Munchirai and Ezhathuvilai⁴.

1. *Appendix* No. 35

2. A. Nesamony, *Inside Travancore Tamil Nad*, 1948. p. 6 & 7

3. *Ibid.*, p. 7

4. A. Nesamony, *op.cit.*, p. 40

3. Propaganda Meetings

The meeting arranged at Brahmmapuram on 14 November 1947 was banned and assembled people peacefully proceeded to their houses⁵. But on their way home they were beaten and wounded by State Congress rowdy elements and the Reserve Police⁶.

On 15 November, a propaganda meeting was held at Kuzhithurai. There also State Congress people created unruly scenes. Two adjoining houses of Nairs were vacated and State Congress rowdies were accommodated. After one hour of the meeting, the rowdies stationed in the adjoining houses started pelting stones on the crowd. Immediately a group of people who were attending the meeting rushed towards the houses from where the stones were thrown on the people who attended the meeting. Those stationed in the houses ran away and hence forth the meeting was peaceful till the end. Even though the magistrate and the police inspector in their First Information Report condemned the action of the State Congress people who were responsible for the untoward happenings on that day, the next day the Superintendent of Police and certain Nair officials and two Municipal Counsellors came to the spot and filed false cases against 300 Tamilians and arrested 23 of them. They were severely beaten, pulled, dragged and thrown into police lock-up⁷.

On 23 November, TTNC Volunteers were returning home after attending a TTNC meeting at Attoor. Due to the instigation of the police inspector, the Nairs threw stones on the volunteers. Next day it was noticed that the roof tiles of Aruvikarai Village Office were damaged. It was on the same night the Nairs of that Aruvikarai locality damaged the roof tiles, broke open the door of the office and destroyed the records and the blame of their criminal activities was thrown on the Nadars who had attended the Attoor

5. *File No. D. Dis. 424 / 1947, C.S.*, English Records, Kerala State Archives, Trivandrum

6. *Appendix No. 35*

7. *Appendix No. 35*

TTNC meeting. Next day a case was filed against 14 Nadars and they were taken to the police station. Pioneer Motor Service bus was arranged to take the arrested to the police station. But on the influence of the Nairs of that locality, the police inspector fettered and made them walk along the road for two miles, two by two, in the hot sun. The State Congress people mockingly remarked that the Tamil bastards were carrying Tamil State on their heads two by two. After a walk of two miles they were loaded in a bus and taken to Vilavancode court. The magistrate placed them under police custody. So they were brought to Thuckalay police station⁸.

On the same day, the Catholic Christians of Manalikai arranged a reception meeting to Annie Mascarene who was an important leader in the Congress Party. The meeting was held in the Manalikai Catholic Church compound under the chairmanship of the Catholic priest, Pius John Morris⁹. In collusion with the local Nairs and the State Congressite fisher-men, the priest turned the reception meeting into State Congress propaganda meeting. Annie Mascarene appealed to the crowd to support the State Congress which was responsible for obtaining Responsible Government to Travancore. She tried to convince the crowd that State Congress belonged to the Catholic Christians. Opposing her statements, a part of the crowd stood up and shouted, "Jai TTNC" and left the meeting shouting slogans in favour of TTNC¹⁰. As confusion stalked, the meeting was closed abruptly. The infuriated priest and the State Congressites instigated a fisherman who had a petty shop on four wheels to give police complaint that his cart was damaged by the Nadars. Following his complaint, the Sub-Inspector of Police of the Thiruvattar station next day raided all houses around, arrested the people and put them in jail after brutal attacks. He gave the same treatment to all those who were seen on the road and market places¹¹.

8. *Appendix No. 35*

9. *Appendix No. 32*

10. *Appendix No. 32*

11. *Appendix No. 35*

4. Condemned

In connection with the above incidents in Kalkulam and Vilavancode, meetings were arranged in Agasteeswaram and Vilavancode Taluks to condemn the police atrocities.

On 16 November, under the chairmanship of Madhavan Pillai, a meeting was conducted to condemn the action of the magistrate regarding the Brahmmapuram meeting¹². Sam Nathaniel presided over a meeting at Navalkaud on 27 November. Daniel who spoke in that meeting indicated that the Tamilians of Kalkulam and Vilavancode Taluks were thrashed and treated as street dogs by the police and he strongly condemned the police action. He warned the people that it was a deliberate attempt by the government to humiliate the Tamilians and to divide them into Christians and non-Christians. He appealed for the solidarity of the Tamilians at any cost¹³.

On 18 November, under the presidentship of Sam Nathaniel, another meeting was conducted at Nagercoil municipal ground. All those who spoke at that meeting condemned the deliberate attempt of the government under the instigation of the State Congress to divide the Tamilians. The police officers who filed false cases against the poor Nadars were also condemned¹⁴. The meeting conducted at Kadukkarai on 30 November condemned the illtreatment inflicted by the police on the TTNC volunteers and all those officers who behaved in support of State Congress people in Kalkulam and Vilavancode Taluks¹⁵.

When TTNC propaganda meetings were conducted in full swing in various centres, the volunteers sent reports to the head

12. *File No. D. Dis. 424 / 1947, C.S., English Records. Kerala State Archives, Trivandrum*

13. “. . . T.T. Danel, Advocate said that the government is trying to create a split among the Hindu Nadars and Christian Nadars and appealed to the Tamilians to sink racial differences and stand as one race and agitate. He said that in Vilavancode and in Kalkulam TTNC workers are thrashed like dogs . . .” - From the Inspector General of Police to the Registrar, Huzur Secretariat, dated 29-11-1947, *Ibid*

14. *Ibid*

15. *Ibid*

office at Nagercoil regularly about the police atrocities as well as attacks of Nairs on Nadars¹⁶. TTNC Executive Committee members met daily at the office and reviewed the situations in Kalkulam and Vilavancode. Resolutions were passed by the Executive condemning the atrocities and the government's illtreatment on the Nadars and were sent to the Dewan for redressel. Contrary to the request, day by day the situation in Kalkulam and Vilavancode became worse¹⁷.

5. Police Attack

The report of the police was to the contrary. The police deliberately laid the responsibilities for the untoward happenings in Kalkulam and Vilavancode on the Nadar Community. The officer of the Nagercoil Police Force who made an enquiry charged Nesamony and blamed that he was solely responsible for the struggle in Tamil areas. He said that Nesamony was very popular among the Nadars and they were instigated by Nesamony¹⁸. Nesamony's speech in public meetings was very powerful which attracted and kindled the illiterate Nadars and because of the atrocities of Nadars, the Nairs who lived around them were in panic. Through his report, he requested the government to put an end to the activities of Nesamony¹⁹.

6. Compromise Failed

Since TTNC was not able to procure justice from the Travancore Government, the Madras State Congress President Kamaraj was invited by the leaders to assess the situation directly. Kamaraj accepted the invitation and came to Trivandrum on 4 December 1947. On the same day evening, a meeting at Eraniel

16. *File No. D. Dis. 117/1948*, C.S., English Records, Kerala State Archives, Trivandrum

17. *File No. D. Dis. 104/1948*, C.S. English Records, Kerala State Archives, Trivandrum

18. "... Nesamony's speech has appealed to the audience and has the effect of arousing the feelings of illiterate Nadars as his speech was in the colloquial language of the Nadars. The other speeches have little effect" - From the Inspector General of Police to the Registrar of Huzur Secretariat, dated 15th November 1947, *File No. D. Dis. 424/1947*, C.S., English Records. Keral State Archives, Trivandrum

19. *File No. D. Dis. 103/1948*, C.S., English Records, Kerala State Archives, Trivandrum

where more than 10,000 Nadars gathered, was addressed by Kamaraj²⁰. Next day he addressed meetings at Karungal and Nagercoil. After that, he addressed a meeting of TTNC leaders and State Congress leaders and tried to bring them under some agreement. His attempt did not yield fruit. Kamaraj proceeded to Madras promising to hold talks in Madras again. But Pattom Thanu Pillai as promised did not turn up at Madras. Kamaraj also did not take further interest on the TTNC issue²¹.

7. TTNC in Election

In the mean time the Reforms Committee completed its work and submitted its report to the government on 20 November 1947²². The Committee recommended for 120 constituencies on the basis of one representative for 50,000 voters²³. Among the total, 40 seats were set aside for reservation and 80 seats came under common category. The report was biased and much harmful to the Tamilians. Tamilians wanted two constituencies over and above the given share. The Government turned a deaf ear to the request of TTNC and proceeded with the recommendations of the Reforms Committee. When election was declared, the political parties and their leaders were fully engaged in the election work. TTNC also got ready to enter the election arena.

Many of the TTNC leaders lost confidence because of the government's anti-Nadar attitude. All the election processes were entrusted to Nesamony by the party²⁴. Since the constituencies were divided on the basis of Hindu Nadars, Catholics, SIUC and Parayar, it was difficult for the political parties to find suitable candidates on the basis of communities. Anyhow after undergoing many trials Nesamony succeeded in finding out 18 candidates to contest on the TTNC ticket. Nesamony formed a volunteer force to explain to the people the Party's aims and objectives and to

20. *File No. D. Dis. 104/1948, C.S.*, English Records, Kerala State Archives, Trivandrum

21. *Appendix No. 35*

22. *The Hindu*, 24th November 1947

23. N. Sasidharan Nair, *History of Travancore Legislature*, Trivandrum, 1984, p. 73

24. A.A. Razak (Tamil) *Nesamony Oru Charitira Thiruppam*, Nagercoil, 1998, p. 64

supervise the election work of TTNC. In each village, a committee was set up for this purpose. As this was the first election in the state, there arose the necessity of educating the people regarding methods of voting. For this purpose, many volunteers were recruited and even school students were utilised. The voters were taught to remember the names of the candidates to whom they proposed to vote at the time of voting.

8. Police Persecution

When election was fast approaching, the State Congress let loose goondaism and the atrocities of the police mounted. Leaders who were engaged in election works at important centres like Marthandam, Eraniel, Kulaseharam and Nagercoil were publicly drawn out of the party election office and persecuted²⁵. In Kalkulam and Vilavancode Taluks, Nadar community people suffered injuries due to the persecution of Nairs. Their houses were plundered and then burnt down. That was the order of the day. Election became a convenient excuse to persecute the Nadars and frequently complaints were lodged against the Nadars by the Nairs. Hence the Nadars fearing the insecurity of their lives, ran away from their native places and found shelter in the Thovalai, Agasteeswaram Taluks or Madras State. People from Periaivilai, Kizhkulam, Kuzhithurai, Aaru Desam, Kuzhicode and Mancaud vacated their houses and opted to find shelter in hilly regions²⁶.

All of a sudden Eraniel police Inspector, George with the help of Reserve Police started manhunting. People who were found on the roads leading to Mangarai, Kotteti and Palapallam were arrested and more than fifty people were brutally assaulted. As he entered the Kotteti evening market and began to persecute the people indiscriminately, more than a thousand males and females who had come to sell and buy, abandoned their commodities in the market and ran away to save their lives²⁷.

25. A. Nesamony, *op. cit.*, p. 23

26. *File No. D. Dis. 460/1948*, C.S. English Records, Kerala State Archives, Trivandrum.

27. *Appendix No. 35*

In Madichel there was enmity for long between a Nair and a climber, a Nadar. The Nair urged the police to arrest that Nadar alleging that he was a party in the Kuzhithurai case. While the climber was sharpening his knife in the early morning, the Reserve Police came in large numbers, entered his house and arrested him. Next day the same Nair was returning home from his usual police mercenary work. At that time some one gave him a few blows. Next day the Reserve Police divided into many groups and stormed the village. They entered nearly 300 houses in the village and beat all men, women and children with lathies and butt ends of rifles. Very old and very young were left in the village and all the others ran away from their houses²⁸.

Nesamony who went around the villages which were severely affected by the police atrocities and the Nair persecution, said that he could visualise how much his forefathers might have suffered in the hands of the Nairs and Nair government some hundred and fifty years ago²⁹. He saw children starving in their houses, women with tears and grief and those who suffered in hospitals with no hope of life and future due to police attacks. People expected personal assault, annoyance and public outrage at any time. Every where this was the situation³⁰. Sam Nathaniel, the President of TTNC wrote complaint letters to the Dewan as well as to the Maharaja. Yet there was no response from the government side³¹.

Under this situation the day for the election came³². To prevent the voters from going to the polling booths to vote, the police resorted to firing and the State Congressites jointly started manhandling the TTNC workers. Mancaud Devasahayam and Painkulam Chelliah were the victims of Police firing³³. Election was

28. *Appendix No. 35*

29. *Appendix No. 35*

30. *Appendix No. 35*

31. A. Nesamony, *op.cit.*, pp. 38-42

32. P. John John, *Coalition Governments in Kerala*, Thiruvalla, 1983, p. 7

33. *File No. D. Dis., 360/1948*. C.S., English Records, Kerala State Archives, Trivandrum

conducted in Agasteeswaram and Thovalai Taluks on the same day. Subsequently in Kalkulam - A and Kalkulam - B constituencies election was conducted on two days. In Vilavancode Taluk, the election was conducted on three days. Nesamony was a candidate in this taluk under the SIUC quota³⁴.

Generally in all polling booths tension prevailed. In Kulaseharam, Thiruvattar, Ponmanai, Chenkodi, Thirunanthi Karai, Nettancode, Meicode, Allancode, Manavalakurichi and Colachel those who came to vote for TTNC were chased away by police and Nair goondas and anti-social elements were brought from other places to assassinate important TTNC leaders and to create confusion and chaos in Vilavancode constituency where Nesamony was a candidate³⁵. What happened in Neyyatinkarai polling booth was painful. Goondas of State Congress and Nairs jointly chased away the TTNC booth agents and other assistants. As many were arrested, the others ran away from their respective booths. The polling officers also sided with the State Congressites. There was great insecurity to the lives of TTNC candidates. The editor of Bharathi newspaper was attacked by the Nairs at Kollencode for he was a TTNC candidate³⁶. Another candidate Kunjan Nadar was stabbed at Mavilai³⁷. In these two incidents the police were witnessing and enjoying the scenes. The victims were attacked simply because they were associated with TTNC even though they knew Malayalam language.

9. Achievement of TTNC

The election was over and the results were announced. Out of the 18 candidates, 14 candidates who contested in Thovalai, Agasteeswaram, Kalkulam and Vilavancode won the election with a vast majority of votes defeating the rivals or the State Congress candidates deplorably. In Agasteeswaram and Thovalai Taluks, the State Congress candidates lost their deposits³⁸. But the candidates

34. A.A. Razak, *op.cit.*, p. 72

35. A. Nesamony, *op. cit.*, p. 26

36. *Ibid*, p. 25

37. A.A. Razak. *op.cit.* p. 72

38. *Appendix* No. 36

who contested in the TTNC ticket lost the Neyyattinkarai seat. However for the first time Tamilians got an opportunity to enter the strong-holds of Malayalees³⁹. In Deviculam also, the TTNC candidate lost, for the workers were unable to come out for voting from their hiding places due to police atrocities⁴⁰.

10. Again Oppressions

Even though the Kalkulam - Vilavancode people won the election they could not live peacefully. As soon as the results of the election were announced, communal rioting started again in its worst form. The Nadar community people irrespective of religious affiliations cast their votes unanimously in favour of TTNC⁴¹. From the manner in which the voting was done, it was clear that the Nairs, Fishermen and Kerala Mudalis voted for Congress⁴². After the election with the support of Syrian Christians, State Congressites and Malayalee priests, the fishermen started dishonouring the Nadars. The Nadar women who went to the market to buy fish were treated badly by the fishermen who used filthy language against the Nadar women. The Nadar women boycotted buying fish from fishermen. Hence communal rioting started between the Nadars and the fishermen, which took a very bad shape. The fishermen were not able to bring fish to the markets. Those who violated the restrictions were manhandled by the Nadar community people themselves and the commodities brought by them to the market were also confiscated. Hence the Act IPC of 144 was promulgated in many important centres where rioting was apprehended⁴³.

This revolt led to taking revenge on the TTNC volunteers, polling agents and other workers who were identified and tortured by the Reserve Police. Those Nadars who were identified by the State Congressites were also beaten up by the Reserve Police severely.

39. A. Nesamony, *op.cit.*, p. 25

40. *Idem*

41. A.A. Razak, *op.cit.*, p. 72

42. *Appendix* No. 38

43. A.A. Razak *op.cit.* p. 75

Shops owned by the Nadars were subjected to plunder and destruction. The Reserve police entered the markets and the things brought to the market for selling by the Nadars were destroyed. Those who came to sell and buy in the market were manhandled and chased out of the market premises. The Nadars who lived by the side of the roads were not able to sleep in their houses for the police raided their houses at midnight⁴⁴.

The one-sided and partial behaviour of the government officials and the police encouraged the Nairs and fishermen to go in a mob and plunder the Nadar houses, destroy coconut gardens, betel vines and other vegetations owned by the Nadars. Those who complained regarding these atrocities of the Nairs and fishermen were dragged to the police station and to the court and finally punished. Due to the instigation of the Malayalee Catholic priests, Nairs and Police Department, Attoor market was plundered and irreparable damage was caused to the Nadars⁴⁵.

The Police Department smashed the houses, shops, printing stations, industrial units which were on both sides of the road from Kuzhithurai Municipal office upto Thoduvetti bullock market. An old man who was sitting in a tea shop to sip a cup of tea at Marthandam was severely beaten by the police. A black-smith who was working in his unit and a cycle shop owner and his handicapped son were manhandled severely by the Reserve Police. Police entered Christal Press at Marthandam, smashed the printing machine and hurt the owner and his brother⁴⁶. A Christian priest aged more than seventy by name Harris, who was sitting in the Christal Press was threatened by the Reserve Police⁴⁷. The police entered Thoduvetty market, brutally attacked the coconut merchants and jaggery merchants and looted their cash. As the women were attacked and molested, they ran away to save their lives leaving the articles they brought to the market for sale⁴⁸. Tamilians were afraid of going to

44. *Appendix* No. 38

45. *Appendix* No. 38

46. *Appendix* No. 36

47. *Appendix* No. 36

48. P. Ramachandran, *R.C. Sundaram Pillai*, Trivandrum 1982, p. 15

the Malayalee hotels for, in one of the Malayalee hotels, two Tamilians were poisoned⁴⁹.

In Vilavancode and Kalkulam Taluks, the right to assemble and speak was refused. For two weeks from 5 March 1948, assembly of more than five persons in a place was prohibited⁵⁰. In the name of Peace Committee, to restore peace in the disturbed areas, unwanted elements of the State Congress were enrolled and they under the pretext of peace talk kindled communal rioting to an unimaginable extent⁵¹. The Members of the Representative Body of Travancore of the Agasteeswaram-Thovalai Taluks, Sivaraman, Thanulingam, Ponniah and Ambrose wrote a complaint, explaining the pathetic condition of the Nadars of Kalkulam and Vilavancode who were under the grip of insecurity of life and property, to the police higher official on 7 March 1948. They requested the officer to visit those places and see the conditions directly and to render salvation to the victims. No action was taken. Instead persecution continued without any interruption⁵².

The records confirm that the untold sufferings undergone by the Nadar community of Kalkulam and Vilavancode Taluks laid solid foundation for the liberation of the Tamilians of South Travancore.

49. A. Nesamony, *op.cit.*, p. 28

50. *Appendix* No. 36

51. *Appendix* No. 36

52. *Appendix* No. 36

7 Nairs at the Helm of Affairs

1. Introduction

The Nairs with the co-operation of other communities wanted the abolition of the Dewan post and to capture power. The goal was achieved by the Maharaja's Proclamation of Responsible Government to Travancore. The Reforms Committee formed for the implementation of Responsible Government conducted election for the Representative Body in 1948. The State Congress headed by a Nair, Pattom Thanu Pillai bagged 97 seats out of the 120 seats and came out with absolute majority in the Assembly¹. Next to the State Congress, TTNC captured 14, Muslim League 8 and one seat independent². The first day, first session of the Representative Body was boycotted by TTNC as a protest against the atrocities of the Government. Pattom Thanu Pillai was sworn in as the Chief-Minister. After him Narayana Pillai became the Chief Minister. During his period, Cochin State was united with Travancore. The strength of the Nairs increased in the Travancore - Cochin State Assembly. Even then Narayana Pillai ministry had a premature exit. An Ezhava community member, Kesavan became the chief minister until the next election to the State Assembly.

1. P. John John, *Coalition Governments in Kerala*, Thiruvalla, 1983, p. 51

2. A.A. Razak, *Nesamony Oru Charitira Thruppam*, Nagecoil 1998. p. 75

2. Boycott of Assembly Session

The Representative Body met for the first time in the political history of Travancore on 20 March 1948. On that day, the Maharaja gave his historic concurrence to frame the interim constitution. Accordingly, the interim constitution was introduced in the House on 24 March 1948³. The most important first day meeting was boycotted by the important opposition party, the TTNC. Nesamony, the Leader of the Parliamentary Party in his letter to the Dewan and to the Press declared that the boycott was in protest of the government's atrocities against the Tamilians⁴ in the four Southern Taluks. The head of the State Congress, Pattom Thanu Pillai was charged for his caste-based rule in Travancore. He released the Nair goondas against the Tamilians of the Southern Taluks. The safety and security of the life and properties of the Tamilians in those areas were in danger. All these cruel deeds were done with the help of Nair Officers, Assistant Superintendent of Police, the Magistrate and the State Congress Leaders. When thousands of Tamilians in the Southern taluks were in untold miseries due to the enemical attitude and behaviour of the Government under Pattom Thanu Pillai, a Nair, the first day meeting of the First Representative Body was not a happy occasion to celebrate. This boycott by the TTNC was to record their protest against the atrocities of the government and a tribute to those who suffered persecution by Nairs⁵.

3. A Nair Chief Minister

The interim constitution published on 24 March 1948 made provision for the formation of a ministry under the Prime Minister⁶. The post of the Dewan was abolished and all the powers were vested in the hands of the Maharaja. But he could act only according to the advice of the ministry under the Prime Minister. It was declared that the Representative Body would act as the Constitutional and

3. *Travancore Information and Listener*; Vol. VIII, No. 8, April 1948, p. 7

4. A. Nesamony, *Inside Travancore Tamil Nad*, Nagercoil, 1948, pp. 31-36

5. *Idem*

6. *Idem*

Legislative Body. This Body had the authority to legislate, discuss the financial report, raise questions and pass resolutions⁷. On the same day, the State Congress President Pattom Thanu Pillai as Prime Minister, (Before India became a Republic, the Chief Minister of a State was designated as Prime Minister) the Ezhava leader Kesavan and the Syrian Christian Vargheese as co-ministers were sworn in⁸. Thus in Travancore the constitutional monarchy came into existence. The dream of the Nair community occupying the helm of affairs was fulfilled.

When a Nair was found at the helm of affairs, the Nairs of South Travancore leaped up in joy. In many places the victory was celebrated with pomp and gaiety. But at the same time, the position of the Nadars in the South was deplorable. The daily bread winners of the Nadar community, especially in the rural areas, were poverty-stricken as well as fear-stricken. Brutal attack on the Nadars, setting fire to their houses and plundering of their belongings once again became the order of the day, which reminded them of their condition some hundred and fifty years ago⁹. But the happiness of the Nairs did not last long.

4. Fall of Ministry

Within a few days, Thanu Pillai's Ministry had to face opposition from his own party men. The Nairs of North Travancore hated Thanu Pillai Ministry. Before forming the ministry, the party decided to release all those who were in jail under Punnappura-Vayalar case. Thanu Pillai Government refused to release them. So there was a mutiny in the Central Jail. Many were injured and certain others escaped from jail¹⁰. This incident pulled down the prestige of Thanu Pillai Government.

Another matter of contention was Thanu Pillai's Financial Report. During the time of Dewan Ramaswamy Iyer, Pattom

7. *Travancore Information and Listener*; loc. cit.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 8

9. A.A. Razak, op.cit., p. 78

10. *Ibid.*, p. 79

Thanu Pillai opposed certain items of expenditure. Many of the items he opposed were found in the Financial Report presented by him in the Assembly as Prime Minister of Travancore. Hence there was a lot of opposition in the Assembly to his budget¹¹. In the meantime Thanu Pillai expanded his three member ministry by adding four more¹². This brought dissatisfaction among the party members and they characterised this action as dictatorship.

Above all, the issue of Aykia Keralam posed a very serious problem to Thanu Pillai Government. Thanu Pillai opposed the idea of forming Aykia Keralam, leaving the wet lands of South Travancore. To explore the possibilities of reorganising the state boundaries on linguistic basis, Dhar Commission visited Calicut. Then Thanu Pillai sent a telegram to the Commission expressing his dissatisfaction over disturbing the existing Travancore. His telegram infuriated the State Congress Champions of Aykia Keralam¹³. They wished to move a no-confidence motion in the Assembly against Pattom Thanu Pillai Ministry. It was moved and the famous ministry which consisted of the community chiefs fell on 22 October 1948¹⁴. Even though the above reasons were attributed to the fall of the Ministry, the reality was the prevalence of communal politics in Travancore¹⁵. The ministry formed by the high level chiefs of the communities Nair, Ezhava and Syrian Christian fell because of the antagonism of Ezhavas and Syrian Christians against the Nairs.

5. Another Nair Chief Minister

The next man to head the ministry, Narayana Pillai was also a Nair who belonged to North Travancore¹⁶. Pattom Thanu

11. *Idem*

12. *Travancore Information and Listener*, Vol. VIII, No. 12, August 1948, p. 12

13. A.A. Razak, *op.cit.*, p. 90

14. *Journal of Kerala Studies*, R. Ramakrishnan Nair, *The Socio-Political Land Scape of Kerala*, June - September 1977, Vol. IV parts I & III, p. 454

15. K. Sadasivam Nair, *Congress Party in Kerala 1947-63* (unpublished Doctoral Thesis) University of Kerala, Trivandrum, 1971, p. 176

16. *Kerala Kaumudi*, 28th October, 1948

Pillai who laid down the office of the Prime Minister of Travancore deserted State Congress and organised the Praja Socialist Party (PSP) in Travancore with 17 important members of State Congress. As a result like TTNC, PSP also became an opposition party in the Assembly. In the mean time Muslim League Party was dissolved and its members were allowed to join any other party. Consequently Nedumancaud Muslim League Member of the Legislative Assembly, Razak joined TTNC Party¹⁷. Since Thanu Pillai left State Congress, his friend Karayalar who was elected to the Travancore Assembly from Shenkottai constituency joined TTNC. As a result, the strength of TTNC in the Assembly increased to sixteen¹⁸. State Congress now came under the control of Syrian Christians.

6. Union of Travancore - Cochin

Narayana Pillai was very much interested in forming Aykia Keralam and attempted towards his goal as soon as he became the Prime Minister. Dhar Commission which submitted its report on Linguistic Reorganisation of States, recommended for the formation of States on the basis of administrative convenience and not on linguistic basis¹⁹. Yet the Commission suggested that if Cochin was merged with Travancore, there was no harm in joining Calicut also to form Aykia Keralam²⁰. To Kelappan and Narayana Pillai who were very particular in the formation of Aykia Keralam, the suggestion of the Commission was a boon and they were busily engaged in forming the Union of Travancore and Cochin²¹.

The State Congress members Kelappan and Narayana Pillai and the Madras State Assembly members of Malabar and Palacaud region jointly arranged for a Conference at Alwaye in February 1949²². The TTNC members were also invited for the Conference.

17. A.A. Razak, *op.cit.*, p. 82

18. *Idem*

19. Constituent Assembly of India. *Report of the Linguistic Provinces Commission*, New Delhi, 1948, p. 1

20. A.A. Razak, *op.cit.*, p. 90

21. B. Maria John, *Linguistic Reorganisation of Madras Presidency*, Nagercoil, 1994, p. 73

22. *Ibid.*, p. 70

In the Conference, a resolution was moved to unite Travancore, Cochin and Calicut of the Madras State to form Aykia Keralam. Pattom Thanu Pillai who was present in the Alwaye Conference warned that the proposal was against the constitution and if Aykia Keralam was formed, the Tamil Regions would secede and Travancore would have to starve. But his was a lone voice in the wilderness. TTNC Parliamentary Party Leader Nesamony proposed a correction in the said resolution. He recommended to add the words, “barring the Tamil Regions” at the beginning of the resolution. That was not accepted²³.

Uniting Travancore and Cochin was seriously undertaken by the Prime Minister Narayana Pillai, Cochin Chief Minister Ikkanda Warriar and the Education Minister Madhava Menon of Madras State. Central Government extended its full co-operation to the efforts taken by them. Following this, Raja of Cochin stepped down on 1 July 1949. Travancore and Cochin were united and the Travancore Raja became Raj Pramuk of Travancore - Cochin State. The two State Assemblies were amalgamated into one. A new ministry was also formed by Narayana Pillai which included a few members from the former Cochin Ministry²⁴. The Union of Travancore - Cochin was opposed by TTNC. On 13 July 1949, TTNC began to raise voice against the union²⁵. Under the assurance of Home Minister Sardar Vallabai Patel of the Central Government and the Madras State Congress President Kamaraj, that at the time of State Reorganisation on linguistic basis the demand of TTNC also would be considered, TTNC withdrew its struggle²⁶.

7. Another Fall of Ministry

The domination of Syrian Christians in the State Congress continued even after the merger of Cochin with Travancore. Nairs and Ezhavas joined together against the Syrian Christians in the party. To consolidate the Hindus²⁷, Mannathu Padbhanaban, the

23. A.A. Razak, *op.cit.* p. 70

24. United State of Travancore and Cochin, *Gazette Extra-ordinary*, First July, 1949

25. B. Maria John, *op.cit.*, p. 81

26. *Idem*

27. A. Sreedhara Menon, *Qulion-Kerala District Gazetteer*, Trivandrum, 1964, p. 159.

President of Nair Seva Sangam and Shankar, the Leader of the SNDP Yogam of the Ezhavas, joined together and formed in 1950, the organisation called Hindu Maha Mandal²⁸. This organisation created a political party named Democratic Congress. Many Nairs and Ezhavas left State Congress and a majority of them joined the Communist Party²⁹. This weakened the Congress Party. Narayana Pillai was in a poor state of predicament.

Again, the Cochin representatives felt that they were not given proper representation in the Narayana Pillai Ministry. So Narayana Pillai had to face the threat of Cochin members in the Assembly. Already TTNC and PSP members were on the opposition and if the Cochin members also joined them, the position of Narayana Pillai would be in a state of flux. To save the ministry, the only way available to Narayana Pillai was to come to a compromise with TTNC³⁰. Hence Narayana Pillai sought the help of the senior minister of Madras State, Bhakthavatsalam. He came forward to help Narayana Pillai readily. Bhakthavatsalam came to Palayamcottai, invited TTNC leaders to Palayamcottai and resumed talks on the subject of co-operation of TTNC with Narayana Pillai Government. Narayana Pillai and Velayuthan Nair of Travancore - Cochin State also joined in the compromise talk initiated by Bhakthavatsalam. As a result, a six point compromise formula was prepared.³¹ This was called Palayamcottai Pact. As this pact was not accepted by the General Body of TTNC, the attempt of Narayana Pillai failed.

Day by day, opposition to Narayana Pillai Ministry mounted. When a bill relating to Devaswam was introduced in the Assembly the leaders of NSS and SNDP Yogam opposed it vehemently. But the Assembly accepted the bill, inspite of their opposition³². To

27. A. Sreedhara Menon, *Quilon-Kerala District Gazetteer*, Trivandrum, 1964, p. 159.

28. S.N.D.P. Yogam, *Golden Jubilee Souvenir*, Quilon, 1953, Mannathu Padbhanaban, "Hindu Samhatana", p. 175

29. *The Economic Weekly*, Bombay, 17th April 1965, Vol. XVII, No. 16, Robert L. Hardgrave, "Coste and Kerala Elections", p. 670

30. A.A. Razak, op.cit., p. 112

31. *Ibid*, p. 115 & 116

32. M.S. Moni (Malayalam) *Janathipathiyam Thiru-Kochiyil*, Kottayam, 1954, p.19

appease his opponents, Narayana Pillai appointed the Nair Chief, Mannathu Padbhanaban as the Chairman of Devaswam and the Ezhava Chief, Shankar as a member. Even then Narayana Pillai was not able to bring them to his line. Due to the Devaswam Bill, Narayana Pillai had to relinquish his position. On 14 February 1951 his ministry fell³³.

Even after the fall of Narayana Pillai Ministry, the steps taken by Nairs and Ezhavas to diminish the power of Syrian Christians in the State Congress continued. The leader of the Ezhava Community Kesavan of State Congress was made the Chief Minister³⁴. He continued as the Chief Minister until the general election of December 1951 and January 1952³⁵. A compromise was reached between Kesavan and Shankar³⁶ as they belonged to the same community. Shankers's Hindu Maha Mandal fell. After its fall, again the Ezhava - Nair communal fight resumed in the Travancore - Cochin Politics.

33. Travancore-Cochin Legislative *Assembly Proceedings*, 26th February, 1951, p. 202

34. In 1950 The Indian Constitution came into force. All the sates became members of the Indian Union. The head of the Union Ministry was addressed as Prime Minister. Hence the head of the State Ministry was addressed as Chief Minister. Travancore - Cochin became a member in the Indian Union and addressed as Travancore - Cochin State and the head of the State Ministry as *Chief - Ministry* instead of *Prime Minister*

35. *Manorama Year Book*, Kottayam, 1959, p. 45

36. *Idem*

8 Trials and Triumph

1. Introduction

Nair rule came to an end with the resignation of the Chief Minister, Pattom Thanu Pillai in October 1948. However the same Nair became the Chief Minister under another political party in the State in March 1954. In the absence of Nair rule in Travancore for a period of five years, TTNC and the Tamilians experienced both trials and triumph. A Boundary Conference was successfully conducted by the TTNC and displayed the strength of the Tamilians in Travancore to the external world and to the internal Malayalee Society, especially to the Nair community. TTNC could establish good relationship with the State Congress and availed an opportunity of participating in the administration of Travancore - Cochin State during that interval. Amidst these happy instances, TTNC had to face trials also from its own members. To divide TTNC and thereby to neutralise its power, enemies made frantic attempts. Nesamony, the leader of TTNC faced the situation boldly and established the fact that no force or power on earth could destroy the movement.

2. Boundary Conference

With a view to focus the attention of the people on the subject of joining the Tamil Regions of Travancore with the State

of Madras, a grand conference called Boundary Conference was held in Kanyakumari on 6 January 1950. Many committees were formed to attend the conference work and to conduct in a grand manner. Nesamony was the head of the Reception Committee. Under the Chairmanship of Krishnaswamy Bharathy, member of Indian Constituent Assembly, Thesiga Vinayagam Pillai gave the inaugural address¹. In the welcome speech, Nesamony exposed the atrocities of the Malayalee government on the Tamilians of the State with evidences. He said, in the form of rent of land and income tax a large amount of money was extracted from the Tamilians without any stipulation and account. Malayalee officers always collected from the Tamilians more than what was due to the government. Nesamony exposed with statistics in the conference, how the government was denying Tamil education to the children of Tamil parents, how the irrigation projects - construction of Dams and cutting of Channels - in the Tamil areas were neglected and the money allotted was not spent, how compulsory procurement of grains was made from Tamilians and how the Tamilians were neglected in government appointments and promotions².

Nesamony said that there was no truth in the statement of Nairs that the Malayalees would die of starvation if the southern taluks were separated from the Travancore - Cochin State. The total area under paddy cultivation in Travancore-Cochin State was 6,01,000 acres. Out of this only 59,859 acres came under the four southern taluks. The total food grains production in the four southern taluks was sufficient only to one-third of the total population of the State. The remaining two-third of the total requirement was imported from other states. Hence the argument that Travancore would go in starvation if Tamil regions were separated from Travancore was only a baseless, false propaganda of Malayalees³.

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1. A.A. Razak, (Tamil) *Nesamony Oru Charitra Thiruppam*, Nagercoil 1998, p. 107
 2. A. Nesamony, *Varaverpurai : Tamil Nadu Ellai Maanadu*, Kumari Munai 6-1-1950, p. 8-13
 3. *Ibid*, p. 19

Lastly Nesamony pointed out the anomaly in the statements and actions of the Malayalees. Malayalees frequently carried the message to Delhi that they were not able to tolerate the dominance of the Tamilians and so they wanted Kerala State. If such was the case why not the converse was true and allow the Tamilians to go and join with the Tamils of the Madras State by using the same scale that they were using to form Kerala State? If the Tamilians go astray from the peaceful methods to restore their dignity, safety, security in life and protection for their language and culture. Nesamony put the responsibility on Malayalees. He concluded his speech by requesting for secession and a warning of struggle against the government till the last⁴.

3. First Trial

After the successful completion of the Boundary Conference, TTNC had to face many trials which were not palatable instances in the history of TTNC. The political changes in the Travancore - Cochin State contributed an opportunity to such trials to happen in the TTNC party. To destroy Christian domination in the State Congress, Hindu Maha Mandal was founded. TTNC Assembly party whip, Thanulingam Nadar was the Vice-President of the Mandal⁵. It was organised by Mannathu Padbhanaban, the Chief of the Nair community and Shankar, the Chief of the Ezhava community against the Syrian Christian domination in the State Congress. Thus the State Congress was divided into two - Hindu and Christian and the party was weakened.

Following the path of Padbhanaban and Shankar, Thanulingam Nadar tried to divide TTNC into Hindu and Christian and to gain the leadership of TTNC which was in the hands of Nesamony, a Protestant Christian. By giving false propaganda about Nesamony, Thanulingam wanted to separate the Hindu Nadars from TTNC and to join them with other caste Hindus⁶ and thereby to gain power. The owner and editor of

4. *Ibid*, p. 22

5. A.A. Razak, *op.cit.* p. 123

6. *Ibid*, p. 179

Bharathi newspaper, Sathianesan tried his best to avoid Hindu - Christian division in TTNC and to restore unity. To that effect he wrote a letter to Nesamony on 14 August 1950⁷.

4. Second Trial

When TTNC was facing the Hindu - Christian problem in the party itself, the Palayamcottai Pact posed another problem to the party. Palayamcottai Pact which was presented in the General Body of TTNC was defeated by one vote. Sivagnana Gramony, the head of the Tamizharasu Kazhagam played a major role in defeating the Palayamcottai Pact in the General Body even though he was not a member of TTNC. He thought that Nesamony had brought an end to southern boundary dispute of Madras State⁸ in which Gramony was interested. He also wrote an article in his newspaper Tamil Murasu condemning the Palayamcottai Pact⁹. For defeating the Pact he made use of the members of his organisation who penetrated into TTNC¹⁰.

5. Third Trial

Due to Thanulingam's attempt to divide Hindu Nadars and Christian Nadars in TTNC and the defeat of the Palayamcottai Pact, the leaders of TTNC were in a state of dilemma. Under such a situation the President of TTNC, Sam Nathaniel resigned from his presidentship. Because of his resignation, TTNC was on the path of electing a new president to the party. Competition that took place in the election of president divided the Party into two. Bharathi Editor, Sathianesan persuaded¹¹ Sam Nathaniel to continue in office. He advised Sam Nathaniel to forget what had happened to the Palayamcottai Pact in the Party and reminded him of the responsibility of consolidating and preparing the party to face the ensuing election. Sathianesan on 14 August 1950 wrote

7. Appendix No. 42

8. M.P. Sivagnanam, (Tamil) *Enathu Porattam*, Chennai, 1974, p. 723

9. *Ibid*, p. 722

10. *Ibid*, p. 723

11. Appendix No. 43

a letter to Sam Nathaniel reiterating his responsibility. Still Nathaniel was very adamant in his earlier decision¹². It was a set-back to the party.

6. Split in TTNC

Election for presidentship of TTNC was conducted on 16 October 1950. Two people contested for the post - one was Ramaswamy Pillai, the Vice - President of TTNC, proposed by Nesamony and the other was Thanulingam Nadar, Vice - President of Hindu Maha Mandal, proposed by Gandhi Raman. Ramaswamy Pillai won and became the President of TTNC¹³. To defeat State Congress which was dominated by Syrian Christians the leaders of Hindu Maha Mandal created a political party called Democratic Congress. Likewise to destroy the domination of Nesamony, a Protestant Christian in TTNC Party, Thanulingam who was defeated in the president's election, founded another Political Party. Twenty Seven discontented members assembled at Ozhuginasery Saraswathy Hall on 27 October 1950 and elected Thanulingam Nadar as leader of their group¹⁴.

Thanulingam Nadar who believed in Hindu Mahamandal was disappointed. Within one or two months, vast changes in the political scenario of Travancore took place. In the month of February 1951 Kesavan, belonging to the Ezhava community, became the Chief Minister of Travancore - Cochin State and as a result the Democratic Congress of Shankar of the Ezhava community and the State Congress came to some understanding¹⁵. Hence Thanulingam's influence in the Hindu Maha Mandal became weak and finally crashed. This fall and the non - response among the Hindus led Thanulingam also to a state of dilemma. He wanted to rejoin TTNC but failed in that attempt also.

12. *Appendix* No. 43

13. A.A. Razak, *op.cit.*, p. 118

14. V.M. Jesudhas Editor, Thenthilakam, Tamil Weekly, *Letter to the Leader, TTNC*, dated 25-10-1950

15. *Manorama Year Book*, Kottayam, 1959. p.5

In the meantime the first General Election of the Indian Republic was under preparation. For the first time symbols were introduced for the election. The political parties which were recognised by the Election Commission were allotted symbols. TTNC was allotted Kudam (Pot) as its symbol. Thanulingam wanted to test his strength by contesting in the election. Thanulingam applied to the Election Commission to recognise his party also under the same name, TTNC. As there was already a registration, the commission rejected his application. Hence he requested to recognise his party as “The Travancore Tamil Nad Congress” and to allot a symbol. The name as TTTNC was approved and bullock cart symbol was allotted to his party¹⁶.

7. Triumph of Nesamony

Election Commission decided to hold the election during the months of December 1951 and January 1952. TTNC contested in all the 12 constituencies and won in eight seats. TTTNC of Thanulingam was not able to win even a single seat¹⁷. In the Nagercoil Parliament Constituency from the TTNC side Nesamony contested. TTTNC fielded Thanulingam Nadar. The third contestant was surprisingly the former President of TTNC, Sam Nathaniel who was fielded by Pattom Thanu Pillai the leader of Praja Socialist Party (P.S.P.) and the symbol was Banyan Tree. The fourth independent candidate was Siva Thanu Pillai. Nesamony won the Parliament seat by obtaining more than the total votes obtained by his rivals. Nesamony got a majority of 17,000 votes than his nearest rival and the former President Sam Nathaniel came fourth and lost deposit¹⁸. Thus Sam Nathaniel addressed himself as the traitor of the oppressed community. Nesamony remarked that a dominant community man, Thanu Pillai was better than Sam Nathaniel. But this was the reality and it should certainly serve as a lesson or torch to anyone engaged in the liberation process.

16. A.A. Razak, *op.cit.*, pp. 134 & 135

17. M. Manoharan, A. *Nesamony : A Socio - Political Study* (Doctoral Thesis - Unpublished) 1995, p. 134

18. A.A. Razak, *op.cit.*, p. 139

8. A Nadar in the Ministry

Shankar an Ezhava was the head of the Democratic Congress and another Ezhava, Kesavan was the head of the State Congress. They joined together as Travancore - Cochin Congress and opposed their common enemy, the Communist Party. Even then Congress had to face a severe blow. Out of the 108 seats in the legislature, Congress could capture only 44 seats. The founder of Hindu Maha Mandal and the President of Democratic Congress, Shankar was defeated¹⁹. Since Congress had no independent majority in the Assembly, the Communist Party tried to form the government. Due to internal dissatisfactions they could not form the government²⁰. Hence the Raj Pramuk²¹ invited John of the Congress Party, which secured maximum number of seats in the Assembly, to form the Government²². John accepted the invitation. John, a member of the Syrian Christian community formed the government on 12 March 1952²³.

However Congress Party had no absolute majority in the legislature and it invited TTNC members to join with the congress. Since an agreement was reached, the TTNC members joined with the Congress Party members for all practical purposes²⁴. TTNC member Chithambaranathan Nadar was included in the ministry. On 24 May he was sworn in as Forest and Revenue Minister²⁵. This was the first time in the history, a Nadar was raised to the position of a minister and it was a pleasant surprise to the Nadar community in Travancore - Cochin.

The relationship of TTNC with the State Congress did not continue for long. Split arose between the two parties within a few

19. *Manorama Year Book*, Kottayam, 1959, p. 45

20. P. John John, *Coalition Governments in Kerala, Thiruvalla*, 1983, pp. 59 & 60

21. After the integration of Travancore and Cochin, the Maharaja of Cochin went out of the picture while the Maharaja of Travancore became the titular head of the New State and was known as the Raj Pramukh

22. *Ibid*, p. 58

23. *Kerala Kaumudi*, 13th March 1952

24. *The Hindu*, 10th May 1952

25. P. John John, *op.cit.*, p. 73

months. Choosing candidates to contest in the Municipal election in the months of January and February 1953 might be one of the reasons for the split²⁶. But the rejection of the demand for the formation of Regional Congress Committee for the Tamil Regions was the main reason for the split²⁷.

Under such circumstances, Thanulingam Nadar once again joined TTNC in March 1953²⁸. In continuation of his re-entry, the independent candidate of Parasalai Constituency, Kunjan Nadar joined TTNC²⁹. Thus in the Assembly the strength of TTNC members rose to nine.

9. Re-Election Ordered

TTNC leaders were dissatisfied with the Congress Government for they had not heeded to any of their demands. A joint Committee of TTNC and Parliamentary Committee was held on 28 June 1953 at Eraniel. TTNC warned the Congress that it would be compelled to withdraw the support to the government if its demand for the formation of a separate Regional Congress Committee was not heeded. In this connection, Chidambaranathan met the Chief Minister³⁰ and informed him of the TTNC resolution. As a member of the ministry, Chidambaranathan was not able³¹ to represent the wish of TTNC forcefully under these circumstances. Chidambaranathan wished to get out of the ministry and wrote a letter to Nesamony regarding the idea of his resignation³².

No reply was received regarding the demands of TTNC from the Government or the Congress Party. To solve the problem the discussions held by Nesamony with the high level office bearers of State Congress proved futile. In continuation, the General Body

26. *Ibid.*, p. 66

27. *Ibid.*, p. 67

28. M. Manoharan, *op.cit.*, p. 135

29. A.A. Razak, *op.cit.*, p. 181

30. *Appendix* No. 45

31. *Appendix* No. 44

32. *Appendix* No. 44

of TTNC was convened on 13 September 1953 at Nagercoil and it resolved to withdraw TTNC representative from the ministry immediately³³. Accordingly on 15 September, Chidambaranathan Nadar resigned from the Ministry. TTNC Assembly members also resigned from the Congress Assembly Party. The ministry was defeated by six votes in the Assembly. John's Ministry resigned on 24 September 1953³⁴. On the same night, the Raj Pramuk dissolved the Assembly and ordered for re-election. It was decided to hold the elections during January and February 1954.

33. *Appendix No. 45*

34. *Kerala Kaumudi*, 25th September 1953

9 Climax of Malayalee Dominance

1. Introduction

The Congress Government lost the confidence of the State Assembly. Hence John ministry resigned on 24 September 1953 and the re-election was fixed to be held during the months of January and February 1954. All the political parties in the State were getting ready to face the election. Communist Party entered the field as the main opponent of Congress Party. To oppose the Congress Party, which was dominated by the Syrian Christians, the Communist Party organised under its left fold all the anti-Christian forces. Kerala Socialist Party, Praja Socialist Party and Revolutionary Socialist Party joined together in opposing the Congress Party. For the third time TTNC also entered the election field. To give a strong opposition to the Communist alliance, Congress Party tried for an alliance with TTNC. But it failed. Hence Travancore State Congress and TTNC independently competed in the election. The Nairs managed to capture the government. This dominance of Nairs once again led to the oppression of Nadars in South Travancore.

2. Again a Nair

The strength of State Congress fell after the election. Congress secured only 45 seats in the 118 members Assembly.

Communists bagged 23, Praja Socialist Party (PSP) 19, Revolutionary Socialist Party (RSP) 9, Kerala Socialist Party (KSP) 3 and Independents 5 seats. TTNC secured 12 seats in the Assembly and became stronger than before¹. As there was no single party majority in the Assembly, the forming of government became a problem. Even though Congress managed to get more seats than other parties, the High Command of the party instructed the Assembly Party not to attempt for the formation of ministry. But to avoid Communist rule in the State or the president's rule, the leader of the Congress Assembly Party, Panampalli Govinda Menon came forward to support the PSP Leader, Pattom Thanu Pillai, a Nair. Hence Thanu Pillai on 17 March 1954, formed the ministry even though PSP was in minority in the Assembly². Thus Nair dominance was re-established once again in the Travancore-Cochin State politics.

3. Subdued by force

An enemy of TTNC all through got another opportunity to suppress it. Before forming the ministry, Thanu Pillai offered the Speaker's post in the Assembly to TTNC and in return sought the support of TTNC representatives in the internal elections. As Thanu Pillai had allegiance with the Communist Party, the TTNC leaders refused to accept the offer of Thanu Pillai. Following this, election to the Council of States, Devaswam Department and several other committees took place in the Assembly. TTNC took a different stand and voted against Thanu Pillai's candidates. As a result Pillai's candidates suffered defeat. Thanu Pillai hence forth determined to take revenge on TTNC³.

The finance minister submitted his report in the Assembly. The Neyyar Left Bank Channel scheme which was included in the First Five Year Plan was found left in the budget. Irrigation

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1. M. Manoharan. *A. Nesamony : A Socio - Political Study* (Dotoral Thesis-Unpublished) Madurai, 1995, p. 136
 2. *Kerala Kaumudi*, 18th March, 1954
 3. *Appendix No. 57*

schemes and drinking water schemes which were included in the financial report were subsequently found dropped as they were beneficial to the Travancore Tamil Nadu regions. Hence TTNC members insisted to reconsider the financial report and to include the projects which were included in the previous report. They also wanted that if the government was adamant in dropping out those projects which were included in the previous report, the TTNC would be forced to resort to other democratic methods which were possible under its purview. This warning was given to the government in writing by the fourteen TTNC Parliamentary Party members. Copies of their petition were sent to the concerned ministers of both Central and State Governments⁴. TTNC party secretary wanted to discuss this matter in detail with the Chief Minister. But the Chief Minister Pattom Thanu Pillai was silent to the request of TTNC⁵.

4. Deviculam Struggle

Under these circumstances the State Reorganisation Commission (SRC) under the chairmanship of Fazl Ali⁶, visited Travancore at the end of May 1954. TTNC leaders met the Commission and gave a written request to merge Deviculam and Peermade Taluks also with Madras State. Hence the P.S.P. Government under Thanu Pillai decided to drive away the Tamilians from those two taluks⁷. Nearly 400 Tamilians were arrested, false cases were foisted against them and people in those regions had no safety or security for their lives, properties and liberty⁸. The action of the Government was condemned by the South Indian Estate Workers Union and TTNC, and hence struggle started. Labour Union leaders and committee members

4. *Appendix No. 47*

5. *Appendix No. 57*

6. Under the Chairmanship of Fazl Ali and K.N. Kunzru and K.M. Panicker as member, State Reorganisation Commission was appointed in December 1953, *The Hindu*, 23rd December 1953

7. *Appendix No. 56*

8. *Appendix No. 63*

of TTNC organisation, who were engaged in the struggle⁹ were brutally tortured. Due to the police torture, Labour Union secretary, Kuppusamy lost his hearing ability¹⁰. Fearing the police atrocities, a large number of labourers fled to Madras State and hid themselves in the villages of Madurai. To have first hand knowledge about the situation, four TTNC members of the legislature visited Deviculam and Peermade Taluks¹¹. Those four members of the Legislative Assembly who visited Deviculam and Peermade Taluks submitted a report to the Chief Minister, Thanu Pillai explaining the atrocities of the police. They requested him to take appropriate steps to stop the police atrocities and to assure the people that they would be protected from police torture. For this petition and for the subsequent follow-ups, the MLAs received no reply from the Chief Minister¹².

Subsequent to the petition to the Chief Minister the police atrocities in Deviculam and Peermade took a very bad turn. Since the government turned a deaf ear, the TTNC executive committee met on 19 June and resolved to observe 30 June as “Deviculam Day” throughout Travancore Tamil Nad¹³. Public meetings were conducted throughout Tamil Nadu on Deviculam Day. As Nesamony was proposed to meet the Deviculam people on 4 July, the leaders of TTNC proposed to observe that day as Deviculam Day throughout Deviculam and Peermade Taluks¹⁴. But the magistrate promulgated 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code, prohibitory order for a period of one month from 29 June onwards to prevent Nesamony and other TTNC leaders from contacting directly the Deviculam and Peermade people¹⁵. TTNC leaders Nesamony, Razak and Chidambara Nathan Nadar went there on 4 July and violated the prohibitory order. They were arrested and sentenced to six months imprisonment¹⁶.

9. K. Sankaran Commission Report, Gazette, No. 51, dated 21st December 1954, Part I, p. 6

10. *Appendix* No. 57

11. *Appendix* No. 53

12. *Appendix* No. 57

13. *Appendix* No. 53

14. *Appendix* No. 53

15. *Appendix* No. 57

16. *Appendix* No. 53

TTNC Executive Committee met on 6 July 1954 at Nagercoil under the chairmanship of TTNC president, Ramaswamy Pillai¹⁷. An Action Council was formed and the President of the Party was made the First Dictator¹⁸ (Leader). On 6 July 1954, the Action Council met at Panagudy¹⁹, which was out of Travancore limit and chalked out programmes. Accordingly throughout Travancore Tamil Nad, public meetings were conducted, processions were taken, satyagraha was observed before government offices in a very peaceful manner; daily from 9 July 1954 onwards²⁰. Violation of prohibitory order at Deviculam continued till 29 July²¹. Communist Party, Dravida Munneta Kazhagam and Tamizharasu Kazhagam came in support of the TTNC actions²². Those who spoke in the public meetings organised by TTNC declared that it was the final assault and so the Tamilians must come forward even to sacrifice their lives and that would ensure either death or victory²³. Thanu Pillai was also getting ready to crush the struggle of the Tamilians. When he was replying to an adjournment motion in the Assembly on 12 July, he declared that the struggle of TTNC would be subdued by force²⁴.

5. Deliverance Day

To expose the discriminatory policy of the government and its suppressive attitudes towards Tamilians of the State, TTNC fixed a date²⁵. That day became the most important day in the history of the liberation of the oppressed community in Travancore - Cochin State. TTNC decided to observe 11 August 1954 as Deliverance Day throughout Travancore Tamil Nadu²⁶. Public meetings,

17. *Appendix No. 50*

18. *K. Sankaran Commission Report*, Gazette No. 51, dated 21st December 1954, Part - I, p. 9

19. *Dinamalar*, 9th July 1954

20. *Ibid*, 18th January 1955

21. *Appendix No. 57*

22. *K. Sankaran Commission Report*, op.cit., p. 11

23. *Ibid*, pp. 11 & 13

24. *Appendix No. 57*

25. *Appendix No. 63*

26. *Appendix No. 63*

processions, hartals and satyagraha in front of all government offices were arranged. To conduct all those programmes in a peaceful manner, hand bills containing instructions were distributed to the volunteers and the public²⁷. In order to crush this attempt of TTNC, the Government went out of its way and let loose tyranny on Tamilians²⁸. Thanu Pillai, the Chief Minister warned that the TTNC programmes would be crushed with an iron hand²⁹. At the same time Thanu Pillai insligated the Nairs, his own community people against the Tamilians with a view to wipe out the Nadar Community from the land³⁰.

Instead of neutralising the struggle, the government actions served as catalytic agent. According to the evil plan of the government, the TTNC leader, Nesamony and certain others were released from the central jail three days prior to 11 August 1954³¹.

Two months prior to the Deliverance Day onwards, the police atrocities on the Tamils and the indifference of the government on the irrigation schemes beneficial to the Tamilians were very clearly explained to the people through public meetings³². Hence the people were antagonistic towards the Police Department and the Government administration. One week before the Deliverance Day every where in Tamil regions prevailed fear and insecurity³³. In the mean time a request from the Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru was received by the President of TTNC requesting to give up the satyagraha programme. He stated that neither the Central Government nor the State Government could do anything before the submission of the report of States Reorganisation Commission. He expressed his dissatisfaction on the proposed satyagraha of TTNC³⁴.

27. *K. Sankaran Commission Report*, op.cit. p. 12

28. *Dinamalar*, loc.cit.

29. *Appendix No. 57*

30. *Appendix No. 57*

31. *Appendix No. 57*

32. *Appendix No. 46 & 47*

33. *K. Sankaran Commission Report*, op.cit. p. 16

34. *Ibid*, pp. 17 & 18

The proposed Deliverance Day came. Under the chairmanship of Nesamony a public meeting was conducted at Nagercoil. Even though, on that day public meetings, processions and satyagrahas were conducted throughout Travancore Tamil Nadu peacefully, at Kuzhithurai and in the areas around Kuzhithurai, police atrocities caused tension which resulted in loss of lives also³⁵. This might have, perhaps, advanced the liberation of the oppressed community.

6. Manhunt at Marthandam

Deliverance Day programmes started with a public meeting on 11 August 1954 at Marthandam Gandhi Maidan. Sixteen volunteers were selected to picket at Kuzhithurai First Class Magistrate Court. Selected volunteers were garlanded and taken in a procession³⁶. Initially nearly 5000 people participated in the procession and at about 11.30 a.m. it approached Kuzhithurai. Those who accompanied the procession shouted slogans like, “Pattom Rule Down Down”, “United Tamilagam will be formed”, “Struggle will be continued until then”, “Struggle started”, etc³⁷. When the mob reached the gate of the Magistrate Court, the number of participants doubled to 10,000. Without giving any warning, to disburse the mob, the police resorted to lathi charge suddenly and arrested many. Hundreds of people were injured³⁸. From the Magistrate Court the mob dispersed into two and one group went to the Kuzhithurai Bus Stand. At that time the students of Marthandam English High School got out of the School premises and went in a procession. Under the pretext that the students pelted stones, the police initiated lathi charge and arrested two of them. Thus the situation at Marthandam became worse as a result of the wrong approach of the police department³⁹.

35. *Ibid*, p. 18

36. *Appendix* No. 62

37. *K. Sankaran Commission Report*, op.cit., p. 21

38. *Appendix* No. 57

39. *Appendix* No. 57

Many government buses were damaged. In between Marthandam and Thoduvetty the road was blocked by telephone posts, electrical posts and big stones. The police sub-inspector of Vilavancode Station requested the Assistant Superintendent of Police to visit the spot. He came immediately and ordered for firing⁴⁰. Many were shot dead and certain others injured⁴¹. As per the Shankaran Commission Report, the number of dead was 3 at Marthandam⁴². But actually the number was much more than what was reported by the Commission⁴³.

7. Manhunt at Puthukadai

A planned picketing at Sub- Registrar Office near Puthukadai on 11 August 1954 was conducted. As there was no police force on the spot all went peacefully. Those who picketed the office peacefully left the office premises. It was planned for a public meeting in Puthukadai at about 3.30 p.m. under the chairmanship of Kunjan Nadar, the Second Dictator. As he did not turn up till 5.00 p.m., advocate Gopala Krishnan presided over this meeting⁴⁴. Nearly 10,000 people assembled to attend the meeting⁴⁵. As soon as the meeting started, the police without any warning entered into the crowd and started lathi charge and firing. Gopala Krishnan and Mathiyazhagan were dragged down from the dais and put in police van⁴⁶. The crowd dispersed and the people ran in all directions. They were chased and shot. Many were injured and some were killed. Thus the police fired 28 rounds⁴⁷. Many of those who ran for their lives were caught with the assistance of Nairs of that locality⁴⁸. According to the Shankaran Commission, 4 were dead and the injured were 8 in number⁴⁹.

40. *K. Sankaran Commission Report*, op.cit., p. 24

41. *Appendix No. 57*

42. *K. Sankaran Commission Report*, op.cit., p. 40

43. *Appendix No. 57*

44. *K. Sankaran Commission Report*, op.cit., p. 33

45. *Appendix No. 62*

46. *Appendix No. 57*

47. *K. Sankaran Commission Report*, op.cit., p. 40

48. *Appendix No. 57*

49. *K. Sankaran Commission Report*, op.cit., p. 40

But nobody knew how many were injured, how many were shot dead and how many escaped. The injured and dead were loaded in two police vans and taken to Trivandrum⁵⁰. The injured who escaped the police eyes and found shelter in private hospitals for treatment were collected and transported to Trivandrum in police vans. Kunjan Nadar, Second Dictator who organised the whole Deliverance Day programmes was arrested on the same day midnight by breaking open the doors of his house at Nagercoil⁵¹. Even though he was a member of the Travancore - Cochin Legislative Assembly and an important leader of TTNC he was offered scant respect and subjected to severe illtreatment⁵². The struggle was suspended but the police atrocities continued.

8. Rule of Terror

Next day the Chief Minister Thanu Pillai visited the places where shooting was conducted. He congratulated the police department of having done a wonderful job⁵³. When he came to visit, he was accompanied by 1600 Reserve Police with weapons. After the visit he returned to the capital leaving behind the Reserve Police to identify the Nadars and torture them. The Reserve Police force stationed at important centres in South Travancore started persecuting the Nadar community⁵⁴. They identified isolated houses and plundered and entered the market places and manhandled Nadars irrespective of sex and age⁵⁵. Making use of this opportunity the enemies of TTNC and other castes also helped the Armed Reserve Police to identify the people by sight⁵⁶ (Kandal Ariyam Nadar). Those Nadars who worked on fields, visited the market places or walked on the road were included in that list and arrested if they were identified as Nadars⁵⁷. If the arrested man

50. *Appendix No. 57*

51. *Appendix No. 57*

52. *Appendix No. 48*

53. *Appendix No. 57*

54. A.A. Razak (Tamil), *Nesamony Oru Charitra Thiruppam*, Nagercoil, 1998, p. 248

55. *Appendix No. 56*

56. *Appendix No. 52*

57. D. Peter, (Tamil) Kumari Mavatta Viduthalai, Nagercoil, 2008 p 31-33, 92, 122, 128, 184

was a Nadar, he was thrust into the police van and if not sent away by a push. The exact number of people under police custody was unknown for they were not presented before the magistrates⁵⁸. In many cases the First Information Report (FIR) was not prepared by the police. Following Kunjan Nadar, 6 MLAs were taken under custody on different dates. Panchayat members and presidents, Municipal chairmen and members, lawyers, teachers, merchants, coolies, etc. were arrested and put in jail without presenting them before the magistrate⁵⁹. Even the students were not spared by the police⁶⁰. At Marthandam, Karungal, Painkulam and Puthukkadai alone, 1054 persons were taken into custody in one day by the police.⁶¹ Where they were confined was unknown and false cases were foisted against many thousands. Consequently nearly 3000 persons found shelter in Madras State⁶².

The Police Stations were over-flowing and there was no place for the prisoners even to sit⁶³. Inhuman treatment was meted out to the prisoners in the name of law and order⁶⁴. The prisoners were unable to bear the torture of the Police Department and the cry of the sufferers rent the air around the stations throughout night everyday⁶⁵. Some were wounded and certain others died. The Nadars of South Travancore felt that they were living in hell⁶⁶.

Those who were wounded by the police were not able to go home or to the hospital for treatment for they feared arrest. They were destined to suffer in their hideouts. The family members of those victims in the hospital or in the prison or in hiding places were in starvation because the bread winner was unable to feed

58. *Appendix No. 57*

59. *Appendix No. 57*

60. *Appendix No. 63*

61. A.A. Razak, *op.cit.*, p. 247

62. *Appendix No. 58*

63. D. Peter, *op.cit.*, pp. 52-54

64. *Ibid*, p. 54

65. *Appendix No. 57*

66. A.A. Razak, *op.cit.* p. 250

them⁶⁷. Nesamony and his family members were under house arrest. The Water Tank Road in Nagercoil where Nesamony resided was under keen watch by the police who camped at both east and west ends of the road⁶⁸. Nesamony lost all external contacts and did not know what was going on regarding the safety and security of his people. Telephone contact was also denied to him.

9. Boycott of Enquiry

The public and many national leaders demanded a detailed and thorough enquiry on the 11 August 1954 firing and the subsequent police atrocities on the Tamils of Travancore⁶⁹. They also demanded that the enquiry should be conducted by a man outside the state and it should be impartial⁷⁰. All India Praja Socialist Party secretary Ram Manohar Lohia condemned the action of Thanu Pillai Government and demanded its immediate resignation⁷¹. Lohia resigned from the General Secretaryship of the PSP in protest of Thanu's treacherous actions.

Because of high pressure from different quarters the government came forward to institute an one man commission of enquiry⁷². TTNC opposed the one man commission of the government. TTNC demanded the enquiry by a person outside Travancore-Cochin State and also the immediate withdrawal of the police from South Travancore and the final report on the cases should be submitted and the list of culprits identified by sight should be withdrawn. As these demands of the TTNC were not accepted, the TTNC decided to boycott the commission⁷³.

10. Pressure From All Quarters

Bail applications were submitted in all courts to release all those who were in police custody. All the applications were rejected

67. D. Peter, *op.cit.*, p. 156

68. A.A. Razak, *op.cit.*, p. 244

69. *Appendix* No. 55

70. *Appendix* No. 63

71. *Dinamalar*, 22 August 1954

72. *Appendix* No. 63

73. *Appendix* No. 63

by the Magistrate Courts. Then applications for bail were moved at the Nagercoil District Court. There also the appeals were rejected. Finally the High Court was approached. There also the bail applications were rejected⁷⁴. All wondered where would the TTNC leaders go to obtain justice to the Tamils of Travancore who were suffering in jails, hospitals, hiding places, inside and outside the State. Who would save and feed the family members who were starving in their houses due to the absence of the male bread-winners of the family? In the meantime the Thanu Pillai government tried for the surrender of Nesamony at this weak and helpless moment. Other leaders of TTNC persuaded Nesamony to agree for a compromise move with PSP Government.

Fakrudeen Adam and Ramaswamy Pillai were caught in the net spread by the PSP Government. They, in consultation with the PSP leaders prepared a memorandum of understanding between the two parties and brought it for the approval of Nesamony. As it amounted to an apology, Nesamony refused to sign the memorandum⁷⁵.

11. In Darkness

Shankaran Commission submitted its report on 28 November. As TTNC members hastily indulged in destructive actions police had to resort to firing as a measure of self protection. But for this action of the police department, many of its men would have lost their lives. Thus police firing was justified by Shankaran Commission report⁷⁶. It was published in the Gazette on 21 December 1954.

74. *Appendix No. 63*

75. A.A. Razak, *op.cit.*, 302 & 303

76. "In the present instance such a course was adopted and the result, has been that on the evidence it has been established that the accusations made against the police in respect of the steps taken by them in dealing with the dangerous situation that had developed in South Travancore on the 11th August 1954 are baseless and that the police have been acting justly and properly and within the limits of their lawful authority and they succeeded in maintaining law and order and peace by resorting to the use of the force justified by the situation " - K. Sankaran Commission Report, *op.cit.*, p. 4 Appendix No. 60

As Nesamony expected, Shankaran Commission dealt a death blow to TTNC. As avowed by Pattom Thanu Pillai, the struggle was subdued by force. As all the courts in Travancore - Cochin State rejected the bail applications of the victims, their salvation was in dark. The children and other male and female dependents of the victims had also no salvation from starvation and death. Amidst this the attitude of the party members was not at all encouraging. They felt that Nesamony's apology alone would bring about a change of attitude of the Nair Government. In this surrounding atmosphere of darkness, Nesamony was at a loss, not knowing the direction in which he had to move forward⁷⁷.

77. Peter Ivy, (Tamil) *Malayalee Aathikkamum Thamizhar Viduthalaiyum*, Nagercoil - 2002, p. 156

10 Liberation by Separation

1. Introduction

The law courts in Travancore - Cochin State, at all levels, rejected the bail applications of all those who were in various jails. Finding no remedy for their relief, Nesamony approached the Supreme Court of India for the transfer of cases of the victims. A no-confidence resolution was moved in the Travancore - Cochin State Assembly. The ministry had to go out of office and a new ministry, supported by the TTNC was formed by the Congress Party

The State Reorganisation Commission submitted its report. It came for discussion in the Parliament. The Commission recommended for the merger of four Southern Taluks and Shencottai with Madras State. Nesamony, in a lone voice, fought for the merger of the other four taluks with Madras State which were left out by the Commission. However the oppressed people of the Southern Taluks of Travancore - Cochin State were liberated by separation on 1 November 1956.

2. In the Supreme Court

When the sympathisers were pessimistic about the future of the organisation, Nesamony was optimistic and did not retreat in spite of the failures and disappointments. He came to the conclusion that he had to stand up firmly all by himself, never

depending on anyone else for support. With bold resolve and renewed dedication he continued his journey to achieve the goal. He dispelled all the doubts that were deliberately set around the organisation by the Government. He successfully exposed the vengeful attitude of the Chief Minister, Pattom Thanu Pillai. Nesamony gave first priority to get the release of the Members of the Legislative Assembly from the jail and so he initiated steps on that line. He approached his friend Raja Gopalachari and explained the situation in which he was placed. Rajaji directed Nesamony to approach the Supreme Court of India and seek its help to shatter the shackles that were put on by the Government. Accordingly an application was submitted to the Supreme Court to transfer all the cases connected with TTNC struggle which were on the files of Travancore - Cochin Courts to Mysore or Madras State¹. As the Advocate General was against the transfer of the cases to Madras State, the Supreme Court ordered to transfer the cases to the Mysore State². This was the first victory attained by Nesamony. Immediately on behalf of seven Members of Legislative Assembly who were in jail, bail applications were submitted to the Mysore High Court where bail was granted³ and the case was posted for hearing on 18 February 1955⁴.

3. Danger to the Nair Government

Opposition mounted day by day to Thanu Pillai Ministry. All sections of people opposed his rule. The media published articles regarding the atrocities of his Government and wanted the resignation of Thanu Pillai⁵. T.S. Ramaswamy Pillai, the Thovalai Constituency Member belonging to the Thanu Pillai's Party (PSP) resigned from the party and opposed the brutal actions of Thanu Pillai. The Congress Party which gave support to Thanu Pillai to

1. Appendix No. 48

2. B. Maria John, *Linguistic Reorganisation of Madras Presidency*, Nagercoil, 1994, p. 87

3. Appendix No. 64

4. A.A. Razak, (Tamil) *Nesamony Oru Cheritra Thiruppam*, Nagercoil, 1998, p. 87

5. Appendix No. 48

form the PSP Ministry decided to withdraw its support. Nesamony wrote a letter to the Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru offering the unconditional support of TTNC to Congress Party if it proposed to form the ministry in Travancore - Cochin State⁶. Again Nesamony indicated the opportunity of the Congress Party to form the ministry with the support of T.S. Ramaswamy Pillai and the independent candidate Chattanathan to Congress⁷.

Problems went to the extent of bringing no confidence motion in the Assembly against the PSP Ministry. T.S. Ramaswamy Pillai moved a no-confidence resolution against the PSP ministry. His resolution was posted for discussion on 8 February 1955⁸. Before voting on the no-confidence resolution the TTNC members who were in jail should be released on bail. Attempts were made on those lines and Nesamony succeeded in obtaining a bail order from the High Court of Mysore on 1 February and released the TTNC members from jail on 3 February 1955⁹. Thanu Pillai moved heaven and earth to save his Government. The two TTNC members Ponnappan Nadar and P. Ramaswamy Pillai who escaped arrest remained underground. The government was vehemently searching for those two Members of the Legislative Assembly and to arrest them so that they could be prevented from casting their votes against the Government. But they were kept under cover in Senkottai Taluk early on 25 January. On the day before the voting in the Assembly they were brought to Trivandrum and entrusted into the hands of LMS Hostel Warden, Appavoo Grant. He managed to push these two persons into the Assembly Hall sufficiently early in the morning even before the entry of police into the Assembly Building campus¹⁰.

6. *Appendix* No. 61

7. *Appendix* No. 61

8. *Dinamalar*, 9 February 1955

9. *The Hindu*, 4 February 1955

10. A. Grant, "Mr. A. Nesamony the Man I Admired" Centenary Souvenir, Nagercoil, 1995

4. Fall of Nair Government

At the appointed time T.S. Ramaswamy Pillai proposed the no-confidence resolution on the government of Pattom Thanu Pillai. The left front president and another member spoke against the motion. Panampilli Govinda Menon, the leader of the Congress Party spoke in support of T.S. Ramaswamy Pillai's proposal¹¹. "The Chief Minister who is now on an elephant thinks that it is all his height, but in a few minutes he will find his real height", said Menon. The motion was put to vote. Left party did not participate in voting. TTNC, The Travancore - Cochin Congress and other two members voted for the resolution. The resolution was carried. As Panampilli Govinda Menon commented, Thanu Pillai found his real height and resigned on 14 February 1955¹².

5. Congress Rule

Since TTNC came forward, as promised, to extend unconditional support to Congress to form the ministry, Panampilli Govinda Menon became the Chief Minister¹³. The petition of TTNC Assembly members who came out on bail reached the Mysore High Court for enquiry on 18 February. Nesamony was also present on that day in the Court. The pleader of the Travancore - Cochin Government declared that all the cases relating to the petitioners were withdrawn. Nesamony came out of the Court with pomp, gay and gaiety. Govinda Menon, the Chief Minister ordered the release of all the TTNC prisoners¹⁴. As a result, normalcy was restored in South Travancore. The Reserve Police Force which was stationed in South Travancore folded its tents and returned to the capital, Trivandrum. Those Tamilians who found shelter in Madras State returned to their houses. Tamilians were expecting full relief from the iron grips of the Nairs by separating the Tamil areas and merging them with Madras State.

11. A.A. Razak, *op.cit.*, pp.329 & 330

12. *Trivancore - Cochin Legislative Assembly Proceedings* Vol. XII, 8th February 1955, p. 789

13. *Gazette Extraordinary*, 14th February 1955

14. K.P. Samsudeen (Tamil) *Thalaivar Nesamony Veera Varalaru*, Marshall Nesamony : Special Sovenir, Nagercoil, 1969, p. 6

6. S.R.C. Report

In order to reorganise the states of the Indian Union on the basis of language, under the chairmanship of Fazl Ali, a commission called State Reorganisation Commission (SRC) was appointed by the Central Government and it submitted its report. On 10 October, 1955, the Commission's Report was published. The Commission gave more importance to the Southern States¹⁵. As far as Travancore- Cochin State was concerned, TTNC demanded to merge Thovalai, Agasteeswaram, Kalkulam, Vilavancode, Neyyatinkarai, Senkottai, Deviculam, Peermade and Chittoor taluks with Madras State¹⁶. But the Commission recommended to merge only Thovalai, Agasteeswaram, Kalkulam, Vilvancode and Shenkottai with Madras State. Considering the economic loss to the Travancore-Cochin State the Commission did not favour the merger of the hilly districts¹⁷, Deviculam and Peermade with Madras State¹⁸. In Neyyatinkarai Taluk the Commission found that 86 per cent of the people knew Malayalam. So the Commission did not favour the merger of this Taluk with Madras State. In Chittoor also the commission found that the majority people spoke Malayalam and hence it was merged with Malabar and consequently with the newly formed Kerala State¹⁹.

7. Nesamony in Parliament

States Reorganisation Commission's report was submitted in the Lok Sabha on 14 December 1955. When discussions started in the Parliament representatives of Travancore - Cochin State vehemently opposed the Commission's recommendations for the merger of the Southern Taluks with Madras State. Thomas, the Ernakulam Constituency representative and State Minister condemned the recommendation of the Commission for the merger of the Southern Taluks with Madras State. As it would disfigure the

15. *Appendix* No. 65

16. *Appendix* No. 65

17. *Appendix* No. 65

18. *Appendix* No. 65

19. *Appendix* No. 65

would be State of Kerala, Nesamony was requested to withdraw that proposal to separate the Southern Taluks²⁰. But Nesamony argued for the merger of Neyyatinkarai, Deviculam, Peermade and Chittoor also with Madras State, by giving evidences in support of his argument. As far as Deviculam and Peermade were concerned Nesamony insisted on to give more importance to the people who live in those two Taluks. He said that the estates there were the result of sweat and blood of Tamilians and they formed the majority in those two Taluks²¹. He pleaded in a lone voice, to merge those two Taluks also with Madras State. His request was not considered by the House. The members of Parliament from Madras State were indifferently silent, unmindful of the loss of water sources to Madras State²².

Fasal Ali Commission's recommendation - merger of Thovalai, Agasteeswaram, Kalkulam and Vilavancode with Madras State was confirmed. Even though the Commission recommended for the merger of Shenkottai Taluk with Madras State, the Joint - Committee which was appointed to give a final shape to the state boundaries recommended the eastern portion of Shenkottai alone to be merged with Madras State. This decision was finally published authoritatively on 16 January 1956²³. But in the July 1956 Lok Sabha meeting Nesamony argued for the full merger of Shencottai as recommended by SRC²⁴. The House refused to reconsider the decision of the joint Committee by over-ruling the recommendation of the SRC.

8. Saviour of Malayalees

It was proposed to merge the four taluks, Thovalai, Agasteeswaram, Kalkulam and Vilavancode with the Tirunelveli District of Madras State. Nesamony opposed this proposal and insisted on forming a separate district in the state by combining these four taluks. Again Nesamony demanded for the restoration of full rights

20. *Appendix No. 66*

21. *Appendix No. 66*

22. *Appendix No. 66*

23. *Appendix No. 67*

24. *Appendix No. 67*

to the linguistic minority, the Malayalees of these four taluks. His conviction was that the Malayalees who were minority in the newly formed district should not suffer as the Tamilians did in Travancore-Cochin State under brutal majority of the Malayalees. Their language and culture should be respected by the Madras State with linguistic minority rights. Constitutionally the rights of the Malayalees were guaranteed. Thus Nesamony proved himself that he was not an enemy of Malayalees and vengeful like Pattom Thanu Pillai, but enemy of their dominance over the oppressed community²⁵.

9. Liberation Day

In the mean time changes took place in Travancore - Cochin State Ministry. Six Congress Members of the Legislative Assembly, as a protest against the recommendation of SRC to merge the Southern Taluks with Madras State resigned from the party. Since the Government under Panampilli Govinda Menon lost majority in the Assembly, he submitted the resignation of the Government on 11 March 1956. With that 13 months of Congress rule came to an end in Travancore-Cochin State²⁶. As per the Constitution, Article 365, the Raj Pramukh dissolved the Assembly and brought the administration of the State under his control²⁷. When the State was under President's Rule, States Reorganisation Act of 1956 was passed and came for implementation with effect from 1 November 1956²⁸. Malabar District of Madras State was merged with the Travancore - Cochin State and the State of Kerala was formed on 1 November 1956. On the same day the Southern taluks, namely Thovalai, Agasteeswaram, Kalkulam and Vilavancode and part of Sencottai Taluk were merged with Madras State. Barring the east of Shencottai which was merged with Tirunelveli District of Madras State the other four Taluks, Thovalai, Agasteeswaram, Kalukulam and Vilavancode were formed into one unit and named as Kanyakumari District.

25. *Appendix No. 67*

26. *Gazette Extraordinary*, 24th March 1956

27. *Notification No. 4351/ R.C. 56/23rd March 1956*, Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi

28. *Notification SRO. No. 2529/ 1st March 1956*, Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi

With an area of 1684 square kilometers, Kanyakumari District formed the smallest district of Madras State²⁹.

By this separation from the Travancore - Cochin State and merger with Madras State, the Nair domination on the Nadar community came to an end. As this district was once a part of Kerala and also now very close to it the possibility for a continuation of such a struggle on different grounds cannot be ruled out.

10. End of the Journey

TTNC was organised as a political party on the predetermined goal of forming a state for the Tamils under the rule of Travancore Maharaja to get permanent relief from the domination of Malayalees. Subsequently, the idea of States Reorganisation on the linguistic basis mooted by the Congress Government at the Centre was made use of by TTNC to separate the Tamil areas from the Travancore - Cochin State and to merge it with the Madras State. As the sole goal was fulfilled, though not fully, the formation of Kanyakumari District on 1 November 1956 tempted the leaders of TTNC to dissolve the party and to merge it with the national party, The Indian National Congress, which was then the ruling party both at the Centre and State.

Nesamony convened a meeting of the leaders of TTNC on 26 January 1957 at Allen Memorial Hall, Nagercoil, from where it started the liberation journey³⁰. As the goal was fulfilled it was proposed to dissolve TTNC and to merge it with the Indian National Congress. The Chairman, Nesamony read the resolution and it was unanimously accepted³¹. Henceforth the TTNC existed in the form of Indian National Congress. Nesamony ended his liberation journey and became the Father of Kanyakumari District as well as the Father of Kanyakumari District Congress Party.

29. Surveyor General of India - (Map) Tamil Nadu, *Political and Tourist Guide*, 2000

30. A.A. Razak, *op.cit.*, p. 371

31. *Marshall Nesamony* : Special Souvenir, Nagercoil, 1969, p.8

11 Oppressed Community Since 1956

1. Introduction

Kumari Thanthai Marshall Nesamony in his letter to the President of Indian National Congress, on 26 August 1954, regarding the police firing at Marthandam and Puthukkadai and the police atrocities that followed on the Nadar community, especially, of Kalkulam and Vilavancode Taluks, indicated, that a high caste Nair could not brook the sight of a low caste Nadar crossing his path¹. This observation of Nesamony ought to serve as a guide to any one who is engaged in the investigation of the process of liberation of an oppressed community. It also reveals the fact that the liberation struggle is a continuous process.

As already indicated in this text, the Vellala Community of Nanjil Nadu claimed² parity with the Nair Community in social, economic and political status. Naturally, the Vellalas, accustomed to being considered as a high caste community, could not tolerate a low caste Nadar being honoured with the title, Kumari Thanthai and his community people dominating the political affairs of Kanyakumari District. After the merger of Kanyakumari District with that of Tamil Nadu, a small group of Vellalas began to indulge in various attempts to erase from the annals of history the sacrifices made by Nesamony and the people of his community in the

1. *Appendix No. 57*

2. Edgar Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of South India*, Vol. V. Madras 1909, p. 243

liberation struggle, that finally resulted in the separation of Kanyakumari District from the State of Kerala. As a result the yeoman contributions of Nesamony, as Kumari Thanthai, are not even properly acknowledged and blatantly blacked out through processes of diabolic political machinations and gross misuse of official machinery in Kanyakumari District³.

2. Political Wisdom

As the Tamilians of Travancore could not pull on with self respect along with the Malayalees, a separation, merger and formation of a district became inevitable⁴ Evidently, disrespect to Tamil language was not the cause for separation from Travancore-Cochin State. Under these circumstances for a respectful living in Tamil Nadu, the District units of the political parties should have autonomous status. They should not be under the dictations of the State level and National level committees and leaders, in matters relating to Kanyakumari District. Nesamony exhibited this wisdom on many occasions.

Even before the Allen Memorial Hall meeting on 8 September 1947, to form TTNC to look after the interests of the Tamilians, Nesamony wished to have a political party which should be independent of all the other political parties in the State⁵. TTNC as a political party participated in three general elections in Travancore. It never made alliance with any other political party in the State, to contest in the elections⁶. When the struggle started he did not align with other political parties but, welcomed their co-operation⁷. Nesamony thought that if TTNC aligned with the other political parties the only demand of TTNC would be mixed up with the several demands of the parties in alliance. Finally the demand of TTNC would be pushed to the last and ultimately

3. *Dinakaran*, 2, November 2006 & *Paraparappu Chaithi*, 16-30 Navamner, 2006

4. *Appendix* No. 53

5. *Appendix* No. 21

6. Ivy Peter, (Tamil) *Malayali Aathikkamum Thamizhar Viduthalaiyum*, Nagercoil, 2002, p. 143

7. *Appendix* No. 60

would vanish. Thus he avoided pledging the autonomy of TTNC into the hands of other big and small political parties⁸.

However TTNC once entered into alliance with the State Congress after 1951 election. As a result State Congress formed the ministry. A member of TTNC became a Minister⁹. He was withdrawn from the ministry in the middle by TTNC, when the demand of TTNC, a separate Regional Congress Committee for Tamilians was not rejected by State Congress¹⁰.

After the merger of the District in 1956, until Nesamony's death in 1968 the socio-political life of the people of Kanyakumari District was smooth and peaceful¹¹. The political affairs of the District were guided by the Congress Party in which Nesamony was a member as well as a leader. The District Unit of the Congress party retained its autonomous status as against the State level and National level dictations and dominations. After Nesamony the District unit of the Congress Party which was the only hope of the people of the oppressed community, lost its independence.

3. From Independence to Dependence

Instances of using caste, religion and region were a common phenomenon in the political history of Kerala to gain political power. The State Congress had to face one such instance in 1950¹². Congress Party was dominated by Syrian Christians. The Nairs and the Ezhavas of the Congress party formed an organisation called the Hindu Maha Mandal to divide the followers of State Congress into Hindus and Christians.¹³ Likewise Thanulingam Nadar, a member of TTNC wanted to usurp the powers of Nesamony, a

8. *Appendix No. 57*

9. P. John John, *Coalition Governments in Kerala*, Thiruvalla, 1983, p. 73

10. *Ibid*, p. 67

11. P.S. Mony, *Letter to Nesamony*, dated 12 June 1964, Nagercoil. Ref. *Samudaya Sinthanai*, Feb. 2007, p. 11

12. S.N.D.P. Yogam, *Golden Jubilee Souvenir*; Quilon, 1953, Mannathu Padbhanaban. *Hindu Samhatana*, p. 175

13. Sreedhara Menon, *Quilon - Kerala District Gazetteer*, Trivandrum, 1964, p. 159

Christian leader in TTNC. He tried to divide the Nadars into Hindus and Christians.¹⁴ He formed a separate political party and fielded his party candidates in the 1951 general election. As he and his candidates suffered humiliating defeat, frustrated Thanulingam made a re-entry into TTNC which was under the leadership of Nesamony.¹⁵ After Nesamony the District Congress unit had caught itself up in machinations similar to that of Thanulingam and this has led to the collapse of Congress Party domination in Kanyakumari District.

After Nesamony, Kamaraj, a Hindu Nadar from Virudunagar, an absolute stranger to the oppressed community of this district came here seeking political asylum.¹⁶ In spite of his stature as ex-chief minister of Madras State, his own people at Virudhunagar discarded him in the elections to the State Assembly in 1967.¹⁷ As he was a Nadar, the Congress Party of Kanyakumari District welcomed him and facilitated his political rehabilitation. At this time and later the Christians in the Congress Party were absolutely careless and unmindful to this change and its consequences. Nesamony, the Father of the District and also the Father of the District Congress was conveniently neglected because he was a Christian.

It is the height of irony that Kamaraj a political refugee and runaway asylum seeker has memorials and monuments everywhere in this district. But the heroic liberator, who led the struggle and paid enormous price has no such significant government sponsored memorial in this district.¹⁸ Thus slowly the Congress Party lost its independence and came under the dictation and direction of the State level and National level leaders. Today

14. A.A. Razak, *Nesamony Oru Charitra Thiruppam*, Nagercoil 1998, p. 123

15. M. Manoharan, *A. Nesamony : A Socio-Political Study* (Doctoral Thesis), p. 135

16. Maheswari, (Tamil), *Kamaraj*, Chennai, 2006, p. 65

17. A. Sankar, (Tamil) *Perunthalaivar Kamarajar*, Chennai, 2000, p. 62

18. M. Albans Nathaniel, *Letter to the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu*, dated, 6 February 2009 and his office reply dated, 14 March 2009

D. Robertson, *Letter to the Tourism minister of Tamil Nadu* dated 9 April 2009 and his reply dated 22 April 2009

C. Kumaradhas, President, Thiagigal Sangam, *Letter to the District collector Kanyakumri District*, 25, June 2009

even without the knowledge of the District level committee, the State level committee is able to take any decision violating the interest of the District unit¹⁹. Under such circumstances how can the District unit of the Congress party serve the interests of the people of the District? At the District level, the Congress Fort is in a dilapidated condition. The leaders are frantically in a mood to find patronage of any one of the State level or National level leaders to quench their personal thirst and further their personal interest.

4. First Priority

To TTNC the welfare of the oppressed community was more important than anything else. Having seen the growth of TTNC, the State Congress leader, Pattom Thanu Pillai wanted a compromise with it. He met the president of TTNC and requested to give up the idea of a separate State for Tamils within Travancore. Contrary to his request, on 30 October 1947, TTNC passed a resolution reiterating its demand for the formation of a separate State with in Travancore for the Tamils²⁰.

A Nair Chief Minister Narayana Pillai wanted the support of TTNC in the Assembly. So he sought the help of Baktavatsalam a minister in the Madras State. A meeting was held at Palayamcottai as an attempt to bring about a compromise between TTNC and Narayana Pillai government. When the compromise move of Baktavatsalam was not accepted by the general body of TTNC, Narayana Pillai ministry in Travancore-Cochin State resigned²¹.

A man of the oppressed community, a Nadar found a place in the congress ministry, after the 1951 general election. He resigned his post within 13 months when the TTNC proposal for the formation of a Regional Congress Committee exclusively for the Tamilians was rejected by State Congress²².

19. Without the consent of the District congress committee Tamil Nadu Congress Committee handed over the Kanyakumari Parliamentary constituency to the D.M.K. Party in the May 2009 Election.

20. File No. D.Dis 424/1947, C.S. English Records, Kerala State Archives, Trivandrum

21. *Travancore-Cochin Legislative Assembly Proceedings*, 20th February 1951, p. 202

22. P. John John, *op. cit.* p. 67

To get the co-operation of TTNC, Pattom Thanu Pillai offered the post of the Speaker of the Assembly to TTNC in 1954 when he assumed the office of Chief Minister. TTNC declined to accept that offer for it thought that it could not insist on separation, if it participated in the administration of the government²³.

Party members of TTNC insisted Nesamony to come for a compromise with the government to release all those who were in Jail after the 11 August 1954 incidents. Nesamony did not budge an inch from his stand. He refused to sacrifice the self-respect of the Tamilians and rejected the move of his party men²⁴.

The State Reorganisation Commission recommended for the merger of four Southern Taluks and Shencottai Taluk with the Madras State and left out Deviculam, Peermade, Neyyatinkarai and Chittoor. Nesamony fought for the merger of those four taluks also²⁵. In the end, even though the Commission recommended for the merger of Shencottai Taluk, the eastern portion of Shencottai alone was merged with Madras State²⁶. Even when the Tamil Members of Parliament were maintaining a safe diplomatic silence, Nesamony in a lone voice argued for the merger of all the left-out Taluks²⁷.

The TTNC Members of the Legislative Assembly and of the Parliament were continuously insisting on the execution of the irrigation and drinking water projects which were included in the First and Second Five Year Plans and in the State Budget²⁸. When cholera broke out in the Tamil areas of Travancore in 1953, TTNC fought against it on its own accord and never failed to expose the negligence of the Travancore - Cochin Government on relief measures²⁹.

23. Appendix No. 57

24. A.A. Razak, *op.cit.*, pp. 302 & 303

25. Appendix No. 66

26. Appendix No. 67

27. Appendix No. 66

28. Appendix No. 47

29. Appendix No. 46

Conversion of Tamil schools into Malayalam schools, neglect of the oppressed community in government appointments and promotions, transfer of Tamilians to the Malayalam areas were brought to the notice of the public and represented to the government for redress³⁰. As none of the demands of TTNC were considered by the government, the TTNC found that the oppressed community could not live with self-respect along with the Malayalees. Inevitable was a separation, a merger and the formation of a District³¹.

Early in 1956 when merger was certain, Nesamony sent a letter to Bhaktavatsalam, Minister for Labour and Industry, Madras State regarding the projects which were pending and waiting for implementation in Kanyakumari District³². Funds allotted during the First and Second Five Year Plans to the State and the share to the Tamil areas were pointed out. It helped the Madras Government to transfer the amount allotted by the central government from the Kerala State and to implement many of the irrigation and drinking water projects which were pending and beneficial to Kanyakumari District. Nesamony's speech in the Parliament on the subject of Railways to Kanyakumari District, connecting Trivandrum and Tirunelveli, Via. Nagercoil was solely responsible for bringing Railway connection to Kanyakumari District³³.

Nesamony in his demands always considered the total amount allotted by the Centre to the State and the share that had to go to the Tamil areas in terms of area and population³⁴. Whether such an attempt is ever made by any of the M.L.As and M.Ps who are his successors in the Assembly and Parliament respectively?

5. The Evolution of a Conspiracy

The Vellalas who were waiting for an opportunity to tarnish the image of Nesamony by negating his stupendous achievements

30. *Appendix No. 50 & 52*

31. *Appendix No. 52*

32. *Letter of Nesamony to M. Bhaktavatsalam, Minister, Madras State, 9, October 1956, copy to Special Officer*

33. *Appendix No. 68*

34. *Appendix No. 47 & 52*

and to recapture political power from the oppressed community. They concentrated on the production of false propagandist writings to tarnish the image of Nesamony and on the other hand engaged in strategies to divide the oppressed community people into Hindus and Christians.

The result of their nefarious activities include the unfounded claims that (1) One Subramonia Pillai of the Vellala Community is 'seed sower' and the 'spirit and brain' behind TTNC. (2) TTNC was started by some Vellalas in 1945 under the chairmanship of Sam Nathaniel and Nesamony joined the organisation later. (3) It is a boundary dispute between Madras State and Travancore (4) It is a language struggle³⁵.

A close scrutiny of all these sweeping generalisations and false claims made by Vallalas reveal that none of their statements is authenticated by original sources. Eventhough the struggle is over and one generation has passed by, they have not attempted to record the course of the struggle, events and results. They start with some words like sower, spirit and brain but never made any attempt to explain and substantiate their claims with why, how and where. The role of the person whom they try to portray as a participant in the liberation struggle remains unrecorded and none knows. Their advocates for reasons best known to them, start the history from 1945³⁶ and do not proceed beyond 1947. It is well known that the boundary of Madras State was immaterial for a Travancorian. And there was no demand for any particular status to Tamil language in the liberation struggle³⁷. Obviously the only demand, as well known to all, was a separate State with in Travancore for the

35. Moni 70 Special Souvenir, Nagercoil, 1987

36. R.Velayatha Perumal (Tamil), *Thiruvithancoor. Thamizhar Iyakkam : Arambakala Unmaikal*, Nagercoil, 1981, p. 12

37. *Appendix* No. 31

The South Travancore People's Economic Development Council, Nagercoil 15, September 1955

"The unrest has taken diverse shape, communal, linguistic, regional and communistic. But at the bottom they are all largely economic origin . . . that the area has suffered particular neglect . . ."

Tamilians under the aegis of Maharaja, As time demanded, the same demand was modified into separation of Tamil areas from Travancore-Cochin State and merge the same with Madras State.

6. Futile Propaganda

One Velayutha Perumal who claims to have been Secretary of the Tamil organisation, TTNC right from its inception in December 1945 upto 1947 last has come out with a book in 1981. He states that as Nesamony declined the Presidentship of TTNC when it was offered in December 1945³⁸, Sam Nathaniel was made the President of TTNC. Again he states that Nesamony joined the organisation in 1948³⁹. Unfortunately the statements of Velayutha Perumal regarding the birth of TTNC and the membership of Nesamony on a later date are not authenticated by any primary source. His naked claims are unauthenticated and baseless statements.

It is on record that Nesamony convened a meeting on 8 September 1947 at Allen Memorial Hall, where TTNC was founded as a political party. Nesamony also requested those assembled there to take steps to enroll large number of people as members⁴⁰. Now the question is if Velayutha Perumal was the secretary of TTNC till 1947 last and its President Sam Nathaniel was present in the Hall, how could Nesamony convene the meeting of TTNC at Allen Memorial Hall on 8 September 1947 and preside over it? Again why was the question of the presidentship of TTNC raised⁴¹ at the Allen Memorial Hall meeting when Sam Nathaniel was present in the Hall if he was already the president of it? No doubt the meeting conducted at the Allen Memorial Hall was convened by Nesamony and was under his control. If it was a continuation of Velayutha Perumal's TTNC, on what authority did Muthukaruppa Pillai, a State Congress leader participate in the discussions and put forward a proposal to accept State Congress as a political party looking after the interest of the Tamils?⁴² So it is very clear that Velayutha Perumal's

38. R. Velayutha Perumal, *loc. cit*

39. *Ibid*, p. 22

40. *Appendix* No. 22

41. *Appendix* No. 26

42. *Appendix* No. 22

attempt to steal, hide and twist the liberation history in favour of his Vellala group falls apart for want of coherent historical evidence.

Apart from such false claims of Velayutha Perumal there are many other examples to prop up the name of Subramonia Pillai as one who sowed the seed for the formation of TTNC and as the spirit and brain behind the organisation.⁴³ But their claims are not found in any of the government records kept in the archives. None knows, what was the brain scheme and what did the sower sow? However one thing about the said Subramonia Pillai was clear. He was the sole promoter of the campaign against Nesamony and his people⁴⁴. For his campaign he managed to get the assistance of Sam Nathaniel who proved himself a traitor during the course of the liberation struggle by joining the side of Pattom Thanu Pillai, and Thanulingam Nadar who became a betrayer, by introducing Hindu-Christian division among the oppressed community, the Nadars during the course of the struggle⁴⁵.

Sam Nathaniel in his letter to the Governor General of India on 22 August 1948, indicates that TTNC has been fighting for the Tamils since 1945⁴⁶. Here he is trying to corner glory for himself by identifying the political party, TTNC that existed at the time of writing his letter with that of some out fit which was said to be in 1945 and wound up in July 1947⁴⁷. This existence is based on claims rather than tangible proofs of activity. However, this feeble and narrowly limited affair⁴⁸ should not be confused with an uniquely significant and widely respresented political party voicing the cause of all the Tamilians in the State, which was formed under the chairmanship of Nesamony on 8 September 1947 at the Allen Memorial Hall, Home Church, Nagercoil⁴⁹.

43. Moni 70, Special *Souvenir*, Nagercoil, 1987

44. M.E. Monickavasagam, *P.S. Mony, An Historical Biography*, Nagercoil, 1987

45. *Nathaniel, Nagercoil*, pp. 5-21

Thiruthamizhar Iyakathai Thottuvithavar yar? & Nagercoil Moni 70, Special *Souvenir*, Nagercoil 1987

46. *Appendix* No. 34

47. R. Velayutha Perumal, *op.cit.*, p. 21

48. M. Sankaralingam, Moni 70, *op. cit.*, p. 278

49. *Appendix* No. 22

One should remember that all the political changes, consolidations and detachments in Travancore began in some significant way only from April 1947⁵⁰. Political arrangements and rearrangements that took place in Travancore prior to the above date were only in the political party, the State Congress⁵¹. Major Communities in the State joined this State Congress and fought for Responsible Government in Travancore. TTNC, a political party was thus formed in response to the emerging political changes and the realities that took place in Travancore after April 1947⁵². Any claim on the existence of a political party namely, TTNC prior to 8 September 1947 is false and untenable and not based on historical facts and evidence.

For example, Nesamony in his letter of 25 March 1947 to Sundaram Pillai emphatically insists on the need for a political party exclusively for the Tamils in the State⁵³. Does this not mean that there was no political party in the State to look after the interests of the Tamils in the State? If a political party already existed in the name of TTNC, how can Nesamony start a political party with the same name? So the set-up Nathaniel refers to in his letter to the Governor General is not the one which was started by Nesamony as a political party on 8 September 1947.

When a struggle is over and liberation is achieved, a student of history may bother only in the investigation of the causes, course, events and results of the liberation struggle because history alone will be useful to forecast the future. Suprisingly the Vellala writers are not interested in those things.

Their search among the bygone, rootless shadows to excavate the spirit and soul of the sower is not only futile but also mischievous and motivated. Propping up identities and thrusting greatness upon the most undeserving individuals form a deliberate

50. Ivy Peter, *op. cit.*, p. 97

51. R. Velayutha Perumal, *op. cit.*, pp. 7, 17

52. *Appendix* No. 22

53. *Appendix* No. 21

part of the conspiracy to distort the history of the region and heritage of its people.

7. Counter Literature Campaign and Research

When the vilification campaign against Nesamony and his people by a small group of Vellalas went on unbridled, one political sufferer namely, Singarayan of Authivilai, Kalkulam Taluk, on his own, began a counter campaign to trace the course and to establish the historical truth and to demolish the many wild, exaggerated claims. He published some booklets and pamphlets, highlighting the important events in the struggle and the political wisdom of Nesamony⁵⁴. Thus Singarayan single-handedly attempted to deliver the first blow.

An eminent Professor Albans Nathaniel, a native of Mavaravilai of Kalkulam Taluk, all through encouraged Singarayan to counter the activities of the Vellalas. As an academician Albans felt that the historical information and proof provided by Singarayan was only a part of a long history. So he sought the help of one of the prominent leaders of TTNC, namely Abdul Razak. Razak was a close associate in all the endeavours of TTNC and a respected Member of Parliament. Razak agreed to write the liberation history.

Albans Nathaniel published his writings in the form of a book in the year 1998. Apart from the occasional writings of Nesamony in the form of booklets and reports, Razak's book was the first contemporary account to give the authentic and wholistic history of the liberation struggle that took place during the middle of the twentieth century under the leadership of Nesamony⁵⁵. Razak's book stripped off all self-proclaimed honour and glory of the imposter and established the eminence of Nesamony. Razak

54. A. Singarayan, *Kanneer Payanangal*, Neyyoor, 1995

A. Singarayan, *Thiyagathuligal*, Neyyoor, 1996

A. Singarayan, *Thamizhaga Arasu Marakkalama*, Neyyoor, 1998

A. Singarayan (Tamil) *Moontu Kanner Kadithangal*, Neyyoor, 1998

55. A.A. Razak, (Tamil) *op.cit.*

died before the publication of his book on 12 January 1991 Subramonia Pillai, took the death of Razak as an advantage and sued Albans Nathaniel, the publisher of book in the Court of the Second Additional Subordinate Judge, Nagerocoil as Original Suit No. 328 of 1999⁵⁶. He claimed Rupees Two Lakhs as compensation for the loss of his perstige. Albans Nathaniel was dragged even up to the Supreme Court in this connection. Second Additional Subordinate Judge gave his verdict on 14 July 2004.⁵⁷ Albans won the case. Subramonia Pillai's own writings and the writings of his associates about him all went in favour of the defendent, Albans Nathaniel⁵⁸. However Albans Nathaniel was put to untold miseries for a period of six years.

Albans Nathaniel, not satisfied with the extent of his services to the oppressed community of Kanyakumari District, wanted to bring out the liberation History through researchers. Accordingly, Professor Ivy Peter, a historian, after five years of hard work brought out a book on the liberation history of the oppressed community through, the Kanyakumari Institute of Development Studies⁵⁹. This book authoritatively exposed the “stealing, hiding and twisting of history” that was undertaken by that small coterie of Vellala writers. Subramonia Pillai and his coheirs stopped spinning their tales. They are fully aware that their every lie and misrepresentations of histroy will only deeply submerge them.

Patchaimal of Swamithope of Agasteeswaram Taluk, the Director of Tamizhalayam has brought out two books on the liberation struggle : One is a translation work, containing the writings and speeches of Nesamony; and the other a record on the history of the birth of Kanyakumari District⁶⁰. The speciality of

56. Plaintiff : P.S. Moni Vs. Dr. Dr. M. Albans Nathaniel, Pulavar K. Patchaimal & Dr. A. Jabarulla as Defendents, Filed on 27 November 1999

57. “In the result the suit is dismissed. As to the nature and circumstances of the suit the parties to bear their respective cost.”

58. “Since all the answers are answered infavour of the defendents, the plaintiff is not entitled to damage.”

59. Ivy Peter, *op.cit.*

60. K. Patchaimal, (Tamil) *Marshall Nesamony Ezhuthum Patchum*, Swamithope, 1999
K. Patchaimal (Tamil) *Kumari Maavattam Pirantha Varalaru*, Swamithope, 2001

those two publications is that Patchaimal extensively relied on primary sources.

Sukumaran of Irenepuram of Vilavancode Taluk, who has first hand knowledge about and experience in the struggle for liberation has published two books on Nesamony and his role in the liberation struggle⁶¹.

Samuthaya Sinthanai, a Tamil montly, published by Kanyakumari Institute of Development Studies, since 1996 publishes articles high lighting the liberation struggle almost regularly⁶². The articles published by Sukumar and Peter on the liberation subject have become a challege to those who attempt to steal, hide and twist the liberation history in their favour.

The primary sources like original letters, memorials, periodicals, official proceedings, minutes, resolutions, reports of governments and court documents, provide solid evidence to history. They remain insurmountable obstacles to those who attempt to steal, hide and twist the history. Thus the vengeful propaganda started by the Vellalas of Kanyakumari District against the oppressed community has boomeranged on them. The historic truth has been established beyond doubt by the intellectuals and academicians belonging to the oppressed community through their pains taking research and incisive recording for posterity, with objectivity and authenticity which no dedicated, serious seeker of truth can afford to sacrifice.

8. The Oppressed Community Today

The oppressed community, the Nadars form an appreciable majority (65 per cent) in Kanyakumari District. Though they form a majority, they are ruled by the Vellalas, a minority (7 per cent)

61. K. R. Sukumaran, (Tamil) *Kumarichirpi Nesamonyum Thenkumari Thamizh Makkalum*, Nagercoil. 2004.

K. R. Sukumaran (Tamil) *Kumariai Meetton Marshall Nesamony*, Nagercoil, 2004

62. *Samuthaya Sinthanai*, A Tamil Monthly of Kanyakumari Insititute of Development Studies, Since September 1996

community⁶³. Before the merger the Nairs ruled and after the merger the Vellalas are ruling the oppressed community. Both Nairs and Vellalas belong to the high caste group.

A representative of the Vellala community always finds a place in the Tamil Nadu ministry. where as the oppressed community is not able to find representation in the ministry. As usual, the oppressed and liberated community finds pleasure in serving that Vellala representative who keeps his position in the Tamil Nadu ministry⁶⁴. Vellalas, irrespective of the political party in power, are able to get a representative in the ministry.⁶⁵ If by some chance a Nadar representative is admitted in the ministry, he will be pressed out of the cabinet before the end of the term⁶⁶.

State Assembly election was conducted in May 2006 in Tamil Nadu. Dravida Munnetta Kazhagam (D.M.K.) alliance, fielded candidates in all the seven constituencies in Kanyakumari District. It won in all the seven constituencies. Out of the seven Members of the Legislative Assembly, six members belong to the oppressed community, the Nadars. None of those six candidates got an opportunity to serve in the capacity of a minister. As usual, the Vellala representative got that opportunity. For the fourth time, without any break, a Vellala representative is honoured by inducting into the Tamil Nadu ministry. If such is the case what would be the fate of the oppressed community, the Nadars in Kanyakumari District? The liberation stands meaningless.

As a result, the communal representation in government offices and concerns tilted adverse to the oppressed community, the Nadars. An ordinary member of the oppressed community is unable

63. In the absence of official statistics the study relied on certain research works done earlier R.L. Hardgrave, *Nadars of Tamil Nadu*, University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1969, p. 25

G. Sidharthan, *Entrepreneurship of Small Scale Industries - A study in Kanyakumari District* (Doctoral Thesis) Madurai, 1986, p. 68

64. D.M.K. District Secretary election in November 2008

65. Suresh Rajan in the D.M.K. Ministry & Dhalavai Sundaram in the ADMK Ministry.

66. Lawrence and Rajendra Prasad in ADMK Ministry

to do anything in government offices. The daughter - in- law of Kumari Thanthai experienced, for more than a year, a big ordeal in dealing with the District and Taluk level government officers to get her family pension which was caused by the death of her husband, who served as a member of the legislative council in Tamil Nadu. As a remedial measure she brought the matter to the notice of the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu. The family pension was released with in a week. During this time, one ex-M.L.A. who belongs to the Vellala community died. His wife was able to secure the family pension within a period of two months without the interference of the Chief Minister. If such is the fate of the daughter-in-law of Kumari Thanthai what would be the fate of an ordinary oppressed community man's paper in government department?⁶⁷

Among the oppressed community, the top sufferers are as usual, the Protestant Christian Nadars of Kanyakumari District. They form more than 20 per cent of the population⁶⁸. They have become the target of attack from three angles. In order to liberate the oppressed class of the society from the clutches of the high castes, the Potestant Christian Missionaries laboured hard⁶⁹. Those who embraced Protestant Christianity came up on the social and economic ladder. The converts refused to do free service to the high castes⁷⁰. This act of the converts infuriated the high castes and they began to attack the missionaries and their converts.⁷¹

Protestant Christianity entered South Travancore, the present Kanyakumari District, early in the nineteenth century⁷². Even before that Francis Xavier had organised a group of Christians called Catholics. Catholics compromised with the practices of the

67. A personal interview with the grand-son of Marshall Nesamony

68. G. Sidherthan, *op.cit.*, p. 67

69. Samuel Zachariah, (Tamil) *Then Thiruvithankottu Thiruchabai Charitra Churukam*, Vol. I, Nagercoil, 1991, p. 20

70. V. Nagam Aiya (Reprint), *The Travancore State Manual*, Vol. III Madras 1989, p. 564

71. Samuel Mateer (Reprint) *Land of Charity*, New Delhi, 1991, p. 275

72. John A. Jacob, (Tamil) *Then Thiruvithancore London Missionary Sanga Charitram*, Nagercoil, 1956 p.35

Hindus.⁷³ They did not go against the caste system and the consequent oppressions on the low castes. So they remained dormant for more than three hundred years.⁷⁴ They were untouched by the high castes for they were not a problem to them.⁷⁵

Protestant Christian Missionaries believed in the liberation of the oppressed from their miseries as God's work. They confronted with the existing bad and inhuman practices in the society. Missionaries obtained legal liberation for the oppressed. Hence wide spread hatred was concentrated on the Protestant Christians.⁷⁶

Among the oppressed community, the Protestant Christian Nadars received government favour first.⁷⁷ So enmity developed between the Hindu Nadars and Protestant Christian Nadars. It continues even today without any reason.⁷⁸ As the privileges of the government were first enjoyed by the Protestant Christian Nadars, the Catholic Christians also began to hate the Protestant Christians⁷⁹. Thus on the basis of caste, religion and religious denomination the Protestant Christian Nadars had to face a tri-cornered hatred and attack.

On 11 January 1891, the three major communities, Nairs, Ezhavas and Syrian Christians of Travancore jointly submitted the famous memorandum called, "Malayali Memorial" to the Maharaja of Travancore.⁸⁰ The Vellalas of Nanjil Nadu were also partners in that memorandum. At the same time, the Protestant Christian Nadars of South Travancore were considered as foreigners and

73. Samuel Mateer, *loc.cit*

74. *Idem*

75. *Idem*

76. *Ibid*, p. 276

77. *Apendix* No.1

78. KIDS, (Tamil) *Pagaimain Vergal*", Samudaya Sinthanai Nagercoil, September, October & November 2009

79. Samuel Mateer, *loc.cit*.

80. *Archives Treasury*, Kerala State Archives, Trivandrum 1994, p. 137-150

kept out of that joint effort⁸¹. The memorialists demanded to drive away all foreign Brahmins from Travancore and to appoint only Travancorians in government jobs⁸².

Chief Minister Narayana Pillai, to save his ministry tried for a compromise with TTNC in 1950. As a result, a six point compromise formula was reached. But this formula was not accepted by the General Body of TTNC⁸³. It was defeated by the efforts of Nanjil Nadu Vellalas in the General Body, because they suspected that Nesamony, a Protestant Christian Nadar would become a minister in the Narayana Pillai ministry if TTNC supports the government.⁸⁴

In 1952, A.J. John formed a ministry in Travancore-Cochin State with the co-operation of TTNC. John offered one seat in his ministry to TTNC.⁸⁵ Nesamony keeping in mind his previous experience with Thanulingam, in order to avoid inferiority feeling in the minds of the Hindu Nadars in the TTNC Party, nominated a Hindu Nadar, Chidambara Nathan to John's ministry⁸⁶.

After the merger of Kanyakumari District in 1956, election to the Madras State Assembly and to the Parliament was conducted in 1957. The Kanyakumari District Parliamentary seat was represented by Nesamony in 1952⁸⁷. Thanulingam connived and succeeded in getting that Parliament seat for himself. He built up a story that Kamaraj, the Chief Minister of Madras was wanting Nesamony in the State Ministry⁸⁸. As Nesamony's colleagues fully believed this built up story, pressurised Nesamony to contest for the Assembly seat, in the esteemed interest of the people of Kanyakumari District. Without any contest Nesamony was made

81. *Idem*

82. *Idem*

83. A.A. Razak (Tamil) *Nesamony Oru Charitra Thiruppam*, Nagercoil, 1998, p. 115 & 116

84. *Ibid* p. 114&115

85. P. John John, *Coalition Governments in Kerala*, Thiruvella 1983, p. 73

86. *Idem*

87. A.A. Razak, *op.cit.*, p. 139

88. *Ibid*, p. 369

to represent the Killiyoor Constituency to the Legislature⁸⁹. But alas, to defame Nesamony and without any respect to the feelings of the oppressed community, the Nadars of Kanyakumari District, Kamaraj inducted one Lourdammal Simon⁹⁰, a lady into his ministry from this district. However the oppressed community disappointed by the action of Kamaraj

Nanjil Vincent a Catholic Christian Nadar became a deputy minister in Ramachandran's ministry in Tamil Nadu. In Jeya Lalitha's ministry in Tamil Nadu two Catholic Christian Nadars, Lawrence and Rajendra Prasad served for a shortwhile. Till today no Protestant Christian Nadar of this district has ever been offered an opportunity to serve either in Travancore or Tamil Nadu ministry.

After Thanulingam, Nesamony was elected to the Parliament for the second time in 1962 and for the third time in 1967⁹¹. He was not offered a seat in the central ministry even though the Congress Party was in power at the centre. In 1980, 1984, 1989, 1991, 1996 and 1998 Dennis, a Protestant Christian Nadar was elected to the Parliament from Kanyakumari District. He served twenty years in the capacity of a parliamentarian⁹², but never got an opportunity to serve in the capacity of a central minister. At the same time a Hindu Nadar, Radhakrishnan who was elected to the Parliament in 1999 from Kanyakumari District⁹³ was made a minister at the centre. This is the grievous political history of the oppressed and liberated Protestant Christian Nadars of Kanyakumari District.

89. *Ibid*, p. 353

90. *Ibid*, p. 376

91. *Dina Thanthi*, 13 April 2009

92. *Idem*

93. *Idem*

APPENDICES

1. PERMISSION TO COVER BOSOMS (1812)

*Translation of an Order from Colonel J. Munro, Resident
Dewan to the Sarvadiciariacars of Trevandram and
Neyyattangurri Taluq dated Quilon the 19th of Dhanoo 988
(1812).*

I have heard that the women of Elaver and such like castes who have embraced Christianity have been prevented from covering their bosoms; but as I have granted my permission to the women converted to Christianity to cover their bosoms as obtains among Christians in other countries, you will take steps that there be no obstacles put to the women converted to Christianity wearing cloths over their breasts.

From Colonel J. Munro, Resident (as Dewan) to Trioomagumpidicha Pillai of Neyyattangurri Taluq dated 10th of Vrichugam 989.

That although orders have been issued permitting the women of Elaver and such like castes who have embraced Christianity to wear cloth over their bosoms, that four persons who have been exempted from doing the Sirkar duty and attached to that of the Church; and that the persons converted to Christianity should not be called upon for the duties connected with Coicul; I have been told that contrary to these orders they are now oppressed. I therefore enclose a copy of the same; and should the like occur in future you shall be sent for to this place and punished.

(Sigd) J. Munro
As Dewan

*To the Tannah Naigues of Neyyattangurri Taluq order dated
10th Vrichugam 989 containing the same as above.*

C.M. Agur, Church History of Travancore, (1903), App. XVIII(4)

2. PERMISSION TO INHERIT PROPERTIES (1815)

Translation of a Proclamation by Dewan Soopyen Shangarn Narrainen dated 7th Meenum 990 (1815) regarding the Inheritance of Christian converts and the dress of Christian women.

Whereas Elavers, Shanars and such other castes in this country who have embraced Christianity, having solicited that they may be permitted to inherit and dispose of their property both moveable and immoveable according to the usage of that religion and that their women may be permitted to wear cloth over their bosoms as directed in the Christian Vedom the same was reported to Her Highness the Sovereign who passed a Neet that it should be allowed agreeably to that custom and that measures may therefore be adopted to carry the same into effect.

Notice is hereby accordingly given that permission has been granted to Elavers, Shanars and such other castes who have embraced Christianity that thier children should inherit their property both moveable and immoveable; and that their females should wear cloth over their bosoms agreeably to the Vedams of their religion.

According to what is written above these people should conduct themselves.

C.M. Agur, *Church History of Travancore*, (1903), App. XVIII(1)

3. ABOLITION OF TAXES (1815)

Translation of a proclamation by Her Highness, the Rane of Travancore dated 1st Kartigay 990 (1815) abolishing Polltax and other unjust taxes from the poor classes.

It being proper as well as my intention that all the people should be treated according to their respective religion, that every one should be happy and prosperous without any grievance, and that the country should flourish under my protection, with the promotion of justice and charity, and whereas it having been found that several taxes called Tallarah, Vullarah, Kettylacom, Valapadevoo & c, are levied upon the poor classes, Ealavers, Shanars, Washermen, Cavady, Mookaver, Pariar and Polayar from 926 and 930, the people in consequence being reduced to poverty, there being no such taxes upon the poor people of low class in other countries, and it not having existed in this country previous to the year 926, and it being unjust to collect these taxes from the people, if there be any regard for the good of the people and for justice, Notice is hereby given that the taxes of the above description upon Evalavers, Shanars, Washermen, Cavady, Mookavars, Pariars, Polayars are hereby discontinued from this day, with such arrears as are due up to the present date.

The offices of Tundanmars, Panikenmars, Nadanmars, Arraeamars, Vattacarayacarenmars, Porenbenmars, having been granted to certain persons and those persons having been much oppressive and injurious to the people of the said castes, these officers are all discontinued on the present day and having given my orders that the persons who held the offices above enumerated, are not to oppress the inhabitants on any account whatever, and that the servants of the district do only cause the Sirkar *ooleam services* to be performed directed by *the inhabitants*; all persons are hereby required to give due obedience to the subject of this proclamation.

In case that any one be found guilty of having acted contrary to this Proclamation, and that the persons who held the offices of Tundanmars, Panikenmar, Chanamar, Nadanmar,. Arreanmar, Modulputtoocarenmar, Vattacarayacarenmar, Porenbenmar, be found to have any way oppressed the inhabitants, will certainly be liable to a severe punishment.

The tax called Shettoo pautum having hitherto been collected in the torum department, on being surveyed by the district servants, shall hereafter be placed under the superintendence of the Revenue Department, and be collected by the servants of the Districts.

Having been informed that the inhabitants are not attentive to take care of the pepper vines already planted, and also not properly inclined to increase the plantations of it in consequence of the price paid at 7 fanams a toolam being insufficient to their labour, orders are given to make an addition of 3 fanams, so that the price per one toolam may be 10 fanams from the commencement of the year 990 - it is hereby expected that all the inhabitants would be encouraged under this indulgence to increase the plantation of pepper vines, and also to take care of what is already planted If anybody neglects the fulfilment of this order they will be punished, and those who may be vigilant shall be treated with respect.

C.M. Agur, *Church History of Travancore*, (1903), App. XVIII(10)

4. EXEMPTION TO CHRISTIANS (1815)

Translation of a Proclamation exempting Christians from compulsory duties connected with Pagodas, Moorajebam and other Hindu religious festivals and Devasam work, dated 16th Margali 991, (1815)

Though orders have been lately given by the late Dewan Ummany Tamby and the Colonel publishing that no one should molest or take any of my Protestant Christian subjects for doing any duties relating to Pagodas and temples, yet the Christians have petitioned me upon their grievances, saying that they are compelled by the Sirkar Officers to do duty to *Moorjebam and Ootoovaga* (Øû\ûNTm FhÓYûL) and to deliver *Koalmudel* (ûLôSØRp) and that by doing these kinds of services, they dishonour their religion.

Therefore as I think it convenient to permit every nation to walk according to their religion, and as the doing of duty to *Devastoms* (*úRYvRm*) and doing duty to Moorajebam and Ootoo-Adianderam (*Fhó AŕVókšWm*) being very similar, I hereto declare that Christians should not be constrained to do duties for the above said purposes nor to any except those that relate to Sirkar works.

Moreover I declare that the Officers will oblige those Christians who have obtained freehold lands to do duties as the others of the same rank, but if they are unwilling to do, the Tahsildars are to take Certificates from them and send both the Certificates and the man to Huzoor Court when their lands will be taken from them and given to others that are willing

16th Margaly 991

(Sign Manual) Parbattee Bauhee
The most Charitable Queen of Queens
and Worshipper of Palpannaba.

C.M. Agur, *Church Histroy of Travancore*, (1903), App. XVIII(3)

5. DECREE OF PALPANABAPURAM COURT (1823)

*Substance of the degree of the Court of Palpanabapuram
relating to the upper cloth dress worn by Christian women.
Vakeel No. 177 dated 7th Vykasi 998 (1823).*

A complaint was lodged against some Christians under their heathen names as Shanars for not paying the arrears of their toddy rent and for their women wearing upper cloths, when it was decreed that they are to be fined in consequence of their Shanar women wearing upper cloth. An appeal being made to this as there was a Proclamation allowing the Christians to wear an upper cloth, then the Court writing to the Revd. Mr. Mead to enquire if these people were Christians and if the religion required them to wear the upper cloth, and he having replied that the Shanars, Parayars and such other caste women as have embraced Christianity ought to wear an upper cloth for the sake of decency when they go to the fairs, markets and other places, and that they were instructed to do so, and that it ought to be so ordered agreeably to Christianity, It was decreed that Shanoo Nalencooty & C., have no occasion to be fined but for the other complaints lodged against them. The decree was despatched and returned in order to make a *final decision* whether it is lawful to demand the arrears when there is a Proclamation made that the arrears up to the 96th year are to be forgiven: accordingly when examined, it was seen that the arrears of toddy rent amounting to fanams 510 was due by the Christians up to the said year, and as it is not lawful to demand the amout, the court has decreed on the 26th of Avany 1000, for the other complaints as above resolved, and an order has been sent on the 4th of Alpsy to have this decree executed.

(Signed by the Judges and Shastree)

C.M. Agur, *Church History of Travancore*, (1903), App. XVIII(2)

6. RESTRICTIONS ON THE USE OF DRESS (1829)

Translation Proclamation by Her Highness the Ranees dated the 23rd Tye (Makaram) 1004 corresponding with the 3rd February 1829, putting numerous restrictions on the dress of Christian women, the building of places of worship & c. (For full particulars Vide Part III)

Whereas some disturbances have taken place in the Kalcolam, Yeraniel, and Velavancode districts between the Shanars and Nairs originating in a pretension of the women of the Shanars to wear the upper cloth contrary to order and ancient customs, and in a refusal of that caste to perform the Sirkar Oolium work required of them in common with other inhabitants, I deem it proper to publish the following Proclamation:

Firstly, As it is not reasonable on the part of the Shanarwomen to wear cloths over their breasts, such custom being prohibited, they are required to abstain in future from covering the upper part of their body. An order (circular) had been issued on the 7th Edavam 989 to all places prohibiting the Shanarwomen of the families of such Shanars as may have embraced Christianity from wearing cloths over their breasts, and requiring them to substitute for these the kupayam (a kind of short-bodice used by other Christians and by Mahomedan Native females) but with regard to their (the Shanars') allegation as an authority for wearing cloths over their breasts that a decree had been passed subsequently by a Law Court permitting the Shanarwomen on the contrary the use of cloths on the upper part of their body, such a decision since if it be admitted as establishing a rule, it would be in direct contravention of the order alluded to, cannot but be considered as invalid. Therefore the order referred to is hereby republished to be held as a document (or authority) in this respect.

Secondly, The Shanars and all connected with them who might have embraced Christianity are without exception required to perform oolium duties in common with the rest of the inhabitants. It is however commanded that Christians of whatever denomination shall not be required to perform duties on Sundays nor caused to render any service appertaining to the Devasam and Thingul.

Thirdly, The inhabitants of our country are permitted without opposition to embrace whatever religion they may be inclined to adopt, however, Christians of whatever denomination and all the individuals are not permitted to act towards persons of higher castes contrary to the usages of their own castes before they become Christians. it is hoped that honest persons of all classes will avoid every dispute in regard to religion. Moreover as the Christian religion is one which inculcates humility and obedience to superiors, it is expected that those who have truly embraced that religion will behave themselves as properly as other well-disposed people without opposition to the existing rules and customs.

Fourthly, But while we are thus ready to afford to all our subjects without distinction every facility to follow their respective religions and to celebrate rites of the same in a regular manner we cannot allow our people of whatever caste or sect to erect Pagodas, Churches, Chapels and Schools, Mosques or other places of worship *without regular permission* on the application of the parties through the Sirkar officers; when all such applications will be duly considered and such spots fixed on as shall not occasion inconvenience to other castes.

Fifthly, As it appears of late, certain Shanars and others of the same caste who have embraced Christianity proving refractory to the Sirkar authorities, make it a practice to prefer their complaints irregularly elsewhere, It is now notified that as there are no other tribunals in this country besides those appointed by us, whenever any person or persons of whatever caste and religion may have any just grievances or complaints to be represented they shall prefer the same to the Sirkar officers, whose duty it will then be to afford the parties redress, and in the event of such grievance or complaint not being redressed by those officers, the parties shall prefer the same to the courts, and eventually, if necessary to ourself since the tribunals are bound to treat all the inhabitants alike.

Sixthly, If any of the Sirkar officers oppress or otherwise ill-treat any inhabitant, the matter will be heard and redressed by the Courts and Ourself, and should it be established in the course of investigation that the Sirkar officers have been guilty of any irregularity or injustice, they will be duly visited with punishment, and declared unworthy of holding any public appointments.

Seventhly, As all persons having complaints will perceive from the premises hereof which are the tribunal or tribunals, to whom they shall have recourse for the hearing and settlement of their complaints, persons committing outrages (on the plea of ill-treatment or oppression) shall be punished adequately to the nature of their offences, because no clemency can be exercised towards persons disturbing the peace of the country.

The above shall be duly noted and acted up to by all persons.

(Sign Manual)

C.M. Agur. *Church History of Travancore*, (1903), App. XVIII(2)

(Also see D. Peter (Ed.) Charles Mead (1994), pp. 110-112

7. SUBJECT OF DISTURBANCES (1829)

A translation of the notes of hand of various persons on the subjects of disturbances raised by the heads of villages sent by Revd. C. Mead to Captain Sibbald, Officer Commanding stationed at Udayagiry

No.1 Yovan Reader of Kanshrakoodoo states not only that several heathens and Christians informed him that they heard the people say that they will burn down the school, his house and houses of the Moopens of Kanshrakoodoo Congregation but that on the 19th of Margaly when he and Gnanamootoo were going to Mandakoodoo to deliver their journals, they met on their way with Mahtupilly Sairmanakaren and Kunjumullenpilly Padaga, who said to him that they will burn down his and the moopen's houses.

No.2 Suvasalamutto Reader of Kannanoor and Vedamanikum of Tatchenvillai, state several persons belonging to the Kalkulam N. District, viz; Esarapillai, Paramapilly, Moonalakarren of Kooroontenguveedoo, Neelakandenpilly of Padipulagathuveedoo, Tickentompy of Koyelal veedoo of Authoor Adigarum and Sanookutti of Maikamandampam of Koodanelloor Adigarum and many other Padagycarers assembled together with swords, muskets, pikes, bows, arrows, hatchets, burnt down the school room, plundered the houses of the Xtian, broke one of the ears of the woman by forcing out the jewels, took the several Christians, tied and beat them and dragged them to the Tanna Office and put them in irons. Vedamonickam says also that he will show the places where they have hid some weapons.

No. 3 Essaky Maden of Authoor pedag, Krishtnen of Tamnoor Pedag Cawkutti of Tolitchel Pedag of Autoor Adigarum and Kunjaneelan of Turuettar Adigarum stated on January 6th 1829, as follows that Audichapilly Sairmanakar of Tamanoor Pedag, Mullenpilly Munnelacar Elampulaveedu, Kunjuneelanpilly Munnelacar residing Melaveedoo, the Vesaripukar of the granary residing in Teruvettarveedoo, Madawenpilly Sarimancar of Serukool Pedag Palpupilly elephant driver of Authoor Bagavatipillai residing in Kunjuveedoo, the Tanna Naique of Tackely with about 500 persons assembling and going from Pedag to Pedag, sent for Anunja, a blacksmith of the Kakudy, Whommany, carpenter of Tholetchel, Palpanaben, a carpenter of Malenkoodoo, Mahelen, a blacksmith of Tamanoor of Authoor Adigarm, Kumaren, a carpenter of Tiruvattar and Kutti, a carpenter of Saikoodoo made peickes, hatchets, bows, arrows and swords, etc. took their muskets which they have had in their houses, went first to the mission school at Authoor and set fire to it. Secondly, went to congregation at Authoor Pullipanam and Kannanoor and broke open the doors of the houses of the Xtians, plundered them, burnt down the houses of Vedamonickum of Aulienilly of Autoor Congregation took the school master and several of the said congregation, tied them up closely guarded by elephants before and after, gave the cord to be held

by the trunks of them and took them to the Tannah office at Tackelly where they put them in irons hands and feet. Thirdly they beat murdered and buried Vedamonikum of Bombadiconum of Auttoor Congregation. They also state that there are two guns with Bagawatipilly of Kunjuvudu, 3 with Esrapilly of Pucodoo veedu, 3 with Pinnakaudoo Ayan, 3 with Neelakandan pilly of Elampaliveedoo, 10 with Ramen Tompy of Arumany, 5 with Neelakanden Tompy, 7, with Caisaven Tompy of Talakulam, 5 Anandoo Kurippo of Kannemangalam and 2 with Ramen Tompy of Ohlakadoo, though a few of these possessors of gun were not in the crowd. Yet they have rendered assistance in furnishing them with the same.

No.4 Paramanandam, Narkunathan, Arulanandum, Porumyudayan, Karutudyan, Kunamudayan, Vedamonikum, Kunamudayan, Whonmayudayan and Sevagnanum of Daivikoodoo congregation state that the Paruvathiar of Medalum Adigarum, Sangarapilly from Autoor, Vailentomby, Kitmen pilly, Mudaliar, Kochenpilly a chief Pedagycar, Kalipilly a chief Pedagyear and Ramantomby a chief Pedagycar with several others assembled with swords, hatchets, etc. and not only illtreated the women who went to the fair but also said that as Col. Mucheaully's Bungalow was pulled down and himself driven out of the country the gentlemen at present must be served the same way.

No.5 Sandanamary, Poodattankutty of Karmanvilly of Anjalepedagy, Poodattankutty Neelan of Vadalikootum, Kutty Neelam of Kuttapulivilly of Pattapidagy of Colachel Adigarum state that Ramanpilly and Palppanapilly Adigarum of Killiyoor assembled, with 11 persons at the Pouch of the above mentioned Ramanpilly, armed with two guns, some swords, stones, etc. and were conversing amongst themselves saying, the chapels at Autoor and other places have been burnt down, the people were taken and their houses plundered. We shall also join with the Pedagicarers of the North District. One of them named Ramanpilly said as follows. **What business have the gentlemen in this country? What can these Kaluvaries do? If we burn down all the chapels so that not one should remain, these Kaluvaries will return to their country.**

No.6 Veyayen reader of Kullivilly congregation states on a date of Audy last when Eyasuadial of the above mentioned congregation was proceeding to the fair at Kullivilly a chetty of the said fair named Plumadan pilly, Pandarum Aundipilly, Coluven Kunjamaden and Mulepilly tundel of Kullivilly of Auratasapatto Adigarum, beat the above mentioned woman for covering her breast and made her to take it off. Moreover that on the 19th of Margaly 1004, when Needeyandayal was proceeding to the fair, Velatoora of Kunnatoor Adegaram, Moonalacaran residing in Valatortoovedoo Sairmanakar residing in Thattathotatoorvedoo and several others joined together and abused the said Needeyandayal **shamefully beat her and told her to go and report their acts to her father, the white man.**

No.7 note the hand of Ponamperumal Vedamonikum of Kannanoor and Senghotty Neethiyudayan on the 6th January 1829, Parapanpilly Iyanapilly. Moonillykarer met us and said if you publicly say you are christians we will immediately seize, bind and carry you to Tannah chaultry, an order is received to seize, beat, rob and burn the houses of the Christians and chapels, also **to spear the Padre residing at Mandakaudoo with the spear used in hunting the wild hog and kill him, likewise to kill the white man and the sepoy in the fort at Godagherry.** For this purpose we have given 15000 fanams to the Dewan, to the Valleamaillyathupilly 5000, to the Sadanam writers 3000 and received orders to destroy the Bungalow which we are executing, all this is not by our own will only, as you are our favourites we report these things but you are not to reveal them. It would be better for you if you escape for your life.

No.8 Savarymootoo's evidence that on the 20th December 1828, at night, when I was going to Trevandrum to bring bread I saw about 150 persons by the light of the fires and torches and heard the sound of many more in the dark assembled in Eruveyoor Puthookoody, armed with guns, swords, pikes, bows and arrows, axes, etc., and were beating Tom, Tom when they perceived me and stopped me and asked, where does thou come from? Where art thou going, these because, I thought they were the mob who had burnt Veda chapel at Atoor and killed a man, I was afraid, and thought that if I said I was the servant of the missionary, they would also murder me, I said I was the Bread cooly of the officer commanding at Nagercoil, Then they said, would we not have killed you, had you been the missionary's servant? You say you are officer's servant there they said go, and let me depart.

No.9 January 12, 1829. Yovan, reader of Neyyoor Congregation states as follows, I was informed by communications from several congregations regarding the persecutions the christians were undergoing at Atoor, Aramany, Tipparappoo, Kannanore, Godayarvilly, and Pulipunum, etc. by the Pedagycarrers assembling with arrows, bows, hatchets, muskets, swords and such like arms, with an intention to seize, bind, beat, and fetter the christians and to set fire to the chapels and that one chapel has been burnt down, the women were beaten and shamefully treated, the ears of some were broken, one man was beaten and murdered. I have also been informed that the said Pedagycarrers etc. have been shamefully abusing the missionaries and gentlemen and that they were prepared to destroy the mission Bungalow etc. in Neyyoor and to illtreat the missionaries. Moreover according to the communications received from persons belonging to the said Pedagycarrers came to the bungalow on Monday forenoon January 5, 1829. And had a review of it by going from room to room, some stood near it and were telling the people that were cutting stones, that the Tomby of Arumany, the Tannah Naigue of Tackelly, and the Pedagycarrers were saying that they would come and destroy the Bungalow, and asked are they come yet?

They not only said thus, but in night of the next day. I was awoke by some of the Xtians and informed that some persons were going to and fro with torches, in order to spy near the Bungalow. As soon as I heard that, I went out and saw not only torches and several persons with the light of the same, but also a great crowd of people advancing from distance. There appeared another crowd towards the north east but when sent people to see, they made off the nextday. I related this to the Mission assistant Mr. Ashton.

No.10 January 12, 1829 Superamanen, Surveshamuthoo, Eyskimuthu, Eyasmadeyan stated as follows, while we were in the night of the 6th January lying around the materials as watchmen of Bungalow we saw light of torches going to and fro, we awoke Yoven reader, who also saw the same and sent us, and when we went to see they heard our voice and made off.

No.11 January 12, 1829 Poodathankutty, Gnanakannu of Atoor Adigarum stated as follows, when I was returning from Tackaly Tannah, I met with Adichen of Pinnakadoodo (on the public road in Elanda Ambalam fair) carrying gun powder I asked him where he was taking it, he replied that Accuposu - Essupilly wanted gun powder I am taking it to him.

No.12 Tey, 3rd 1004. Gnanakannu, Vellayan, Esaku Madan state as follows, on a date of Marguly 1004, we saw truly. . .the Pedagycarrars of Atoor Adegaram, Sarucoal. Pedagycarrars, the Pedagycarrars of Kalial Adegaram, Tipparappo Pedagycars assembled with arrows, bows, swords, pikes, muskets, hatchets etc. With two elephants, in Eravoor Bazar, and in Elandyambalam firing off about 50 muskets at one time and beating tom-tom.

No.13 7th January, 1829 Veemen Paiduroo of Godayarvilly of Atoor Adegaram states, that in the night of 6th January, I heard a sound of the firing musket and when I came out I saw Godayarvilly chapel set on fire, when I was making a noise and approaching the chapel I saw Errupilly, Paramu, Munnalicar, Pandarum, Marimootookumaroo, Poodattan, Kalen, Palputomby and several others, who drove me away and made off. There were a few others who had gathered by the noise I made, who were also the spectators of the fact.

D. Peter (Ed.) *Charles Mead* (1994), pp. 38-44

8. COURT CASES (1829)

Summary of complaints lodged at the Padbanabhapuram Cutchery in January 1829.

No.1 The Defendants beat, abused and tore the upper cloth from the complainants.

No.2 The Defendants seized, beat cruelly & abused the plaintiff and also threatened that if a Chapel is built, it would be burnt down as that at Atoor, saying that an order has been recieved from the Dewan to do the same & to take all the Xtians.

No.3 The Defendants beat, abused & tore the upper cloth from the Plaintiffs. The jagry & salt they had was snatched from them and cast away.

No.4 Beaten or abused . Had their upper cloth torn from them as well as being threatened to be served worse if they wore the cloth in future.

No. 5 & 6 Abused, beaten, ill used and put in stocks for 4 days for embracing Xtianity, bribe of 50 fanams taken to be released and no payment made for baskets. A woman shamefully abused for wearing upper cloth.

No.7 There were 448 baskets and 500 nars collected, carried and delivered at the salt pans at Rajakamangalum & Tamarakulam for the year 1002 & 1003. There were 986 paras of salt carried to Colatchy & Rajakamugalum salt pan as also earth carried to repair a bank at the former, but no price nor hire has been hitherto paid.

No.8 Beat the complainant at the Chapel & the people & School children were disturbed at the time of divine service & driven out.

No.9 Beat, abused and took off the upper cloth

No.10 The Defendants assembled with hatchets, swords & seized, bound & drove by beating the plaintiffs. Put them in irons and made them starve by imprisoning. A bribe of 25 fanams was paid by the plaintiffs in order to be released. The Parvathycar said that he paid 2000 fanams for getting his employment. Then all this was complained to the Tana Naique, he said that he has no business to inquire into the case of the Xtians.

No.11 The Defendant beat plaintiff most cruelly for not consenting to perform duties on Sabbath when he has done duties on other days.

No.12 The Defendant claims a garden which it justly belongs to the plaintiff.

No.14 The Defendants assembled with hatchets, swords & came in the midnight, broke open the door of the complainants house, seized, pinioned, beat and drove them to the Tana at Eraniel and imprisoned them after which one of them named Paramasuranpilly released him. This was complained to the Dewan & to the Resident but no enquiry has been made hitherto.

No.15 The Defendants receive tax of the Plaintiff on differencnt dates and year, and gave no receipts for the same and Aditchapilly has taken forcibly a paddy field belonging to the Plaintiff. The defendants abused the Plaintiff, the Parvathykar has refused to give receipt. They also threatened to seize all the Christians.

No.16 The Defendants received from the Plaintiff 70 1/2 fanams on different dates on account of tax and has hitherto given him no receipts, and threatened to oppress him for being Xtian.

No.17 The Defendants always commit injustice & demand 3 3/4 fanams of the Plaintiff & others for taking chunam toddy, contrary to the regulation.

No.18 Plundered the Plaintiff's house and took away a casket of money which he had discovered when digging his gardens.

No.19 The Defendants forced the Plaintiff to pay rent for chunam toddy & when he refused , he was very cruelly used.

No.20 The defendants beat & ill-used the Plaintiff's for dressing upper cloth & made her remove it.

No.21 The Defendants beat & ill-used the Plaintiff's timber which was cut for the building of the chapel, stole the Pinnakays & jack fruits from the gardens of the Plaintiff.

No.22 The Defendants unjustly demanded duty of the Plaintiff and robbed him of a knife & 57 3/4 fanams.

No.23 The Defendants received bribe of the Plaintiff 65 fanams on different occasions as well as seizing & beating him and several others.

No.24 The Plaintiff when going to pay her custom for jagry was abused by the Defendants. They also tore the upper cloth from her.

No.25 The Defendants went in the night to the Paysaimy's houses collected the broken images & placed them at the doors of the houses of several persons & in the morning not only raised a false report that the christians had done it & have also lodged a complaint to the Dewan regarding the same. They have also lodged a complaint against one of the Plaintiffs that he had broken the necklace of the wife of a Thauedy.

No. 26 The Parvatecar assembled the defendants, took away the timber which was cut for the building of a chapel and abused the gentlemen in various ways, as well as expressing that as the Bungalow of Col. Macaulay was pulled down and himself turned out of the country, the gentlemen who are at present must also be served the same & that all the veda chapels must be burnt down. They said also that an order has been sent to seize, beat & put irons on all the Xtians & threatened to do the same to the Plaintiff.

No.27 The defendants seized the plaintiff on the Sabbath, took to Koilkalanelay, abused, beat, put in irons, received a bribe of 15 fanams. and did not release him for worship. This was complained to the Tasildar & to the Tana who said that the complaints of the Christians will not be attended to. Moreover the Parvathekar abused, broke the **Accany** pot of a woman related to the Plaintiff, beat her, stole her money & made her take off her upper cloth.

No.28 The Defendant an arrack vendor demanded at the rate of 1½ fanams. from each tree climber of the Plaintiff & promised to give permission for drawing chunam toddy but has hitherto not done it.

No.29 That as the Plaintiff lodged a complaint on the 12th Tye, the Defendant placed a Lavana chit in the roof of the Plaintiff without his knowledge. It is mentioned in the chit that the Plaintiff to pay custom for three Thandies of fire-wood & four Tulams of jagry, when he has nothing of that nature for sale in his house.

No.30 The Plaintiff had been employed at Rajakamangalam Salt Pan in carrying & storing up salt for the Bank stall of Poovar. They had borne 3015 Paras of salt from the year 1002. As they were not paid their hire they complained at the Tasildar's office, at the Adigarum & to the Hozoor but no enquiry has hitherto been made.

No.31 The Defendant seized the complainants and tried to compel them to renounce Xtianity & when the complainants refused, they were imprisoned. This and other oppressions were complained of but no enquiry has been made.

No.32 The defendant servant named Vedumaden Vellayen having had a fall from a cocoanut tree, the defendant lodged a complaint against the Plaintiff that he beat & wounded his servant. Though the court, when on investigation, was convinced to the contrary by the persons that lived near the place but there is no decree made as yet.

No.33 In consequence of the complainant embracing Xtianity, his sister Neelee prevented a man from returning the jewel which he pawned to him by the Plaintiff. When demanding the rent for one of his cocoanut trees was beaten and ill used by the other Defendants. And when Gunamany, the plaintiff went to reconcile them he was also beaten & one of his ears broke as well as robbed of his

ear rings. 2 Rupees and 28 fanams. After which he was falsely accused & taken to the Tasildar who imprisoned him and beat him most cruelly.

No.34

No.35 The defendants abused the Plaintiff for embracing Xtianity & said that Xtian instructions must not be received, and if any one did, they would be seized, beaten and the chapel burnt down. Accordingly one night the defendants came with a torch to set fire to the chapel but when they saw the Plaintiff they made off.

No.36 The defendants threatened to oppress the complainants when they were going to worship, and said that they would cause to remove the upper cloth of the women.

No.37 Though the Plaintiff had given 2000 Cadjans for writing & 20 baskets & yet the defendants have not yet paid the price & hire for them. One of the defendants who is custom collector put a lavana chit stating that the Plaintiff has to pay custom for 8 Thandies fire wood & 3 Tulams jagry when he had nothing of the kind for sale. The plaintiff spoke of that to the said Valichairy custom collector who replied that if he gives him 3 fanams he would try to lessen the custom demanded, & he had paid 3 fanams the defendant has not yet performed his promises.

No.38 The Plaintiff had been performing his duty in drawing timber for himself & several other Xtians oppressed and ill used - and the Defendant Mhoodayanhuripoo has taken away the knife of the Plaintiff so that he is prevented from drawing toddy.

No.39 The defendants assembled with arms & surrounded the house of the Plaintiff, entered it, searched the paddy bin and enquired of the wife of the Plaintiff where he was, when they were told that he had gone to Quilon they returned. Four days after they came again in the night with torches, broke, to open the east door of the house of the Plaintiff went in, opened the lid of the said Bin, broke the box that was in it, took away the jewels as well as brass vessels that were in the Bin. They then broke one of the ears of the grand mother of the Plaintiff, deprived her of her ear jewels & a silver bangle. Thus the Plaintiff's house was plundered and an old woman cruelly used.

No.40 The Plaintiff has been abused & threatened to be stabbed with the knife when he was going to take the remaining property left by his deceased brother and thereby is prevented hitherto from enjoying the same, he being repeatedly hindered and no justice done by any of the local officers.

No.41 The defendants though having sufficient places in the street in all directions yet last sabbath, they brought their looms placed at the front of the

chapel of the Plaintiffs and were working so that no one could enter the chapel, making a horrid noise and disturbing the Plaintiffs at the time of worship. And when they were requested to be silent, they would not but persisted more & more.

No.42 When the Plaintiff was returning after administering medicine to a man who was attacked with cholera, he was seized by the defendants, boxed & beat with the hand, was taken to the Tesakavelkar's office and imprisoned being falsely accused of breaking a tom tom.

No.43 The Defendant at first lodged a complaint at the court claiming a piece of ground which belonged to the Plaintiff and the court after investigation, decreed that the ground legally belongs to the Plaintiff & not to the defendant that claimed it, but the defendant not being satisfied appealed, since which there is no inquiry made.

No.44 The Defendants went to the house of the complainant, demanded 3 1/4 fanams as a rent for drawing chunamb toddy, seized, tied & beat her husband and also took hold of her hair & used her shamefully.

No.45 A man named Arunankalen borrowed 57 fanams from one Mayakondon who died without issue & the property being left to the Sircar, the said Arunankalen his debtor is also deceased, and instead of the Sircar officers demanding the money of Kumaran Pichy the friend of Arunankalen, they compel the Plaintiff (who is not a relation to Mayahondan's debtor) and demand of him the interest for the same.

No.46 The defendant an uncle of the Plaintiff, has taken all the property to himself when a part legally belongs to the Plaintiff & does not care for him.

No.47 The complainant had been paying rent at the rate of 12 fanams per year for two salls but from the year 93, the Defendant demands of the complainant 24 fams per month for the same two salls or distillers.

No.48 A garden having been mortgaged by Thanakoo Kitnen Mallenpilly on the year 75, to the complainant is taken and enjoyed unjustly by the defendant from the year 99.

No. 49 The defendant mortgaged 2 pieces of Paddy field to the Plaintiff in the year 90, but after the said defendant is employed as an adigar he has forcibly taken them from the Plaintiff & when the money is demanded he refuses to pay.

No.50 The defendants seized the complainant at a tank called Perumkulam saying what business has this fellow to give instructions of the veda in our Pedaky, we must kill him & so on after which they tied, beat & pressed him into the water, when Mayethipilly, Narayanapilly & Mullen came & took him from their hands, brought to shore and took with his bonds to the Head

men of the Padeky who wrote down the deepness of the wounds & was proved by a witness, but hitherto nothing done in the cases.

No. 51 The defendants unjustly seized, beat and killed a goat belonging to the complainant. This was reported to the local officers but no enquiry has been made hitherto.

No.52 The defendants seized the complainant & forced him to carry flowers & tender cocoanut, The complainant said that as he is a Christian he cannot take things intended for idols when they beat him & cut him (deeply) with a hatchet on his right thigh, left him & went away. This was complained at the court by the complainant & there was no enquiry made.

No.53 The defendants seized the complainant's wife, & told her to complain against her Minister for her husband allowing him to go to the chapel through his gardens & when refused to do the like, they beat, illused & took her away.

No.54 The defendants beat & illused the complainants for refusing to complain against their Ministers who were allowed to pass by the complainant's gardens.

No.55 The defendants beat & ill used Pakeyanaden & other of Thanshara Koadoo Congregation. They also said to the complainant that he must not teach the Veds & if he does they will kill him, burn down his house & the chapel. In consequence of the people being persecuted they have all left their villages & no one attend instruction; whereby the discharge of the duty of the complainant is hindered. Besides they continue disturbing the complainants.

No.56 The defendant beat & broke the teeth of the complainant for keeping off the swine & fowls of the defendant from destroying his cultivation. This was complained to the Head men of the Pedaky & to the Tana & no enquiry is hitherto made.

No.57 The defendants abuse, beat & persecute the people under Xtian instruction. They prevent them from going to worship, they way lay & do great many unjust acts & thereby prevent the labours of the complainant. He therefore begs that all preventions of the like should be put a stop to and Xtian worship kept up.

No.58 As the Defendants said that they will not receive the tax & baskets of those who are Xtians & as they persecuted them because they embraced Xtianity, the complainant went once with the Xtians to the Adegaram & requested that their taxes should be received, when it was replied that their tax shall not be received & that if the complainant should in future give Xtian instructions in that part of the country he would be beaten & turned out. In consequence of the

above mentioned causes the Xtians have all left their villages and the performance of the duty of the complainant is greatly hindered. He therefore prays that the Xtians should be treated justly (as other inhabitants) & their religious liberty restored to them.

No.59 The defendants threaten the Xtians of Palleyady congregation & reprove them for receiving Xtian instruction. They also told the complainant that he is to go and impart Xtian instruction at Nagercoil & not at Palleyady where a Chapel is built on a piece of ground by the free consents of Needeyandayan who owns it as Patty & Kulikaranum. In consequence of the Defendants prevention & oppression, the Xtians have lost the privilege of receiving instruction & thereby the labours of the complainant has met with no success since.

No.60 The defendants say that Chapel must not be built at Koolivilly, neither Xtianity taught in those parts. They also variously persecute the Xtians when they go to the chapel, to the fair, and other places. They say that an order had been sent by the Dewan to seize all the Xtians, iron & send them to him, accordingly they go from house to house threatening them to seize & beat, they also trouble the complainant to give a list of their names. These disturbance has been the cause of discouraging the Xtians who in order to be screened from oppression keep from attending instruction & worship & thereby there is a great hinderance for the discharge of his duty.

No. 61 At the absence of the complainant, the defendants went to his house in the day, broke open the door & plundered all his jagry, broke the jagry pots, stole also jewels & brass vessels & caused a great loss. This was complained to the Tanna & Tasil when an order was sent to the Adigar to take & send the defendants but hitherto he has not done it, neither is there any further enquiry made.

No.62 The defendants questioned the complainant & asked him who ordered him to build a chapel & teach the Vedam, they said also that there is an order come to take all the Xtians, seize & send them. They not only threatened thus, but also disturb the Xtians on Sabbaths & other days. Many of the Xtians being alarmed at their threatening have run away. The complainant therefore begs that the case should be enquired into.

No.63 The complainant gave his Document to the defendant in order to have it cleared & paid him 50 fanams for his trouble but the defendant instead of doing as he was requested had one garden (mentioned in the document) cleared in his own name & the other in the name of his son Mareyasavarimootoo. When the complainant asks the defendant to return his document he says that if he gives 150 fanams he would dispose it to him & not otherwise.

No.64 The defendants seized, tied & beat the Xtians so that they scattered from their houses & also told the complainant not to impart Xtian

instruction & that if he did he was threatened to be ill-used. Owing to the said persecutions & threatenings the people are afraid of attending worship or receiving instructions whereby the complainant is prevented from his duty.

No.65 The Defendants assembled & not only said that no chapel can be built at Kunnathoor must Xtianity be embraced but also laid way, beat, abused, ill-used & threatened the Xtians of both sexes when they go to worship on Sabbaths & other days and to prevent them from receiving the word of truth. In consequence of the said persecutions the people have quitted their aboad and thereby the complainant is prevented from discharging his duty.

No.66 The defendants entered the complainant's house & plundered jewels & other things & took his wife away who is now in Yagen's house. They have also taken 3 cows.

No.67 Brought a tom tom in the street at Arapury & published that the Christians must be seized & tied & that the women must take off the upper cloth. In consequence the complainants & other Xtians have been obliged to flee & hide & the School & congregations are dispersed.

No.68 Assembled near the chapel - troubled the Christians, sing songs made a noise & prayers. Also on Sundays in time of workship they assemble, sing songs & interrupt the worship.

No.69 Came into the Christian Village on the 10th Tey and made a proclamation by tom tom that the Xtian women must take off thier upper cloth & he also read a paper that those who have complaints must go & make them to the Dewan within 5 days. In consequence of this the Xtians are frightened & dispersed.

No.70 The defendants assembled & said we have received an order to seize the Xtians, threw stones into the houses of the Xtians. In consequence, I was obliged to flee from my house when a pot of Palmyrah jaggery & a load of paddy were stolen.

The other complaints of a similar nature to the last mentioned were to have been presented the day the cutchery left.

D. Peter (Ed.) *Charles Mead* (1994), pp. 58-62

9. RETALIATION BY NADARS (1829)

Translation of an Arzee written by the Padacars of Madalam Adigarom in Yaraneal District. Dated 14th Margally 1004

Some of the Shanars in this part of the country have since a few days converted themselves Christians, commenced some proceedings which are not usual and also outrageous, and when we complain to the superior Authorities the Shanars proceed to the catechist, who interferes in their behalf and causes the matter to be waved off.

It is customary in this country for the women of Brahmin, Shoodras and some castes only to wear cloths under their neck, and now the Shanar women assumed the apparel of the higher distinctions and walk freely into the streets, markets, etc.

The women of the Shanars Vedoomadan, Aroomogum etc. having been in the market with an unusual apparel, Shangara Pillah an inhabitant told them that it was not proper that they should do a thing which was not usual to them immediately on the same day at about 2 O' clock in the afternoon the above said women returned with brooms in their hands, and the Shanars with axes, cudgels and other weapons with an intention to beat the said Shankara Pillah, who in consequence made his escape.

A catechist has built a church in the Yaraneal Adigarom and there is one church in another place at Madalum Adigarom, and altho there is an usual and proper road from one to another of the said churches, a new one is cut by destroying the hedges of our Gardens and by injuring the pepper vines and also some trees so that the Palanquins and Horses may pass with out the least interruption.

When the Shanar women had once attempted in the year 991 to wear the unusual apparel it was prevented, and they now began calling themselves Christians and we request therefore the Mamool to be observed.

D. Peter (E.d.), Charles Mead (1994), pp. 162&163

10. ATTACK ON CHRISTIANS (1829)

*A letter to Col. Morrison, Resident, dated January 27th, 1829
by Revd. C. Mauld*

Dear Sir,

In my letter of the 21st instant I had the pleasure to inform you that in the congregations belonging to Nagercoil Mission no disturbances had taken place. A circumstance has however since occurred with which I feel it my duty to acquaint you. On Friday evening last about eight O' clock a wanton attack was

made on the Christians at Tittuvilly in the district of Towally by the Puthapaandy pokuthy pillymars, Tandulcarrars, Soukykarrars, Vadapokuthy marravers and others. The School master and 13 christians were taken to the Tomnato Choultry and have been confined there ever since. Several others were seized at the same time, but on these declaring that they were not Christians they were liberated. About an hour after some of the party returned and dragged four women from their houses to some distance and beat them. The reason subsequently assigned for this outrage was that people have not paid their tax, but the principal cause appears to have been that they were Christians were immediately released. The school master has been at Tittuvilly only three months, he cannot therefore owe the said tax, two of the persons taken and confined do not live upon the ground to which the tax refers.

In reference to this tax it may be necessary to explain. The people confined (two excepted) reside in the Chapel compound about twelve months ago the sum of one fanam a year was for the first time demanded upon each of these houses which was thought to be illegal and it was referred to the Dewan for his decision and no further notice has been taken of it since till it was now made a plea for seizing the people on the night in question.

As the Dewan is in this part of the country, I have advised the Christians to make their complaint to him, though I strongly doubt whether they will be able to prove to their case. I will briefly state the grounds on which my doubts rest. First since the officers above mentioned possess the power to confine 14 persons for such a length of time, it is next to impossible to induce witnessess to bear their testimony against them, because they anticipate, that if they do so, they are likely to be the next victims of their revenge again, persons possessing such power as the said officers, can in the present state of society I am. I made a call in the aid of as many witnessess as they please, to prove any thing they may wish. I am persuaded but few would dare to refuse obliging them, - besides if there be any dispute between the sufferers and other inhabitants every advantage is liable to be taken of it.

Here I think it important to mention a few circumstances that are much circulated to injure and alarm the Christians. It is currently reported in many district in this part of the country that the Padakycarrears have been summoned by the Dewan's Catcherry and interrogated concerning the conduct of the Christians. In some places their names have taken down publicly, in others privately by the Padakycarrars who say that all the Chapels in the mission besides that at Mailaudy were erected without authority and will therefore be pulled down. In other places the school masters have been desired to give account of what wages they receive, what books they teach, and when the school was published.

I do not question the Dewan's authority to direct such inquiries to be made, nor do I feel any fear for the result of the investigation, but I think it very injudicious at the present time of excitement as it is calculated to revive old disputes between parties that were at rest, but more especially as it gives the stronger party an opportunity to persecute the weaker which many are ready to take the advantage of, as the cases above mentioned, together with the alarm now generally excited in this neighbourhood abundantly corroborates.

D. Peter (E.d.), *Charles Mead* (1994), pp. 98-100

11. ATTACK ON CHRISTIANS (1829)

Letter of Autoor Adigaram Christian to the Acting Resident of Travancore

To

Major E. Cadogan, Acting Resident.

The humble petition of Pakeanaden Vedamanikom of Pillypanamvilly of Serekoalpedaga of Autoor Adegaram belonging to Kalkullum distirct Sheweth, that on the return of your petitioners from prison where they had been unjustly confined and with several others flogged and contempt to carry forward by the oppressions of Caisapilly and Neelakanden pilly, Moonalagar of Techelpedagy and Madavapilly Sarimanagar of Seerookoalpedagy - they had the roof of their chapel repaired and conducted Xtian worship in them.

While your petitioners were thus enjoying their religious privileges according to the Proclamation the above mentioned Caisapilly, Neelakandapilly and Madavapilly came in the night of Margally last 1005 and burnt down the said chapel which cost your petitioners 500 Fanams. This grievance was stated to His Excellency the former Dewan who sent orders to the Tasildar and to the Tananaique of the Kalkullum North District to have the case enquired into. Your petitioners were then sent for and were desired to give their statement fully which your petitioners did in writing a keychit that the above mentioned defendants were the very persons that did the injury that they were informed also they intend burning down your petitioner's house as well as lying in wait to murder them. That as your petitioners case was neither investigated nor settled the above mentioned persons took the advantage to come to your petitioner's house in the night of the 28th Tye last 1005 and set fire to it and caused a great loss of upwards of 16,000 fanams. worth of property of various sorts as their dwellings and their jaggary, grain, cloth and jewels were entirely destroyed and their families burnt. It is also threatened if they build their house again that it will also be burnt.

This grievance was also lodged at the Court of Palpanabapooram and though an order was sent from the Court to Thasildar of Kalkulam North district

your petitioners defendant were not sent for by the Thasildar nor by the Adigary neither were they examined or sent to the Court.

Your petitioners not having justice done to them here, they were obliged to lodge their grievances at the appeal court and to his Excellency the present Dewan, from whom your petitioners received several orders to the court of Palponabapooram and to the said Thasildar that their case should be investigated. But no enquiry or redress have been hitherto made - as the district officers seem to be afraid to procede against Caisapilly who boast that **he acts by authority and will root out all the Xtians who have embraced the white peoples religion.**

Your petitioner beg to state also that their defendants have bought an old house and intend to pruchase two or three more and burnt them down in order to lodge false complaints against your petitioners and say they have also been burning down their houses.

In consequence of this long persecution your petitioners are distressed to see that the oppressions of their Pedagacarers never cease but continuous prevailing. They therefore most submissively entreat your honour would condescend to procure that your petitioners complaints be registered in the court of Padpanabapooram and justice done to them and to procure His Highness the Rajah's permission to rebuild their chapel while over it may be deemed proper as well as restoring to them the property they have lost.

Vykasi 7th 1005
Your petitioners will

D. Peter (E.d.), *Charles Mead* (1994), pp. 172-174

12. WHY THE DISTURBANCES? (1829)

Letter of Revd. C. Mead & C. Mault to the Resident regarding the disturbances - An Extract.

“It is of the greatest moment to attend to the origin of the grievances and oppressions which the Christians are suffering from the Soodra caste. The Shanars are esteemed a low caste, and before thier acquaintance with Christianity were in general depraved in their morals and filthy in their habits. Christianity has effected a considerable alteration in both these respects. The Soodras appear to be envious at seeing the improvement which the Christians present in their outward appearance and habits. They are vexed like wise at the Shanars because they refuse to labour for them without pay as they had been obliged to do while heathen. In former times a Shanar could not be sure of his property or liberty for a moment, for if a Soodrar wished to possess himself of a field or a garden belonging to a Shanar the latter could not refuse as the former was always in league with the Police and could convict him falsely of crimes, that might ruin

him. Now the people have become more enlightened, they will not submit quietly to such impositions, and **hence the opposition raised against Christianity, for it is thought to be the only barrier to a return to the old state of things.**"

D. Peter (E.d.), *Charles Mead* (1994), pp. 29

(For full text see, *Samaya Thondarkalum Samudaya marumalarchiyum* (1999) by Dr. Ivy Peter & Dr. D. Peter, App. 5, pp. 206-210 or D. Peter (Ed.), *Charles Mead* (1994), pp. 28-36)

13. WHY THE DISTURBANCES ? (1859)

Letter from Rev. Baylis to the Resident :

Neyoor
Jan. 17, 1859

To

Lt. Gen. Cullen
British Resident

Sir,

I have the honour to enclose a copy of a letter, I have just forwarded to the Dewan at Palpanabhapuram, referring to the disturbance in the Monday Market on the 10th instant - to the burning of our chapel at Vadacancurray on that night, and to the way in which some of our women have been treated, tho' wearing only the jacket. I beg respectfully to solicit your attention to these statements.

2. As this village is only occupied by Christians many of the women here have long been accustomed to wear the upper cloth as well as the Jacket, as they go about, without any molestation. Only a few of them are in the habit of going to the market and these have generally put it down at such times. A few days ago, however, they all agreed to put off the upper-cloth, and wear only the Jacket, hoping that it would help to put a stop to the present disturbances. I fully approve of their having done so, tho' I am sorry there should be a necessity for it, and I shall use every endeavour to induce any of my people at out-stations, who had commenced wearing the upper-cloth to do the same.

3. I am inclined to think that the growing intelligence, wealth and influence of the Shanars / especially those of them who are Christians / owing to the efforts that have been made to educate them, to many of them going often to Ceylon, where some are employed in situations of trust and responsibility / some of our people having situations of from 50 to 70 Rs. per mensem as Conductors & c. and having a large number of coolies under them / and to their engaging to a much greater extent than formerly, in trading in Jaggery, tamarind, cotton, & c., have had much more to do in causing the present irritated and excited state of the

Sudras, here than the wearing of the upper-cloth by their females. I think you will allow that these things should be borne in mind, and that measures should be gradually introduced to free such a class from many of those restrictions and disabilities that now press so heavily on them. I must record my opinion that whatever faults the Shanars may have, they are generally a peaceable, well-disposed people, and would remain so, and would go on increasing in intelligence and general prosperity, by which the country must be benefitted, if not irritated beyond the power of endurance by the insolence and tyranny of the higher classes of the population, and by their finding it impossible, as had been too often the case to get redress for their complaints in the police, where all the officials belong to those higher classes.

I have & c.,
Sd/-
F. Baylis

R.N. Yesudhas, *A Peoples Revolt in Travancore* (1975), pp. 187 & 188

14. WHY THE DISTURBANCES? (1859)

Letter from W. Cullen to Thomas Pycroft. Chief Secretary to Government, dated 16th February 1859

Sir,

I have the honour to transmit copy of a report by Dewan of Travancore, on the late disturbances in the South, between Soodra and Shanar population.

2. Although the wearing of cloth over the upper part of the person by the Shanar women appears to be the more immediate cause of the disturbances, there has, I think, for several years past been a growing feeling of disquietude on the part of the Soodras at the innovation of the Shanar both Christian and heathen. Indeed in a recent petition from the missionaries in the south to his Highness the Rajah, they distinctly admit that **the present disturbances are to be traced to the dissatisfied landed proprietors at the emancipation of their slaves announced by Proclamation in 1855.**

3. I believe this to have been one source, because the missionaries then also availed themselves of that partial emancipation to endeavour to make converts to Christianity, and I know that it led to much excitement; for in travelling about in those districts at the period in question, **I was frequently visited by large number of proprietors, complaining bitterly that they lost the services of their slaves on Sundays and that slaves had in other respects proved very refractory.**

4. **Another subject of irritation has been the exemption on the part of all Shanars attached to the Mission of Oolium duties on Sundays, and from work connected with Hindoo festivals or places of worship.**

It is not only the exemption of Shanar Christian but of those in mere connection with the mission, for it will be observed in Travancore Calendar for 1859, p.82 that there are baptised . . . 2168, unbaptised 14572, yet the latter have all the exemptions enjoyed by the baptized.

6. Under the Church Mission at Cottayam the Baptized are 2000; Inquirers, 1926.

As to the possibility of presently effecting any changes, in the existing usage in regard to the wearing of the cloth, I fear that much difficulty may be expected; the Nair troops could hardly be expected to afford much aid in such a cause for there are no greater sticklers for the usage than the Nair Brigade, who are themselves proprietors of land in Nanjenaud, and the greater part of them related to the residents there. In fact most of the brigade reside some 15 or 20 miles distant from the capital where they occupy themselves with cultivating when off duty. They are also constantly employed on fatigue duties in the pagodas and palaces at Trivandrum, which adds to their caste prejudices.

7. The prohibition too is not confined to the south of Travancore, but extends. I believe, through the whole of Malabar Coast as far as Cannanore.

8. In regard to the present state of the south, although no outrages have of late been repeated, there is still much disquietude, and a large party of them have recently arrived at Trivandrum to complain.

R.N. Yesudhas, *A People's Revolt in Travancore* (1975), pp. 213&214

15. DISTURBANCES IN NEYYATINKARA (1859)

Letter from Rev. John Cox to the Resident

Trevandrum
21st January 1859

To

Lt. General W. Cullen
Resident of Travancore and Cochin

Sir,

I have the honour to address you respecting the violent conduct and the further threatening aspect of portions of the Hindoos and Mahomedan population against the Christians in several parts of the country.

2. I feel it important to promise that none of the women connected with my Mission have ever worn the upper-cloth, or transgressed the Sirkar regulations concerning dress. But not withstanding this and every other precaution which has been taken to avoid offence, several assaults have been committed on

individual Christian women and their jackets forcibly torn off and some Christian men also assaulted.

3. Complaints in some of the cases have been made to the Police Officer at Neyattuncarey and appeal also made to the Huzoor, but though the charges were proved, the punishment awarded by the Police Officer has proved quite insufficient to deter the offenders from committing further assaults.

4. About two months ago a Christian woman was assaulted in the public market at Aramanoor by a barber of the Eluvar caste and her jacket torn. Ten days ago two women when on their way to Auraulamoodu market were assaulted by Sirkar peons and taken before the Tanna Naick at Neyattunkarey and the jacket of one of them violently stripped off and hung on a tree by the Tanna. Last week the wife of one of my Readers was assaulted by a Mohamedan and the barber above mentioned, and her jacket violently torn off and hung up in a tree with loud shouts of threats. My Readers have been abused and threatened in several places and two days ago one of them was stopped and struck by Sirkar Peons in the road by Trevandrum itself. Most of the public throughfares and markets about Baularamapuram and Neyattunkarey are now frequented by violent men who assault and intimidate the Christians, whether men or women.

5. In particular I have now the honour to state that the market which is held in rotation at the three places, Aramanoor, Puthenkadi and Tirupuram is entirely in the hands of a lawless mob so that the Christians cannot now show themselves there. On the 15th and 19th instant that mob consisting of Soodras, Chetties, Mahomedans and other castes, to the number of about 400, visited the markets with the openly avowed purpose of assaulting the Christians. The mob then came on at a quick pace armed with sticks, bludgeons, and knives, and stood at the entrance gate of the Chapel yard and called out to an oilman who lives opposite to bring fire. The mob saw my Readers and others standing quietly inside, and did not assault the Mission Premises, but after a while went off in a body to the north, but their threats are still violent.

6. The chief men in exciting the mob are Kumara Pillay of Paulatta house in Aramanoor who I believe is a Sirkar employee as Superintendent of the Salt Store at Poovar, his son Ummini Pillay and the barber above named, who though tried and convicted of that assault in Aramanoor above mentioned was allowed to escape with so slight a punishment, that he has since assaulted the Reader's wife, and is now emboldened to greater violence. There are also some other leaders whose names I do not know.

I have the honour etc.

Sd/-

John Cox

R.N. Yesudhas, *A Peoples Revolt in Travancore* (1975), pp. 190&191

16. DISTURBANCES IN NANJIL NAD (1859)

Letter from Rev. James Russel to the Resident

That on the 4th instant upwards of 200 Sudras and Vellalas of Talagoody led by Vythiyalingam Pillai, Neelam Pillai, Tengara Pillai, Mathavan Pillai and Seeneya Pillai of Maramat Department at various times entered the houses of the poor Christians there by day and night with clubs, knives, &c., stripping the women of their jackets, tore off their clothes together with the most inexpressibly horrid deeds of kicking, beating &c., laid plans for the immediate destruction of the Catechist and schoolmaster of the place with threats of setting their houses and the Chapel on fire. Consequently the Chapel is closed, the Catechist and the school-master have fled and the village is wholly deserted by the Christians.

Again on the 7th January the Sudras of Ereveyoor and Marungoor headed by the Parvathicar of their Padagy, Nallamadan Pillay of Marungoor, Sithambaram Pillai of Eraveyoor &c., amounting to not less than 500 in number came by day to Comarapooram with clubs, knives, swords etc., in search of Christians with the Catechist and his wife who through fear kept themselves out of the village but finding Pakkiyanathan the Catechist of Alagappapooram, who happened to be there on a visit to his deceased mother-in-law, they seized him and beat him so cruelly that he bled through his nostrils and having sent him to custody forcibly entered the houses of Christians, broke and pillaged the furniture, dragged the poor women out of doors almost naked, tearing their clothes and jackets and committed the most obscene deeds which are easier to be imagined than to be described.

Moreover that on the 9th instant about 50 Sudras of Arambooly armed with weapons, having Soopoo Pillai, Maharaja Pillai, Pichandi Pillai, Andi Pillai &c., as leaders and crowding before the Chapel at the Christian village there, ordered the women to take their jackets, but at their refusal abused and beat them very severely stripping them of their clothes and threatened them with death if their chapel be opened. In consequence of which the Sunday service was stopped and the Catechist with his family escaped from the riot by taking his flight beyond the line.

Again about 100 men of the same description led by Thandamootoo Pillai, and Soopocotton of Mailcary, Thanoomalayaparooma Pillai and Sethamparam Pillai of Alageya Pandiyapuram, Narayana Pillai of Pothyoor and Sirkar Oorcanakan of Gnalam came to Sempenvilly on the 8th instant, made an assault upon the poor Christians there and upon the Catechist and his wife who on hearing the sound of the tumult at a distance escaped for life. Seeing this the mob pulled down the house of the Catechist, pillaged all the furnitures, jewels, fanams & c., belonging both to the Catechist and Christians, tore the books and beat the school master and some of the people in a most cruel manner. And on the

next day the same crowd having entered the Chapel at Kadoopoothoor during the time of Service, drove out the Catechist and Congregation, tore the books to pieces, locked the Chapel and took away the key with them. Had not the Vellalas of Kadoopoothoor interfered, they would have carried on their evil attempts to a higher degree.

On the 14th January another set of them proceeded farther to Titooivilly and Anditope having for their leaders Poothanatha Pillai, Mathevan Pillai, Vallimai Pillai. Anajan Pillai of Poothapandi, Vythiyalingom Pillai and Neelan of Talagoody &c., came by day against the catechist and school master, broke the doors, pulled down the roofs, plundered all the furnitures and stripped some of the women's jewels.

On the 10th instant, about 50 Sudras of Aroomanallur under the command of Ananda Pillai, Sevaramakrishna Pillai, Senthaparoomal Pillai and Nager Pillai, came to the Catechist at Collantherootty and persuaded him not to preach the gospel any more there about nor open the chapel for service saying that they would give him 1/2 cottah of paddy every month if he would but obey them and at length they took and imprisoned a Christian who is not yet released.

Another party of Sudras about 30 in number from Sevamaddum. Thresannenkoppu, Koosathory & c., strictly ordered the Christians at Pooliyaddi and Kalloovantidill not to open the chapels any more and forced them to renounce the Christian Religion taking many of them to do Devasom Ooliam on Sundays and to work as slaves as was usual before the freedom of slavery. Besides this, they forced the school girls at Kalloovantidill while learning, to strip of their jackets and tore the books. This they did on the 10th January. They also watch now and then on the ways to prevent the people from going to Service.

On the 10th instant, at Mylady a few Sudras headed by Sivasubramonya Pillai, Mootha Pillai and Poothalingum Asary of Saintheanpoothur, Soontharalingum Pillai of Myaludy & c., drove the Catechist and his wife off from the place and abused the women while going to the river for fetching water. Had the Vellalas of the above said place been not occasionally checked by Paroomal Pillai, Pariya Pillai and others of Wiravilly, they would have done more injuries.

That in consequence of all this, many of the villages are wholly deserted by Christians and almost all the congregations are deprived of their catechists and schools and accordingly the Sunday and other services are stopped, the roads by which the Christians go to markets and other public places have been shut up and the Christians are here and there oppressed to become Heathens and forced to daub on their foreheads what is called **Holy Ashes**.

R.N. Yesudhas, *A Peoples Revolt in Travancore* (1975), pp. 196&198

17. SAMUEL MATEER ON DISTURBANCES (1870)

The two districts were nearly equal as to the number of schools, chapels, congregations, and native teachers. Altogether there were 26 chapels, with 2,851 native Christians of all ages (of whom 535 were baptized), 33 native teachers, or catechists, 95 schoolmasters, with 1,916 children under Christian instruction. Very discriminating but encouraging testimony was borne by the Deputation to the character of the work then in progress. "We had several opportunities," they wrote, "of seeing all the native teachers, as they assemble once a week at Nagercoil to report to the brethren their labours, and to receive instruction and seek encouragement and admonition, such as it may be deemed necessary to give. Nearly the whole, it is hoped, are pious and consistent men and efficient labourers, possessed of good common sense and a competent knowledge of theology; they appear to be much devoted to their work, and we have every reason to be satisfied with their qualifications and their labours. They are essential auxiliaries to this vast and extended mission. With them is the superintendence of the schools; they likewise assemble the people in the chapels on Lord's days and other occasions, and read and explain to them the Word of God, and go from house to house catechising men, women, and children. The girls' school under the care of Mrs. Mault is in an excellent state, and does her much credit. Twelve of the (forty) girls learn to make lace, some of which is exceedingly well done; the children in this school and the seminary are entirely supported, clothed, fed and educated from the proceeds of land given for this purpose, and the sale of the lace made by the girls. The seminary contains thirty-one boys; this institution is in a good state. The printing establishment appears to be conducted with efficiency. We are most highly gratified with the general aspect of this mission. The whole is exceedingly encouraging."

But the remarkable progress of the Gospel, the increase of agencies, and the formation of new congregations and mission stations, now attracted the attention and awoke the opposition of the enemies of Christianity, and the fires of persecution soon began to rage. Throughout the whole history of the Travancore mission it has been found, that as each step of marked progress was achieved, the attention of the heathen was necessarily drawn to the fact, their jealousy and hatred were aroused, and attempts were made to put a stop, by violence and outrage, to the spread of divine truth.

The question has been asked - Why do the disturbances which have arisen in connection with the spread of *Protestant* Christianity in Travancore not occur between *Roman Catholics* and heathens? The reply seems to us obvious. There is, in the first place, less difference between Romanists and Hindus than between Protestants and Hindus. The Romanists are by no means so well instructed, either in scriptural or secular knowledge, as our people are. The native Romanists are admitted much more readily to baptism and communion with the church than are those who apply to us. In common with Hindus they practise

image-worship, processions, and pompous ceremonies. They observe caste to some extent, and have often separate chapels for worshippers of different castes. Hence they do not excite the jealousy of other castes by rising in the scale of enlightenment and civilization, but have remained for nearly three hundred years stationary in these respects, while our converts have mostly escaped from the power of hard masters, and have in fifty or sixty years risen amazingly in character and position. Nor is there anything like the active converting agency at work amongst Roman Catholics that is carried on in our mission. Very few are added to their numbers from heathenism, which therefore has not much cause to fear them on this ground. The Romish congregations, too, are chiefly situated in the maritime districts, where they have existed for so long a time that they are looked on as a familiar and established class, and as an integral portion of the population.

In the early period of our mission history some of the converts were slaves, and these, at the period of which we write, were being educated and enlightened, so that it was evident to their masters that it would soon be impracticable to hold such persons longer in a condition of servitude. One of our principal catechists was a slave all his life, but some how after his conversion his master never claimed his services. Sudra ascendancy appeared to be about to diminish, and fewer opportunities and means of oppression remained to them. As the Shanar and other Christian converts advanced in education and enterprise, and improved in worldly circumstances, it was most natural that they should not so tamely, as before, endure the injustice and oppression to which they had been exposed from the higher castes. The Sudras could not brook the advancement of the inferior classes, who were now rising through education and religion to an equality with themselves. In the persecution which followed, heathens, Romanists and Mohammedans, all alarmed at the progress of Christianity, united against the rising Christian community. The Sudras, however, were foremost in action, the Brahmans and others standing behind the scenes and appearing but little in the matter.

Attempts, too, had recently been made by Mr. Miller to establish a mission in Trevandrum, but permission to do so was refused by the Government. Still it was feared that this polluting Christian religion would, unless severe measures were used, ultimately find its way into the sacred capital itself.

The specific and ostensible subject of dispute, however, was the wearing of certain articles of dress by the Christian women. To maintain the laws of caste, it had been found necessary to enforce several arbitrary and indecent restrictions respecting dress, as well as distance and deportment; otherwise, a person of low caste, dressing and wearing ornaments like those of the high castes, might approach them nearer than was permitted, or even pass, in the courts, markets and other places of public resort, as of the higher castes. It had therefore always been forbidden to Shanars, and others of inferior caste, to cover the bosom or to wear any clothing whatever above the waist.

But the truer and better instincts of humanity had been aroused by Christianity, and the Christian females were accustomed and taught to wear a kind of plain loose jacket with short sleeves, devised by one of the missionary ladies. This of itself was displeasing to the Sudra aristocracy. And in addition to the jacket (which is not worn by the Sudra females) some of the Christian women, without the consent of the missionaries, and even in several instances in opposition to their advice, had taken the liberty of wearing an additional cloth or scarf laid over the shoulder, called the "upper cloth," as worn by the Sudra women, and this the latter interpreted as an infringement of their peculiar and exclusive privilege.

On the whole, then, it was determined that by some means, or by any means, a stop must be put to the progress of Christianity and to the spread of the reforms and innovations already in progress and impending.

The persecution commenced about the middle of 1827, and continued till 1830. **The storm raged chiefly in the Western division of the mission, although a part of its fury extended to the Eastern division.** The opposition to the truth commenced in threatening language, and afterwards proceeded to avert acts of personal assault, annoyance, and public outrage. Threats were uttered that the missionaries would be assassinated and their chapels, school rooms, and houses set on fire; the erection of the Neyoor mission-house, then in process of building, was forcibly hindered. It became necessary to guard the mission buildings night after night. Several chapels and school-houses were actually burnt down to the ground by incendiaries, and the erection of new ones prevented by the threats and violence of the Sudras. A native gentleman of high caste, Raman Tambi, who had proved himself friendly to the missionaries, and had ventured to sell them the ground on which they were erecting the mission-house at Neyoor, was seized and imprisoned on false charges, and was not released for seven years. The native converts were falsely accused, thrown into prison, and sometimes removed from place to place for months, so as to conceal the place of their confinement. Heathen Shanars and Pariahs were sent, under the guise of inquirers, to act as spies and carry their report to the persecuting party. Some of the schools were interrupted, and the books torn and cast into the street. Menaces were used to deter the native Christians from attending public worship; men were seized on the Sabbath, and compelled to work on that day; women were insulted and beaten in the bazaars; and alarm and terror spread amongst the timid people in every direction.

Among the Christians seized at one place were the schoolmaster and the principal man of the village, who had recently embraced Christianity; the house of the schoolmaster they first plundered and then burnt. The house of another respectable native, whom, with others, they had falsely charged with murder, they broke open, robbed, and he himself being absent, seized his three sons. At length their outrages became so alarming and intolerable as to render it absolutely necessary to apply for military aid, which was at once afforded and was the means of checking for the time the further violence of the assailants.

One poor man was tied to the hind leg of an elephant, and ill-treated for refusing to do forced labour without pay. Mr. Ashton had to accompany several women, who had been shamefully beaten, and whose clothing had been publicly torn off, to the Dewan, Venkata Row, who had been sent to investigate into these disturbances. They went, wrote Mr. Ashton, to a large building in the fort at Palpanabhapuram, where the Dewan held his court. The Sudra Sepoys would not allow the women to pass the gateway covered, so they had to remove their cloths and re clothe themselves after entering. They found the Dewan surrounded by a large guard in full uniform, together with the Government officials (*all of high caste*) and the head men of the Sudra villages, all filled with rage at the unfortunate Christians and awaiting their arrival. The tumult was great but the missionary was kindly received by the Dewan, who recommended the Christian women to place their cloths across the bosom instead of over the shoulders. After a few inquiries, he advised all to live at peace together and maintain the ancient customs without change, promising that a proclamation with regard to the use of the upper cloth should soon be issued.

This proclamation appeared on 28th February, 1829, but afforded no relief to the Christians, nor any extension of liberty as to the use of decent and convenient clothing. In it the Christians were blamed for desiring to wear the upper cloth "contrary to orders and ancient customs," and were charged with refusing to perform the Government service. The use of the upper cloth was absolutely prohibited, the jacket only being allowed. Exemption from Sunday labour and from employment in idolatrous service was granted. An appeal was made to the precepts of Christianity, as "inculcating humility and obedience to superiors;" totally ignoring the fact that the whole genius of the Christian religion leads to advancement in civilization and decency, and destroys the possibility of slavery and tyranny. The regulations as to obtaining the permission of Government for the erection of chapels, &c., was repealed, and strong hints given against the interference of the missionaries, who had sought to aid their people by constitutional means in bringing their grievances before the notice of the Government. Promises were made of redress in the courts of justice; but these were presided over at that time, almost without exception, by corrupt and partial Brahmans and Sudras, so that the poor had no access to them on just or equal terms.

But again the providence of God overruled the vile passions of man for His own purpose and the advancement of His kingdom, so that the cause of Christianity was eventually a gainer. Even while this severe persecution was going on, and the violence and cruelty were at their highest pitch, the people flocked to the Christian congregations from all directions, voluntarily demolishing with their own hands their shrines and idols, some of them bringing their gods of gold, silver, brass and wood and the instruments of idolatry, which they surrendered to the missionaries. "So mightily grew the word of God, and prevailed."

Samual Mateer, *The land of Charity*
John Snow and Co, London, 1870, pp. 274-281

18. ATTACK BY VELLALAS (1859)

*Order of T. Pycroft, Chief Secretary to Government
dated 27th January 1859*

The Resident of Travancore reports the disturbed state of feeling prevalent in the 3 or 4 southern districts of the Sircar territory between portions of the Soodra and Shanar population.

2. The excitement appears to have arisen from some Hindoo Shanar Women having lately assumed the right of covering the upper part of their portions with a cloth which is objected to by the Soodras as preventing a recognition of the caste.

3. Disturbances from a like cause broke out in the year 1829, on which occasion Her Highness the Rane of Travancore, in her proclamation of 3rd February 1829 republished "as the only regulation in force in the matter". A previous Circular Order of 7th Edavam in the year 989 (1814) whereby "No women of paravers, shanars and others of that description were ever to be allowed to wear cloths on their bosoms as the Nair women; But was not prevented from wearing jackets, called Coopayam, such as were in use by the women of Christian converts and of some other caste.

4. From General Cullen's second letter it seems that several small schools, and chapels have been burnt by incendiaries, whom it has not been possible to trace. These outrages are supposed to have been perpetrated by the Soodras under the idea that the HINDU SHANARS HAVE THE SUPPORT AND SYMPATHY OF THE CHRISTIAN CONVERTS FROM THAT CASTE: in their efforts to obtain the privilege of wearing the upper cloth. A small thatched bungalow occasionally occupied by the Resident at Nagercoil was burnt on the 10th instant and on the 14th a small village inhabited by the Shanars in the Thovalah was fired by a party of Vellalers in day light, but several of the perpetrators of this later outrage have been apprehended. The Government trust that they will be severely punished.

5. The Right Honourable, the Governor in Council hopes that the present excitement will soon be allayed, and order restored. The resident will be careful to give no countenance to the idea that the British Government of which he is the representative, recognises any exclusive distinctions, or the right of any set of men to prevent other from following in all matters of social or domestic life, such course as they may see fit - provided it be not repugnant to public decency and morals. It will be his duty to impress these views on his Highness the Rajah and to point out to him such prohibition and those contained in the circular order of May 1814, or in the proclamation of 3rd February 1829 are unsuited to the present age, and unworth of an enlightened prince and that he is not to look for the support of British Government in any attempts to maintain them, as respects any class of his subjects.

T. Pycroft, Chief Secretary

R.N. Yesudhas, *A People's Revolt in Travancore* (1975), pp. 199 & 200

19. COUNTER MEMORIAL (1891)

THE MALAYALI MEMORIAL AND AFTER (Continued)

Reproduced below is the last item in the series the full text of the Counter Memorial presented to the Maharaja by certain sections refuting the arguments in the Malayali Memorial together with the summary of the Memorial in Malayalam. The prayer of the Counter Memorialists is for the selection of the “absolutely best and fittest men irrespective of caste or creed. native or foreign of public service.”

To

His Highness Sri Patmanabha Dasa Vanchi Bala Sir Rama Varma
Kulasekhara Kritapati Manney Sultan Maha Raja Ramaraja Bahadur Shamsher
Jang, Knight Grand Commander of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India,
Maharaja of Travancore
&C &C &C &C.

May it please your Highness

1. We, the undersigned natives of Travancore and loyal and dutiful subjects of your Highness, most humbly and, respectfully beg permission to submit the following memorial for Your Highness’s kind and attentive consideration.

2. The main object of our memorial is to remove a stigma, which has been unjustly and unnecessarily cast upon the administration of Your Highness and predecessors of your Highness, by Certain Sections of Your Highness, subjects in a memorial recently presented by them to Your Highness. We refer to the Malayali Memorial dated the 11th January 1891 complaining of foreign and Brahmin preponderance and native exclusion and discouragement in the Government service and requesting the enactment of rules ‘restricting the giving of appointments as much as possible to none but natives of the country. The Malayali Memorial has come to us as a surprise and we much regret that a number of Your Highness subjects should have thought it proper and necessary to present such memorial.

3. We beg to assure Your Highness that we do not all share in the complaints, **animadversions** and criticisms expressed in the Malayali Memorial and we feel confident to further assure Your Highness that the memorial does not represent the feelings and sentiments of the majority of the natives of the country or of those who have the welfare of Travancore at heart.

4. The complaint of foreign and Brahmin preponderance and of native exclusion and discouragement is entirely without foundation. There are two fundamental errors in the Malayali Memorial. The first of these errors is, the

classing as foreign Hindus of a large portion (3,18,775 or 13.114 percent, taking the figure given in the Malayali Memorial) of the population of Travancore consisting of non-malayali brahmins, Pandi Sudras, Vellalars, the artisan classes, shannars, pariahs & c. who are really natives of the country. The majority of the above classes are decendants of foreign Hindus who emigrated to and settled in Travancore generations ago and who now know no other father-land than Travancore. Some of them are recent settlers but they too are nevetheless natives of Travancore in the proper sense of the terms, The malayali Sudras themselves are not the aborigines of Travancore. The waves of emigration which passed from the northern to the southern portions of India in olden days brought both the Malayali Hindus and the majority of the so-called foreign Hindus to Travancore and the majority of the so-called foreign Hindus to Travancore the former probably at earlier and the latter at more recent dates. There is no doubt that the non-malayali Hindus are the real natives of Nanjanad and Shencottah. The latter District is exclusively inhabited by them and they form the majortiy in the former. The term foreigners would, adopting the logic of the Malayali memorialists, aptly describe the position of the Malayali Sudras, the subsequent settlers and minortiy in Nanjanad. The Tamil Brahmin Dalawahs who administered the affairs of Travancore for several years are referred to in the Shungoony Menon's History of Travancore as native Brahmins. The definition of a native suggested by the Malayali memorialists will be somewhat as follows: 'A native of Travancore shall include any person born and domiciled in Travancore of parents habitually resident in the country and not established there for temporary purposes only'. Adopting this definition, the majority of the people classed as foreign Hindus in the Malayali memorial will come under the class of 'natives'. It is not the higher castes alone that constitute the three hundred and odd the numerous body of Shannars, an industrious and useful Tamil speaking race chiefly found in South Travancore corresponding to the Elavars of North Travancore, and the majority of the Pariahs already referred to and others are included therein. The cry of foreigners raised against people of the same nationality may, of even the same classes, who have been long settled in the country, is a meainingless cry. That cry was unknown until the Malayali Memorial came into existence. We, the Christian and Malayali Hindu portion of Your Highness, memorialists, consider the Brahmins, Pandi Sudras and others who have settled in the country and who have cast their lots with us as much natives of the soil as we ourselves are. What surprises us much is, that though the Christians are expressly referred to as natives in the Malayali memorial the class of non-Malayali Hindus to which a considerable body of the Christians belonged before their conversion, are described therin as foreigners. Viewing the term native in its correct sense, the foreign preponderance complained by the Malayali Memorial altogether disappears. With few exceptions which can almost be counted on the fingers, the officers in the higher ranks of the Government service are natives. This will be seen by a carefull examination of the list of our public servants. Among the

higher officers, the Dewan is a native, the next highest revenue officer the Settlement Dewan Peishcar is a native, 2 out of the 4 Dewan Peishcars in charge of Divisions are Natives, 2 out of the 3 Deputy Peishcars are natives, all the 4 Assistant Peishcars are natives, all the Huzoor Officers with the exception of one or two are natives, All the 20 Tahsildars with the exception of 2 or 3 are natives, all the Zillah Judges exclusive of the one European and with the exception of 3 are natives, all the Magistrates of whom there are 120 exclusive of the Europeans, all the revenue officers already referred to with the exception of one are natives and all the 3 Inspectors of Registration are natives, all the District Registrars of whom there are 34 and with the exception of 3 or 4 natives and in the Police Department 94.4 percent are natives. The minor appointments are admittedly mostly filled up by natives. It is unnecessary to enter into further details. **It will be clearly seen from the above that the complaint of foreign preponderance in the Government service is not based upon facts.** That complaint is wholly founded on the wrong assumption as 'foreigners' of people who are really natives of the country. There are, it is true foreigners in the Government service. But they are few in number and have mostly come into the country at the special invitation of the Maharajahs and their trusted advisers. Travancore has been from time to time adopting British institutions and modes of government. In order to introduce and work at the commencement those institutions and modes of government, the services of skilled foreigners had to be sought for from British India. To this circumstance might be chiefly traced the entertainment of foreigners in the service. In many instances, those foreigners were holding important posts in the British Service. As a rule, **The Maharajahs and their advisers have only entertained foreigners when duly qualified natives were not available and when such a course was found necessary in the exigencies of the service.** Travancore owes its formation and place as a kingdom to a Tamil Brahmin the celebrated Dalawah Rama Iyen. It was he who largely added by conquest to the then comparatively narrow dimensions of Travancore. Rama Iyen was a skilful general, a great statesman and had not his equal in their disinterested and able discharge of the duties of Prime Minister and in his devotion and loyalty to his sovereign. The foundations of order and good government in Travancore were laid by that great man. Travancore also owes a great deal of its prosperity, civilization and enlightenment and likewise its prominent position among the well governed native States of India, to foreign Brahmin administrators. It was that eminent statesman the late lamented Rajah Sir Madava Row who assuming office at a critical period in the history of Travancore not only redeemed the country from its then embarrassments but by his successful and brilliant administration won for Travancore the proud appellation of 'The Model Native State in British India'. That reputation, Travancore has maintained under the subsequent administrations of the foreign Dewans the Honourable Seshiah Sastry and the Honourable V. Ramiengar and of its present native Dewan T. Rama Row Esquire C.I.E. It is to another great foreign Hindu, the late Mr. Sadasiva Pillay, the head of the Judicial administration of the

State for several years, that Travancore chiefly owes its systematic organisation of courts, its improved laws and the purity of its judicial service. It is scarcely necessary to refer to the more recent successors of that eminent Judge as Your Highness knows them so well. Much of the prosperity of the trade and commerce of Travancore is due to foreign Hindus who in the first instance had to be invited and encouraged by the Maharajahs to settle in the country.

5. The second noteworthy error in the Malayali Memorial is the advocacy of the distribution of Government appointments among the several classes and creeds in the country according to their numerical strength. The Malayali memorialists complain that the Malayali Hindus and Christians have not been given their full and proper share in the appointments in the State in their various grades especially the higher. They further say that the Malayali Sudras even if in point of education are comparatively backward they as the real natives of the soil deserve the special support of Your Highness Government, that the British Government have accorded special privileges to the Mohomedans, that certain British District Officers reject applications for appointment in their own offices from Brahmins and that the example set by the British Government is worthy of imitation here. **In no civilized country are appointments distributed among the component classes of the population according to numbers.** Such a distribution will not only be subversive of all good government and productive of mischievous consequences but will practically be impossible. **Good government can be secured only by the selection of the fittest and best available men for the public service.** The entire business of Government is skilled employment. Intellectual and moral worth and professional attainments alone must be the qualifications for Government employment. We may quote here the weighty words of the great western thinker John Stuart Mill on the point. Mill says in his treatise on Representative Government "A most important principle of good government in a popular election neither by the votes of the people themselves nor by those of their representatives. The entire business of Government is skilled employment, the qualifications for the discharge of it are of that special and professional kind, which cannot be properly judged of, except by persons who have themselves some share of those qualifications or some practical experience of them. The business of finding the fittest persons to fill public employment not merely selecting the best officer but looking out for the absolutely best and taking note of all fit persons who are met with, that they may be found when wanted, is very laborious and requires a delicate as well as highly conscientious discernment; and as there is no public duty which is in general so badly performed, so there is none for which it is of greater importance to enforce the utmost practicable amount of personal responsibility, by imposing it as a special obligation on high functionaries in the several departments". His Excellency Lord Wenlock, the new Governor of Madras affirmed the same principle when complaints similar to those urged by the Malayali memorialists were made to him recently by the Eurasian and Mohamedan communities of Madras. The Malayali memorial though at the

outset refers to the total Malayali Hindu population and gives their numbers as 1,436,835, only urges the claims of the portion of that population which consist of the Malayali sudras, (464, 239) the Nanjanad Sudras (20,000) and the Ealavars or Tiers (387, 179) as also of the Christians and chiefly of those of the Malayali Sudras who comprise 1/5 of the total population of Travancore. the Census Report of 1050 from which the total percentage of male and female education mentioned in the Malayali Memorial have been taken, gives the percentage of, educated males to total males among the Brahmins, Vellalars, Pandi Sudras, Malayali Sudras, Native Christians and Ealavars as respectively 50.18, 36.19, 31.59, 21.27, 12.42 and 3.15. The Census Report of 1056 contains no educational statistics. It must be admitted that all classes have advanced in education since 1050. But that the ratio between the classes mentioned above have not materially altered, at least so far as higher education is concerned, will be seen by a reference to the educational result and statistics, incomplete though they are, published in the Madras University Calendars and the Travancore Administration Report. Up to date, 238 Bachelors of Arts i.e. inclusive of those who have passed by private study and also of those who eventually passed out of other Colleges, 26 Bachelors of Laws, 7 Masters of Arts, one M.B. and C.M. and one B.C.E. have passed out of the Travancore College and from Travancore. Of the 26 Bachelors of Laws 16 are Brahmins, 4 Malayali Sudras, 3 Pandi Sudras and 3 Christians. 2 of the Masters of Arts are Brahmins, one a Pandi Sudra, one a Kshetriya, 2 Malayali Sudras and one an Eurasian. The one M.D. and C.M. is a Brahmin and the one B.C.E. a Syrian Christian. A perusal of the results of other University Examinations and of the British and Travancore Service Examinations will show that by far the higher percentage of successful candidates are Brahmin. The non-Malayali Brahmins have been the earliest in the field among those who have sought the benefits of English Education and they will occupy in proportion to their population a pre-eminent position among all calsses in that respect, will be seen from the statement published in page 160 of the latest Travancore Administration Report. The number of pupils (boys) in the English District and Aided schools in 1065 among the Brahmins, Pandi Sudras, Malayali Sudras and Christians are given in the report as respectively 894, 224, 1135 and 752. Taking the figures given in the Malayalai Memorail the Malyalai Hindus occupy by far the greater number and proportion of minor appointments in the Travancore service, so many as 11,668 out of 13,000 appointments of all ranks held by the so called foreign Hindus, Malayali Hindus and Native Christians are stated in the memorial as .99, .79 and .26 and of appointments above 10 Rs. as .45, .11 and .06. On the basis of education as the stand of qualification for Government service, there is no disproportion in the distribution of the total appointments among the 3 classes mentioned above. The mis-named foreign Hindus who are really mostly non-Malayali Hindu natives of Travancore and the class of Brahmins among them occupy less than their just share in the total appointments. In appointments above 10 Rs. there are no Ealavars or Pulayars. Education which qualifies for Government service is often now at a

very low ebb among Ealavars and among the Pulayars such education is nil. These remarks apply to some other classes of Malayali Hindus and to some sections of the non-Malayali Hindus also. In taking therefore the percentage of those employed to the total population so far as appointments above 10Rs. are concerned the classes virtually uneducated or among whom education is very low must be excluded. Even among the educated classes we shall have to see what proportion of them really possess the qualifications necessary for the higher grade of the Government service especially as University and Service Examinations are now the indispensable qualifications for the majority of appointments above 10 Rs. When considered in this proper light, the disproportion complained of by the Malayali memorialists disappears. Even if some disproportion exists, it is a matter for which there is no help. The principle of selection being the choice of the best and the fittest and the absolutely best, it is neither desirable nor possible to secure equal proportions of all classes in the Government service. To attain that result, the highly objectionable principle of distribution of appointments according to numerical strength will have virtually to be adopted. The absurdity of the curiously expressed and ambiguously worded wish of the Malayali Memorialists for the total exclusion from Government Service of the non-Malayali Brahmins the majority of whom are as much natives of the soil as the Malayali Sudras themselves and who have had from time immemorial as good a share, if not more, in ruling the country as the Malayali Sudras needs no comment. It may be mentioned in this connection that the claims of the important class of Mahomedans whose percentage in education is much higher than that of the Ealavars is omitted in the Malayali Memorial on the ground that education is at a low ebb among them. The Census Report of 1050 gives the lowest percentage of education to total males among Mahomedans as 8.39 the highest as 38.58 and the average as 9.27. The claims of the Ealavars however whose percentage of education according to the above Census Report is only 3.15 have been set forth in the memorial evidently as their large numbers swell the total number of Malayali Hindus and go to show an apparently low percentage of appointments for the Malayali Hindus. The reference in the Malayali Memorial to the state and private charities and gifts as helping the Brahmins in their English education appears to us too frivolous to need refutation.

6. Certain portion of the Malayali Memorial appears to us especially objectionable and we cannot but notice them here. The Malayali Memorialists say "Yet the Malayali Sudras in Travancore under their own Government rules over by members of their own nationality, are in a far worse position at present than their brethren in Malabar under an alien Government. Their condition is all the more deplorable when it is remembered by Your Highness that they were from time immemorial - till within the last few years the chief administrators of the State. History records a distinguished line of Dewans who had sprung from the Nair Class and who were renowned as much for their deep-seated devotion to the throne. Not only the Dewanship but almost all the higher appointments were also

held by them. A reference to the list of Travancore Dewans shows that this country which used from time immemorial to be administered by a number of Native Prime Ministers was ruled from 1817 to 1872 for about half a century by a series of foreign Dewans regularly and systematically. These Dewans without exception not only introduced their relations, castemen and friends into the State but tried their best to oust the Nairs and prevent them from filling any of the higher appointments. The pernicious effect of this policy is well illustrated by the gradual way in which all the Malayali Sudras were ousted from the offices of Dewan Peischars which form the stepping stone to the Prime-Ministership and all of which were held by them till so late as thirty years ago . . . The policy inaugurated by foreign Dewans to the detriment of the natives of the State is, we are sorry to submit, being now followed. Able and educated Malayali Sudras are denied admission to the Huzur and relatives and castemen of officers in power are carefully promoted." We cannot but express our surprise at the above statements of the Malayali Memorialists which are far wide of the truth and of the facts recorded by history. The only history of Travancore we have is that written by the late Mr. Shangunny Menon, a Malayali Sudra who was for several years Dewan Peishcar of one of the Divisions in Travancore. The first mention by name of a Prime Minister in that book is that of Aroomookam Pillay who was appointed acting Dalawah in 1726 A.D. and confirmed in that office in 1729. In the latter year however the celebrated Rama Iyen Dalawah had been entertained in the Government service and had commenced to exercise his sway (He was then Secretary of State). Upto 1727 Aroomookan Pillay and his brother Thannu Pillay were Dalawahs. Rama Iyen's brilliant career commenced in that year and extended up to his death in 1756. Among the Dewans, it was Rama Iyen who held office for the longest period, a period to which Travancore owes its formation and regeneration. Iyappen Marthanda Pillay succeeded Rama Iyen and was Dalawah till 1763 and from that year up to 1788 with the exception of one year during which Mallen Chembaka Raman Pillay was Dalawah, Warkaly Subba Iyen, Gopala Iyen, Vadiviswarom Soobramania Iyen and Nagercoil Rama Iyen all non-Malayali Hindus and Brahmins were Prime Ministers. Krishnan Chembakaraman succeeded Nagercoil Rama Iyen in 1788 but he died one year after. From 1789 till 1799, Raja Keshava Doss was Dewan. He was succeeded by a Malayali Brahmin also a foreigner according to the Malayali Memorial who however was in office only for a short time. After him Iyappan Chembaka Raman and Patmanabhan Chembaka Raman did the duties of Prime Minister for about 22 months. In 1802 Velu Thamby became Dalawah and his administration extended upto 1809 and Ummany Thamby succeeded him. Ummany Thampy's tenure of office lasted only for one or two years. In 1810 the reigning Raneer entrusted the administration into the hands of the then British Resident Colonel Munro. The beneficent administration of Colonel Munro continued up to 1814 and after that Dewan Patmanabhan under the sole advice of the Resident was Dewan for 5 months. After Dewan Patmanabhan, Dewan Peishcar Bappoo Row and Subbien Sankara Narayan Iyen, the former a foreigner and the latter a non-Malayali native Brahmin administered the affairs of

the State. Shankara Narayan Iyen was succeeded by Ramen Menon, a foreigner, native of Cochin. But he continued in office only till 1817. From 1817 to 1877 the administration of Travancore affairs was carried on by foreign Dewans 8 in number. Nanoo Pillay, a Malayali Sudra was Dewan from 1877 to 1880. He was followed by V. Ramaingar who continued up to 1887 and from that date the present Dewan has been in office. It will thus be seen that from 1726 (from which date alone we have authentic information) up to date a period of 165 years Travancore affairs have been administered by Prime-Ministers by far the greater number of whom were Tamil and Maharatta Brahmins. The Brahmin sway extended for about 114 years while the native Nairs were in office only for about 45 years, the remaining 6 years having been the period of its territorial, material and moral advancement to Brahmin Prime-ministers and that the Brahmin role of Dewans and Dalawahs shows a number of distinguished names while able Nair Dewans were but few are matters of history and need not be detailed here. The Tamil Brahmin Dewan who administered the country for more than 40 year before 1817 for as long a term as their Malayali countrymen of the same period though all natives of Travancore must according to the Malayali Memorialists be reckoned as foreign Hindus. History does not furnish us with sufficient data as to the classes before the year 1860. But that non-Malayali Brahmins and foreigners formed an important element of the service both in the revenue and judicial administrations before 1860. But that non-Malayali Brahmins and foreigners formed an important element of the service both in the revenue and judicial administrations before 1860 will be seen from the references in Mr. Shangunny Menon's history to Dewan Peishcars Bappoo Row, Raddy Row, Venkata Row, Renga Row, Veerasami Naid, Krishna Row, Kunden Menon, Sreenevassa Row, Rajah Sir Madava Row and Ramen Menon and to Appeal Court Judges Begavantha Row, Sreenevassa Row, Veeraswami Mudaliar, Vedadrisadasa Mudaliar and Parameswaran Namboodiri and from the fact that the Sattavariola of laws which established regular Courts for the first time in Travancore in the year 1812 enacted that of the 3 Judges provided for the court of appeal and subordinate courts 2 should be Brahmins and one a Nair. If at one time it happened that all Dewan Peishcars were Malayali Sudras, and if now the majority of them are Brahmins, those facts cannot be the result of any particular encouragement to the Malayalis at that time or their exclusion now. The year 1860 pointed out in the Malayali Memorial as the year in which both the Dewan Peishcars were Malayali Sudras was in the middle or the period of the foreign administration which commenced in 1817 and that circumstance redounds to the credit of the foreign administrators. As a matter of fact one of the two Malayali Dewan Peishcars of 1850 was appointed only in 1858 in the place of a foreign Brahmin Rajah Sir Madava Row, on his elevation to the post of Prime-Minister. In 1858 and for some years previous, both the Dewan Peishcars (Rajah Sir Madava Row and Ramen Menon) were foreigners. All the Brahmin and foreign Dewan Peishcars and appeal Court Judges whose names we have referred to above were in office before 1860. The foreign administrators as a rule instead of excluding and discouraging the Malayalis encouraged and

advanced them and favoured their claims. The names of Rajah Sir Madava Row, the Honorable Seshia Sastry, the Honourable V. Rama Iyengar and the present Dewan may be prominently mentioned in this connection. It is to foreign administrators and to them alone especially to Sir Madava Row that the Malayali Hindus owe the English and in great part the Vernacular education they refer to in the Malayali Memorial. The names of Rama Iyen Dalawah and Rajah Sir Madava Row are household words in Travancore. But for the noble work done by them Travancore would not have attained to anything like its present prosperous and enlightened condition. To forget the services of Rama Iyen Dalawah and to attribute interested and unworthy motives to Sir Madava Row appeal to us to savour of ingratitude and unwarranted calumny.

7. We, the Syrian Christian portion of Your Highness Memorialists, were until lately devoted to the pursuits of religion, agriculture and commerce. We owe our present flourishing and prosperous condition to the tolerance and encouragement held out to us from time immemorial by the Travancore Maha Raja and their Brahmin Prime-Ministers. We sought Government appointments. The majority of our class and its really thinking portion do not share in the sentiments expressed by the Malayali Memorialists. We would be guilty of ingratitude if we join the Malayali Memorialists. We would be guilty of ingratitude if we join the Malayali sudras in an agitation which appears to us to have no foundation whatever on facts.

8. The Census Report of 1056 shows that Government service gives occupation to only 1.33 percent of the total male population and to but a very small number (200) of females. In these days of enlightenment and advancing civilization when each year turns out graduates and undergraduates far in excess of the number that can possibly be absorbed in the Government service and when each succeeding convocation address advises graduates not to look up to Government appointments as the goal of their University career, it is really a matter for wonder that Malayali Memorialists among whom there are several graduates should say. "The passing of these rules (rules in regard to the appointment of natives as much as possible to the Government service) and the rigorous enforcement of them beginning from the immediate present will alone save Your Highness subjects from that degradation and degeneration with which they are threatened and secure a chance for the natives of the country, at least in the far future, to regain their former position and status in the land". We are unable to realize in our minds the apprehended degeneration and degradation which if at all would affect only about one percent of the male population of the country and but a small number of females; and the remedy suggested for their cure appears to us to be a quick remedy advertised for deluding the public and not a real medicine which will have any beneficial effects whatever.

9. Good Government has been hitherto our privilege and we are anxious to secure its continuance in the future. The selection of the absolutely best and

fittest men irrespective of consideration of caste or creed, native or foreigner, for the various offices in the State has until now been the enlightened principle on which the Travancore Maha Rajas have acted to secure the benefits of good government for their people. Any departure from principle will, we are afraid, be productive of evil consequence to the State and to the people.

10. We therefore humbly pray that your Highness will give that attention and consideration to our representations which the importance of the subject demands and we would earnestly solicit Your Highness not to make the slightest departure from the enlightened and liberal policy which Your Highness and Your Highness Predecessors have been invariably following in the selection of men for the public service, a policy which has not only contributed to the moral and material advancement of Your Highness subjects but also earned for Travancore a proud position among the well Governed States of India.

We humbly beg to subscribe ourselves
May it please Your Highness
Your Highness most loyal and dutiful subjects.

Archives Treasury, Kerala State Archives, Trivandrum (1994), pp. 160-169

20. TAMILIAN CONGRESS MEETING (1946)

Letter of Mr. Sam Nathaniel, President, All Travancore Tamilian Congress to its members.

All Travancore Tamilian Congress (ATTC)

Sam Nathaniel, President
P.C. 1/46
11th March 1946

Nagercoil
S. Travancore

The Committee of the All Travancore Tamilian Congress has, at its Cape Sessions held on the 8th March. decided to hold this year's Tamil Congress Week between the 22nd and 29th of March, so as to facilitate the propaganda work we have in view during the Mid-Summer Holidays.

Since the hoisting of National Flag is a part of the celebration, and you have given your assurance, in your public statements that this same had not been banned, we proceed with our functions in the format being that we are, by holding them only helping to promote the cause of true nationalism in this part of India.

I remain
Yours faithfully
Sd/-
President, ATTC

Kerala State Archives, File No. 230/46/C.S. dt. 20-3-46

21. POLITICAL PARTY FOR TAMILIANS (1947)

Letter of A. Nesamony to A.C. Sundaram Pillai regarding formation of a Political Party exclusively to serve the interests of the Tamilians of Travancore

A. Nesamony, B.A, B.L.
Nagercoil

Nagercoil
10-8-1122
25-3-1947

Sir,

The political development in British India, the part the Travancore is to play in the Constituent Assembly, the proposed reforms in Travancore and the helplessness of Tamilians of Travancore for effective participation in the politics of this State have set many people thinking to devise ways and means for an organised attempt at securing our legitimate rights. Some of my friends who are interested in the consolidation of the Tamilians of Travancore as a political party irrespective of caste and religion are urging me to take the necessary steps **for the formation of a party composed of the Tamilians in the state and owing allegiance to none of the existing political organisations** in the state. So I am requesting you to express your opinion on the desirability of the formation of such a party and to indicate what its programme ought to be.

Yours sincerely
Sd-

To A.C. Sundaram Pillai
Nagercoil

P. Ramachandran, A.C. Sundaram Pillai, Trivandrum (1982), App.No. XV, p.50

22. NESAMONY IN ALLEN MEMORIAL HALL (1947)

Copy of Report No. 184, dated 24-11-1123 from the Stationary First Class Magistrate, Kottar to the District Magistrate, Trivandrum

In continuation of this office report No. 181 dated 23-1-1123 re: Political activities, the Inspector of Police, Kottar that a meeting under the auspices of the Tamil Nad Congress was held on 23-1-1123 at about 5.30 P.M. in the Allan Memorial Hall, Nagercoil Mr. A. Nesamony Ex-Municipal President presided, Messers. P. Chidambaram Pillai, R. Ramalingam, Nagendra Panickar and S. Muthukaruppa Pillai spoke on the occasion. The President and speakers spoke about the non-representation of Tamilians in the Delimitation Committee and exhorted the audience to collect men and money and be prepared for a fight in the elections for getting majority of the seats for Tamilians. All the speakers except Dr. S. Muthu Karuppa Pillai said that the Tamil Nad Congress is the only political body in the State to

represent the Tamilians and so all Tamilians should join the Tamil Nad Congress. But Dr. S. Muthu Karuppa Pillai said that there is only one political body in the State namely, State Congress and it represents both Malayalees and Tamilians. These two motions were put to vote among the audience and Dr. S. Muthu Karuppa Pillai's motion was lost. About 200 people mostly advocates attended the meeting.

Sd/-
D.M.

Kerala State Archives, File No. 424/47/C.S.,dt. 29-10-47

23. REQUEST OF CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION (1947)

SIUC Representation in the Reforms Committee

Letter of:

The Travancore Indian Christian Association

13 Sep. 47

Resolution passed in a special meeting of the General Body of the above Association held at Trivandrum on 28th Chingam 1123

Resolved further that the President and two Vice-Presidents meet the Dewan on a deputation at once and place this memorandam before the Dewan and request Government to appoint one of their two nominees namely Mr. T.A. Thomas or Mr. A. Nesamony in the Preliminary Constitutional Committee to represent the SIUC Community

Trivandrum
28th Chingam 1123

T.A. Thomas
(President)

D. Gnanasigamony
P. James
(Secretaries)

William Peter
J.A. Jacob
(Vice-Presidents)

Kerala State Archives, File No. 527/47/C.S.,dt. 8-12-47

24. DEWAN INVITED NESAMONY (1947)

Letter of Dewan to Mr. A. Nesamony

Rajasevapravina
P.G. Unnithan

Confidential
Trivandrum
14th Sep. 1947

Dear Mr. Nesamony

The Joint Secretaries of the Travancore Indian Christian Association have met me and handed over to me a resolution passed by a special meeting of the Governing Body at which your name was suggested for nomination in the

small committee that is being set up for drafting rules etc. for election of members to the Representative Body, which has to be called together under the Proclamation of the 4th September for drafting a Constitution. Please let me know, after consultations if necessary, whether in case the Government accept the recommendation, you will be agreeable to serve this small committee.

Yours faithfully
Sd/-

Kerala State Archives, File No. 527/47/C.S., dt. 8-12-47

25. NESAMONY TO DEWAN (1947)

Letter of Mr. A. Nesamony to Dewan

A. Nesamony, B.A., B.L.

Nagercoil
15th Sep. 1947

The Dewan of Travancore
Trivandrum

Sir,

I thank you most sincerely for your kind invitation to serve on the advisory committee. I regret to have to decline your invitation since the Tamil Nad Congress of which I am a member claims to be called upon to nominate its own nominees.

Yours Sincerely
Sd/-

Kerala State Archives, File No. 527/47/C.S., dt. 8-12-47

26. CHARGES ON NESAMONY (1947)

Mr. T.M. Chithambarathanoo's Pamphlet dated 7-2-1123 English Translation of the letter; For the Attention of the Public

Our friend, Gandhi Raman, states that the cause of this fasting is my joining the Reforms Committee thereby dishonouring the Tamil Nad Congress. It is not quite true. I shall explain the reasons in short:

1. I am not a member of Tamil Nad Congress. Various versions are given of its policy. Nobody has asked me to join the Tamil Nad Congress nor has it opposed at anytime anybody joining the Reforms Committee. Even if that be so. I am not bound by it.

2. Just as Messers. A. Nesamony, Sivaraman Pillai, R.S. Nadar, Thiraviam Nadar

and many others were expecting a place in the committee, I was also expecting a place. They all tried various means. SIUC people also interviewed the Dewan in this connection.

3. I also know that Mr. Nesamony, Sivarama Pillai and Daniel went to Trivandrum, conferred with each other but nobody knows what transpired. I was appointed as a member of the Reforms Committee. It can be gathered that there is no member representing the SIUC in the committee.

4. I do not understand why Raman Pillai should show such antipathy towards me alone and condemn my action. If Mr. Raman Pillai has got the least regard for me, he is at liberty to meet me and ask what he wants. I know what he does is voluntary but is induced by others. I also know who are the persons thus inducing him and I feel sorry for that.

5. I am also a Member of the Vellalar Association. Merchant's Association and also President of various commercial organisations. I was aware of the meeting **at the Allan Memorial Hall, where it was decided that no Vellala should be elected as President of the Tamil Nad Congress but only a Christian should be chosen in it. The less said about this the better.**

6. So let my brother Gandhi Raman realise the truth. That is all my wish. I am prepared to abide by the decision of Various Tamil Organisations on the question of my participation in the Reforms Committee, but tricks played by exploiting an individual will be of no avail with me.

Nagercoil
7-2-1123

Your Servant
T.M. Chithambarathanoo Pillai

There will be a meeting of the Tamilians in the Thampanoor New Theatre on 19-2-1123 at 10 A.M. to encourage me and advice me. I have already sent notice of the meeting.

Mr. A. Nesamony's letter to the Dewan for permission to publish Dewan's letter and the reply of Dewan's Office

Trivandrum
2 Oct. 47

Nesamony is permitted to publish only the gist of the Dewan's letter.

Kerala State Archives, File No. 527/47/C.S., dt. 8-12-47

27. NESAMONY TO DEWAN (1947)*Letter of Mr. A. Nesamony to Dewan*

From

A. Nesamony, B.A., B.L.
 Advocate
 Nagercoil

To

The Dewan of Travancore
 Trivandrum

Sir,

I have been away in Madras since Wednesday in connection with the inauguration of Church of South India and returned home last night. In the meanwhile Mr. T.M. Chithambarathanoo Pillai has published a pamphlet alleging serious charges against me and others regarding the nomination to the rules committee. It is only fair that I should vindicate my character before the eyes of the public and so I request you to grant me permission to publish your letter dated 14th September 1947 and my reply thereto dated 15th September 1947 and the Phonocom communicating the resolution of the working committee of the Travancore Tamil Nad Congress on the same date, in defence of my conduct. A copy of the Pamphlet issued by Mr. T.M. Chithambarathanoo Pillai is herewith enclosed for your information.

Nagercoil
 30 Sep. 1947

I beg to remain
 Sir,
 Yours most obedient
 Servant (Sd/-)

Kerala State Archives, File No. 527/47/C.S., dt. 8-12-47**28. PARTY WORK IN FULL SWING (1947)***Extract from Police Daily Report dated 23-9-1947*

The T.N. Congressites are busy collecting subscriptions and enlisting members, and are secretly preparing a list of persons willing to undergo sacrifices. They have so far collected nearly Rs. 7000/- and enlisted about 10,000 members. They have also printed a pledge form. A Nesamony, N.A. Noor Mohamed, C. Madhavan Pillai (Advocates) and a few others are known to have signed this pledge.

Kerala State Archives, File No. 423/47/C.S., dt. 29-10-47

29. SUPPORT OF MUSLIMS (1947)

From

Inspector General of Police

To

The Registrar, Huzur Secretariat

Extract from the Report on the activities of the Tamil Nad Congress dated 25-9-1947

Para 5. There was a propaganda meeting of the Tamil Nad Congress yesterday at Thiruvithamcode between 5.40 p.m. and 8 p.m Mr. N.A. Noor Mohamed advocate, Nagercoil presided. About 200 persons mostly Tamil Nad Congress sympathisers from Thuckalay, Neyyoor and Eraniel attended. A few Muslim friends of Noor Mohamed from Thiruvithamcode also attended. The President and the speakers detailed the circumstances under which the Tamil Nad Congress was started and appealed to the Tamilians one and all irrespective of caste or creed to rally round the banner of the Congress to achieve a rightful place in the State. The meeting was mainly intended to get the support of the Muslims of Thiruvithamcode in the endeavours of the T.N.C. The Muslims of Thiruvithamcode, though appreciate the laudable object of the T.N.C. in inviting all the Tamilians in the State under a single organisation, are not in favour of joining the organisation and taking part in its activities. As a Tamilian, they however, hold their moral sympathy towards the organisation.

Kerala State Archives, File No. D.Dis. 424/47/CS. English Records

30. SUPPORT OF SAMBAVARS (1947)

Copy of Report No. 337 dated 21-2-1123 from the Division First Class Magistrate, Padmanabhapuram to the District Magistrate, Trivandrum

A meeting was held under the auspices of the All Travancore Scheduled Castes Federation on 29-2-1123 at 7 P.M. at Kadathi in Thengamputhoor under the presidentship of Mr. Retna Raj of Kakkad. He and Mr. Alexander (Brother of Vivekanandan) spoke that T.T.N.C. is to look after the interests of the Vellalas and Christian Nadars only and that hence all the scheduled castes should organise themselves under the Federation. About 100 Sambavars attended the meeting.

Kerala State Archives, File No. 424/47, C.S.

31. SUPPORT OF SAMBAVARS (1947)

Copy of letter dated 2-3-1123 from Mr. P. Vivekanandan, B.A., Karkad Suchindram to the District Magistrate Trivandrum

Points stressed at the meetings-Nagercoil, Karkad, Suchindrum. Vadasery, Thazhakudi, Kadathy and Elankadai (Kottar)

1. That the division of the State on the linguistic basis is not practicable under the present circumstances.
2. That the interest of the Tamilians are not at all jeopardized at present by the successive Dewans being Tamilians so far.
3. That the Tamil coolies of Deviculam and Peerumeedu may be forced to go out and that Malayalee Coolies may be chosen in their stead.
4. That the Tamil Nad move is sponsored by some job hunters to gain their selfish ends.
5. That the cry of the T.N.C. that Malayalee should quit Tamil Nad will seriously affect the Tamilian merchants and others well off and well placed at Trivandrum, Quilon, Kundera and Alleppy.
6. That they are at liberty to join British Tamil Nad District if an united Kerala is formed.
7. That present T.N.C. workers and their followers were tools in the hands of Mr. Simpson during the Independence Movement during Sir. C.P's administration.
8. The matters of division should be left to the decision of the Indian National Congress and that no further hooliganism and goondaism shall be tolerated in the name of T.N.C. It was stressed in all its meetings that the scheduled castes should not identify themselves with the activities of T.N.C. since it is detrimental to the interests of the Backward class, whether they are Tamilians or Malayalees. The conditions obtained in Tamil Nad and in Malayala Nad Congress will ultimately give rise to disastrous consequences as is seen in Punjab and Bihar. It is stressed that the only legitimate demand will be to request the government to safe guard the interests of Tamil literature and Tamilians in the administration of the State. It was pointed out that instead of resorting to the revolutionary activities it is advisable to submit to government concrete proposals for consideration. The discussions can be carried on with good will and with out hubub. Definite steps should be placed before the authorities for redressing their legitimate grievance. It was definitely pointed out in all these meetings that the Tamilians of the Scheduled castes should keep aloof from T.T.N.C. and they should ever remain loyal and peaceful subjects of H.H. The Maharaja whose sole ambition in life is the welfare and well being of his subjects.

D.M.
(True copy)

32. DISTURBANCES IN MANALIKARAI (1947)

Report of the Tahasildar, Kalkulam about the meeting at Manalikai held on 7-4-1123 to the Registrar of Huzur Secretariat

It is reported by the Proverticar of Kothanalloor Pakuthi that a meeting was held at the Roman Catholic Church campus at Manalikai at 6 p.m. on 7-4-1123 for according a reception to Miss Annie Mascrene. Miss. Mascrene accompanied by more than 100 volunteers with cycles was taken from Azhagamondapam to place of meeting through Chemparuthivilai, Manalikai and Manakkavilai. The meeting commenced with Rev. Fr. Pious John Morris in the chair and Rev. Fr. Paul Sebastian and Messers A. Amirtham and S. George spoke about the needs of the Latin Catholics. Then Miss. Annie Mascrene said that the Tamilians should co-operate with State Congress who were able to win Responsible Government for Travancore. Immediately a portion of the crowd left the campus and reached the road outside shouting **Jai** for the T.N.C.

The meeting continued. In the meantime the car in which Miss. Mascrene went to the place was taken into church compound from the road and it was found that the glass-front and one of the lights were broken to pieces. It is stated by the Proverticar that the mischief had evidently been made by the people who left the campus. The meeting which was attended by more than 2000 people terminated at 9.30 p.m.

Yours faithfully
Sd/-
For Tahasildar

Kerala State Archives, File No. 424/47/C.S., dt. 29-11-47

33. T.T.N.C. WARNING TO GOVERNMENT (1947)

*Resolution passed at the meeting of the working committee of the Travancore Tamil Nad Congress Nagercoil held on 26-11-1947.
Forwarded to H.H. The Maharaja on 1-12-1947 by the President, T.T.N.C.*

As promised by and at the instigation of top ranking leaders of the State Congress, repressive measures are adopted by the Higher Magistracy and Police Authorities against T.T.N.C. workers in the Kalkulam and Vilavancode Taluqs in a frantic attempt to crush the Tamilian movement for establishing their right to self-determination. State Congressites go about in Police Vans, pointing out to the police, the active T.T.N.C. workers; and immediately such workers are man-handled on the spot; or taken into the vans and belaboured. Cases have also been reported about the molestation of Tamilian women by the Police. Though this Working Committee has by resolution appraised the government of such atrocities, and though some of the important people of Travancore Tamil Nad

have represented these facts in person to the officiating Dewan praying for immediate relief and public enquiry, the situation has not only not improved but has worsened.

Therefore this committee warns the government that unless the police vans are immediately recalled and the deliberate persecution by the police on the Tamilians is put an end to, the T.T.N.C. shall be compelled to resort to direct action to secure to the Tamilians their fundamental political right.

Sd/-
President, T.T.N.C.

Kerala State Archives, File No. D. Dis 104/48 C.S. English Records

34. MANHUNT IN KALKULAM & VILAVAN CODE (1948)

Before His Excellency The Governor General of India

The humble memorial submitted by S. Nathaniel, President of the Travancore Tamil Nad Congress on behalf of the Travancore Tamil Nad Congress and the Citizens of the Travancore Tamil Nad.

May it please your Excellency.

Your Excellency may be well aware that there are 7 Taluqs in Travancore predominantly inhabited by Tamilians and lying contiguous to Tamil Nad;

‘Venad’ which served 200 years ago as the nucleus for the present Travancore was a Tamil Country and its Maharajah was a Tamilian. But within the past half a century the rulers of Travancore have conveniently forgotten their historical association with the Tamils of Travancore and they and their Malayali subjects have begun to look upon and make the Tamils feel as if they are strangers in their own country.

That normal amenities were not given them is a bare fact. The opening of the Railway line to Quilon via; Shenkottah contrary to the recommendation of the S.I. Ry., and the Government of India to open a line via, Aramboly, Nagercoil, Colachel and Trivandrum to Quilon in the early years of this century diverted the large volume of commerce from South to Central Travancore. The non-maintenance of the Colachel-Poovar canal and the abandonment of the proposed canal from Trivandrum to Poovar amounted to a denial of the cheapest form of transport to South Travancore. The Government did not care to improve the natural but safe harbours of Colachel and Leepuram; Cheap electricity is supplied from Pallivasal to Cochin but not South of Trivandrum. The Perunchani Reservoir Scheme as laid by the able engineer Sri Venkita Krishna Iyer had been given up and a less costly and less useful scheme has been suggested; The Padmanabhapuram and Deviculam Division which existed as Tamil units of administration have been

abolished; In the primary schools in the **Tamil Taluqs of Kalkulam and Vilavancode education is generally imparted in Malayalam**, Admission to Tamil students in the Colleges of Central and North Travancore is virtually denied. Key positions in the administration is seldom given to Tamilians. Since the linguistic politics in Travancore took its present form, the disabilities of Tamils have enhanced very much and the reluctance of the Government to invest money on productive activities in the Travancore Tamil Nad has become more pronounced.

But who introduced the claims of language in Travancore politics? The Malayalis and the State Congress. Supremely conscious that the dominant position they held was unassailable they emphasised, more than was good for the integrity of the State their linguistic affinity for Cochin and Malabar and actively collaborated with the Cochin Praja Mandal and the Kerala Provincial Congress to force the Tamil areas of Travancore into the Malayalam Province, in utter disregard of the welfare and in defiance of the sentiments of the Tamils. It was an open challenge to the self respect of the Tamils who accepted it by forming in December 1945 the Travancore Tamil Nad Congress and postulated the following propositions:

1. On no plausible grounds has the Kerala Province the right to include the Tamil areas of Travancore in it.
2. Simultaneously with the union of Travancore or any part thereof with Cochin or Malabar to form the United Kerala Province as proposed or in a incubate form the Travancore, Tamil Nad shall get united to Tamil Nad. Consideration of the existence of a Maharaja or a unitary form of Government for Travancore are irrelevant, and shall not stand in the way of such union;
3. Now that the major linguistic section in Travancore and the major political party, the State Congress had begun to think and act in terms of linguistic union, the logical splitting up of Travancore was only a matter of time; and during the interim period it was only proper that the Tamil area of Travancore so demarcated and as much of autonomy granted it to preserve its integrity;

Then followed a false and malicious propaganda against the Travancore Tamil Nad Congress in the press and the platform. The aims and objects of the T.T.N. Congress were distorted. They called the T.T.N. Congress a group of job hunters, Communists, Communalists Sir. C.P.'s creatures and Pakistanis; **Give the dog a bad name and hang it was their motto**. But the names did not stick, and the T.T.N.C. grew from strength to strength, though in an uncongenial atmosphere.

In August 1947, the old order changed yielding place to the Government of Sri P.G.N. Unnithan. The feeble Sri. Unnithan cared more for his skin than his conscience; and the State Congress bent upon smothering the T.T.N. Congress out of existence found in him a willing servant. **Together they launched a bitter crusade against the Tamils mainly of Vilavancode and Kalkulam. Hundreds of**

false cases were foisted against them and they were made the occasion for a systematic manhunt by the Armed Reserve. Looting and plunder became the order of the day. Young men were hammered and clapped in jails. Black Terror stalked in the two Taluqs for months.

Yet in the election that followed the Travancore Tamil Nad Congress annexed all the fourteen seats of the 4 southern Taluqs.

The State Congress became vindictive and released another orgy of persecution. Since it assumed the governance of Travancore the desire of State Congress to stamp out the T.T.N.C. has not diminished a hair's breadth. When a powerful organisation is out in a spirit of conquest it is not possible to resist successfully - either surrender or perish! After such a situation has been created, establishment of status quo is impossible.

Probably certain responsible members of the State Congress may wish it to appear that they have resiled from the position they have formerly taken on the issue of the Kerala Province. There cannot be any bonafides in the move. Further the retraction of individuals is not important; for the State Congress members met a couple of days back at Trivandrum under the auspices of the Iykia Kerala Council not an insignificant force. Any way it will only be fair to pin down the State Congress to the position it has already taken with its eyes all open.

During the black days I have mentioned, hundreds of phonocoms, telegrams, memorials were sent to His Highness The Maharajah praying for intervention; and He was supremely indifferent to the cries of agony of His Tamil subjects. The retention of the same Police officers in the same areas inspite of all protests is a standing evidence of the indifference of His Highness to the welfare of His Tamil subjects.

In such circumstances we have only one haven - The India Government. And we have sought for merger of the Tamil areas of Travancore in the neighbouring Presidency so that the Indian Government may effectively keep us under its protection.

Praying that your excellency may be pleased to take steps to grant the Tamils of Travancore the protection they are so much in need of.

Nagercoil
22nd August, 1948

I beg to remain
May it Please Your Excellency
Your most obedient Servant
President, T.T.N. Congress.

A. Nesamony's Personal File

35. MANHUNT IN KALKULAM & VILAVAN CODE (1948)

REPRESSION AND POLICE ATROCITIES

The Travancore Government is mainly a Nair Government, The Dewan, the District Magistrate of Trivandrum District, the District Superintendent of Police, Trivandrum and the Assistant Superintendent of Police, Nagercoil, when the struggle began were all Nairs and most of them are relations of Nair State Congressites. The Police Inspectors of Vilavancode, Eraniel, Thuckalay and Thiruvettar are Malayalees. They are holding all the key positions in Tamil Nad. They have no sympathy with the Tamils. The repressive policy of the government and the atrocities of the police have been going on unchecked, in spite of the repeated representations of the Tamilians and the Tamil Nad Congress.

Eraniel : The Government identified itself with the State Congress and supported it in all its goondaism. On Gandhi Jayanthi Day, the Tamil Nad Congress office was attacked by hooligans calling themselves State Congress Volunteers, and the story can be gathered from the following statement issued soon after the incident.

The Travancore State Congress in action

We, the signatories, issue the following statement to the Press and the public.

Yesterday, Monday October 6, 1947, a meeting addressed by Travancore State Congress members including Mr. Pattom Thanu Pillai, Mr. P.S. Nataraja Pillai and others was held in the market place of Eraniel : A mammoth meeting of over 30,000 people was held under the auspices of the Travancore Tamil Nad Congress at Marthandam at the same time and some of the prominent members were there to address the gathering. Information reached them of the hooliganism played by State Congress volunteers and of the injuries inflicted on the innocent Tamilians in the locality. The President of the Travancore Tamil Nad Congress accompanied by a few members of the Working Committee proceeded to the spot, and on the information gleaned by him that night, a phonocom was sent to the Private Secretary to His Highness the Maharaja requesting immediate interference as the police force failed to protect the life and property of innocent citizens.

Realising the gravity of the situation, we felt it our duty to proceed to the spot this morning to enquire into the matter thoroughly and directly. We left in two batches, reaching the place at 8 a.m. and we saw the shops damaged by pelting of stones and husked coconuts forcibly removed from one of the damaged shops. The articles in the shop on the ground floor of the Travancore Tamil Nad Congress office were strewn about and we had them photographed. We also recorded statements of the persons injured and other leading persons in Eraniel,

Monday Market and Neyyoor. We met four persons who were being treated at the London Mission Hospital at Neyyoor for the injuries sustained by them and had them photographed. While coming out of the Hospital we met the Inspector of Police, Eraniel, and we understood from him that no notice was taken till then of the injured persons or the damaged shops, and we were led to believe that the police were not inclined to take any note of the incident at all, even though it was then 11 a.m.

We have incontrovertible evidence to show that persons belonging to the State Congress volunteer corps waving paper flags stuck to lathis were transported in lorries and cars from distant places to Eraniel. Such people were gathered to overawe the local public, who are staunch supporters of the Travancore Tamil Nad Congress. This resulted in cowardly attacks on innocent people and cutting down placards and posters of the Travancore Tamil Nad Congress. Its office was singled out for their attack, and, in sight of the police and the local First Class Magistrate, these State Congress volunteers indulged in reckless rioting. A cloth placard of the Travancore Tamil Nad Congress waving in the air more than 25 feet above the ground and high over the telegraph wires which cross the road was forcibly removed and torn to pieces to insult the only political organisation of the Tamilians of Travancore, and the officers did not move their little finger to check this wanton insult.

We have no hesitation whatever in stating that the police and the First Class Magistrate with a strong party of Armed Reserve Police failed to discharge their elementary duty of protecting the life and property of innocent persons. We are constrained to observe that the Tamilians are losing confidence in the Police and in the local Magistracy and to demand an impartial enquiry into the incident to restore confidence in the public.

Complete hartal was observed to-day in Eraniel, Monday Market and Neyyoor as a protest against the high-handed action of the State Congress. We have refrained from giving details of the incident lest it should inflame the public. But we trust that Government would read the signs of the times and order an immediate open public enquiry in the matter.

(Sd.) Sam Nathaniel & Others

Kuzhithurai : A Tamil Nad Congress propaganda meeting was held at Kuzhithurai. It was a monster gathering about 30,000 strong. The President of the Taluk State Congress of Vilavancode and other leading Nairs of the locality got two Nair houses in the vicinity vacated to the purpose of harbouring hooligans. The meeting had been in progress for an hour when stones were pelted at the gathering from those houses. Many in the crowd were injured. A portion of the crowd rushed into these houses, Whereupon the hooligans took to their heels. There was some confusion for a few minutes. Order was then restored and the meeting

continued for two hours more and then dispersed peacefully. The first reports of the Inspector of Police and the local Magistrate condemned the action of the State Congress. The next day the District Superintendent of Police and other Nair officials came to the spot, and a case was taken up against 300 unknown persons, including two Municipal Councillors of Kuzhithurai Municipality. Police in motor vans hunted down the accused, who were beaten like rabid dogs, dragged into police vans, and then put into the police lock-up at Kuzhithurai. Twenty-three persons were thus arrested, and the Magistrate refused to let them on bail. The Sessions Judge of Nagercoil, who was then moved for bail, observed that the prosecution story was a 'stupid one', and yet a charge sheet had been filed after four months against forty-seven accused for rioting, dacoity, unlawful assembly and housebreaking.

Manalikai : Miss Annie Mascarene, a leading State Congressite, was accorded a reception by the Catholic Christians of Manalikai. The local parish priest was in league with the leading Nairs of the locality and some fisherfolk who were the supporters of the State Congress and he seized this opportunity of converting the reception into a State Congress propaganda meeting. When Miss Mascarene appealed to the gathering to support the State Congress in spite of the warning given her by the leading Catholics of the locality not to indulge in politics, a section of the audience left the meeting place in protest. Confusion then prevailed and the meeting ended abruptly. Enraged at this, the Nairs and the Catholic priest instigated one of the fisherfolk to inform the police that a shop of his, resting on four wheels, was broken open and the contents spoiled and some articles removed. There upon the Inspector of Police, Thiruvettar, came to the scene the following day assaulted with lathis all innocent passers by, took up a case against Tamil Nad Congress volunteers and sympathisers, rushed into their houses at odd hours of the night, beat them, belaboured them, and carried them in police vans and threw them into the lock-up at Thiruvettar

Aruvikara : The Tamil Nad Congress volunteers of Aruvikara, while returning home after attending a meeting the same day at Attoor, a few miles away, and crying familiar slogans of the Travancore Tamil Nad Congress, were set upon by the Nairs living by the side of the house of the local Inspector of Police, who are his near relations. Stones were pelted at them, and as it was dark the volunteers took to their heels and reached their homes. The next day it was found that some tiles of the Pakuthy Cutcherry which was located in the house of a cousin of the Inspector were broken. The Nairs purposely broke a few tiles and pushed open a door at night, and the following day a case was taken up against 18 volunteers. Four of them were arrested on the road and they asked the Inspector to let them know the names of other volunteers who were implicated in the case. He gave the names of 14 others. All appeared before the police in a moment and they were taken to the police lock-up in a van.

The next day, those arrested at Aruvikara and Manalikai were proposed

to be taken in a passenger bus belonging to the Pioneer Motor Service and such a bus was requisitioned and taken to the police station. But the local Nairs prevailed upon the Police Inspector to march them down in the hot sun for two miles with their hands chained two by two and the local State Congressites mocking at them, saying : **Here are Tamil Nad bastards carrying the Tamil province on their heads two by two.** Then they were put into the motor bus and driven straight to the Vilanvancode Magistrate, who remanded them to custody. As there was not sufficient accommodation in the local lock-up, they were sent to the police lock-up at Thuckalay in police vans. As they entered the lock-up, the Reserve Police who accompanied them assaulted them with the butt end of their guns, and cries of agony and pain could be heard outside the jail premises. Thereupon an attempt was made to move the local Magistrate to inspect the lock-up that night and record the statement of the injured. This was unsuccessful as the Magistrate was not in the station. The Magistrate at Eraniel, who is in charge of the local lock-up, had left the place on leave. So a petition was sent to the local Magistrate by express anchal. (The local mail service) No action was taken on it. The following day another petition was moved before the local Magistrate for inspection of the lock-up. That petition was forwarded to the local Medical Officer for report and necessary action. He visited the lock-up, and we are given to understand that he noted serious injuries on the person of more than four undertrials. The Medical Officer was a Tamilian, and so he was immediately transferred. Bail was granted by the Sessions Judge, Nagercoil, who observed that the cases were mere exaggerations. One of the undertrials had a rupture of his ear drum when he was released on bail, for which he had to undergo treatment for several days as an in-patient in the London Mission Hospital at Neyyoor.

Pacode : In connection with the case at Kuzhithurai, several persons from a neighbouring village called Pacode were arrested. A rich and influential Nair of that place was selling paddy at night in the black market. This was discovered by the local Tamil Nad Congress volunteers, who obstructed the removal of paddy by the purchaser and reported the matter to the local Tahsildar. He came to the spot and had a mahasar prepared. The informants, the attestors to the Mahasar and other witnesses were all impleaded as accused in the Kuzhithurai case. Lorry loads of Reserve Police rushed to this village and arrested and belaboured a large number of villagers. Houses were broken open by the police at night to effect arrests. Thankamma Palamma aged 28, Muthu Palammal aged 20, her mother in-law Ponnamma Mariamuthu aged 45, Chempakkakutty Kochy Valli aged 48 and Valli Kochupennu aged 38 were attacked by the Reserve Police with lathis and severely beaten while their dear ones were being arrested.

Thikkanamcode : The Reserve Police under the command of Mr. V.K. George, Inspector of Police, Eraniel, started the game of man-hunting one day, and more than fifty persons who were passing along the road leading to Mangarai, Kottethi and Palapallam were assaulted with lathis and kicked. While passing

Thikkanamcode, he gave chase to the schoolboys who were returning home after school. One of them entered the house of Varuvel Savarimuthu for shelter and ran out of the house for his life when the police entered the house. Savarimuthu was questioned by the Inspector to know who the boy was. He said he did not know. Thereupon he was severely assaulted with lathis by the Inspector and the constables. His brother and his mother, who interfered, were similarly beaten. His young daughter of marriageable age who remonstrated was beaten on her cheek. The ornaments in her ear broke to pieces and three of her teeth became shaky. His wife, who had delivered her eleventh child only ten days before, appealed for mercy, and she was kicked with the booted leg on her chest. Savarimuthu was finally carried away in the police van. The police got into the evening market at Kottehi, disturbed it, and more than a thousand women who had assembled there for sale and purchase of sundries were driven off and the women ran pellmell for their lives.

Medical : There was long-standing enmity between a Nair and a Nadar Palmyra-climber, his neighbour. Immediately the Nair informed the Reserve Police that this poor Nadar was one of those involved in the Kuzhithurai case and that he should be arrested.

A batch of Reserve Police was taken to his house that night. The climber was just sharpening his **aruval** in the early hours of the morning to go out to climb. He was set upon by the Reserve Police, thrashed, belaboured and carried away. The following night somebody assaulted the Nair when he was returning home after his usual machinations with the police. The next morning the Reserve Police entered the village in batches from different directions, got into every house (almost 300 in number), assaulted with lathis and the butt ends of rifles every adult male they came across and even some women, and the whole male population and women except very old ones and children deserted the village and fled for their lives. The next day I visited the village and the scene I witnessed was described in the following statement issued to the Press.

State Congress on its War Path

In the company of Mr. A. Appavoo Panickar and Mr. a. Gabriel Nadar, I visited Madichal and the surrounding villages on 8th January 1948. **I had occasion to witness heart-rending scenes reminiscent of what our fore fathers suffered a hundred and fifty years ago at the hands of the Nairs and a Nair Government.** Houses were deserted except for starving children and weird-looking women in tears. Climbing of palmyra trees is at a standstill. Fear and terror reign supreme in this area. Day and night people live in fear of being tortured. People are forced to accept the State Congress as their organisation, and if they do not accede to it they are threatened with dire consequences, assaulted with lathis and guns, carried like animals in police vans, and subjected to untold humiliations and torture. The poor and the children are at their mercy, and women, too, have not

escaped their hands. Many of those assaulted are in despair of their lives and seeking treatment in various hospitals. Some of the prominent Nadars of the village had their share of beating with lathis and their houses broken open.

We saw the well into which one Sanku Nadar was thrown by the Reserve Police, the grave of his wife who died of snakebite ten days ago a few yards off this well, his five poor starving children lying prostrate in their hut and looked after by a neighbouring old woman. By the eastern bank of a tank where a Nair is said to have been assaulted, batches of Nadars are collected by the Reserve Police, and there they are subjected to inhuman torture. We recovered a piece of broken lathi at that spot. We also picked up at that spot the broken handle of an umbrella belonging to Muthunayagom of Mettukumel, who happened to pass that way to see his relation who was undergoing treatment in the London Mission Hospital at Marthandam and was severely belaboured at that spot. These are now preserved as sacred relics at the Tamil Nad Congress office to remind the Tamilians of what a Malayalee regime means. The Padanthalumudu evening market is not held, as people do not stir out of their houses and are in hiding. These are but a few of a hundred odd instances brought to our notice.

I apprised the local Magistrate of the situation by a petition, and requested him "to order the Reserve Police to stop this orgy of man-hunting and to make a local inspection of this area to ensure safety of person and property to the public". Though the Magistrate promised to look into the matter and to visit the place if necessary, nothing has been done up to this moment. Yesterday the President of the Tamil Nad Congress asked the Dewan for permission to lead a deputation of those wounded at the hands of the Reserve Police, and no reply has been received yet. **Where shall we go for redress when Government turns a deaf ear to our representations?**

27-5-1123 / 11th Jan. 1948

(Sd.) A. Nesamony

These are but a few instances where whole villages were subjected to police torture.

By this time, terrorism had spread far and wide. Reports of police excesses were pouring into the office from all quarters. Representations were made to the Dewan, the District Magistrate and to His Highness the Maharaja. No redress was obtained. The police in their vans carried on a systematic campaign of terrorising Tamil Nad Congress volunteers and workers. They drive along the roads, get down whenever they find a volunteer or a group of Tamilians who are out on their peaceful avocations of life, assault them with lathis or the butt ends of their rifles, kick them and throw them on the roadside. Sometimes they are carried in their vans and thrown out far away from the places where they have been taken in.

It was at this time that the Tamil Nad Congress appealed to Sri. Kamaraj

Nadar to visit Travancore and see for himself the condition of the Tamilians in Travancore. He arrived in Travancore and tried to induce the State Congress to come to terms with the Tamil Nad Congress. His attempts failed. The Malayalam papers indulged in misrepresenting what he stated, and when he was informed of the pernicious propaganda carried on by the Malayalam Press, he issued a statement to the Associated Press of India advocating to start with the formation of the southern taluks of Travancore into a separate Revenue Division, with necessary safeguards for the Tamilians.

The compromise talks were proposed to be continued at Madras, but the President of the State Congress did not keep his promise to go to Madras, and **Sri. Kamaraj Nadar seems not to have taken any further action in the matter.**

The Inspector of Police, Vilavancode terrorised his jurisdiction. Not a single day passed without at least a dozen being injured by lathis. Two Muslims at Kaliakkavilai were so severely beaten with lathis that one of them had to be removed to the hospital forthwith; and nothing came out of the agitation set up by the Muslim League.

In all our trials human help was not forthcoming from any quarter. When a set of innocent Tamilians were arrested by the Inspector of Police, Thuckalay, as he suspected that they helped a culprit to escape, the police threatened to return at night and dishonour the women who were left alone in the houses. But God so ordered that the police party did not return to the village, as the van in which they were driving back to the spot turned on the road and the head of a constable was severed from his trunk. Several others, including the Inspector, received severe injuries.

Prohibition of Meetings

Undeterred by these lathi blows from butt ends of rifles and kicks, the Tamilians rose as one man with a firm determination to secure at any cost a Tamil Province as the sole panacea for all the ills they were subjected to. They became united as never before. The Government now entered upon the next phase of prohibiting Tamil Nad Congress meetings.

A Tamil Nad Congress meeting was held at Brahmapuram. State Congress hooligans were transported in police vans and stationed by the side of the place where the meeting was to take place. Police in mufti were present at the meeting to create confusion. Congress volunteers who marched to the meeting from different directions were stopped en route by the police. The local Magistrate ordered the conveners to dissolve the meeting. They wanted an order in writing. He would not give it. In the meantime, Shunmugham, a volunteer, was severely beaten by hooligans and thrown into a field close by. He was asked to take note of it. He wanted evidence as to how he was beaten. Then he got on the platform

and ordered through the microphone that the meeting should disperse. With a heavy heart the crowd dispersed. All along the route the Reserve Police and hooligans indulged in indiscriminate assault. Though this was brought to the notice of the authorities, no action was taken.

A Tamil Nad Congress meeting was advertised to be held at Munchira. On the way to the meeting a number of police vans were lined up to threaten people. A small number of Nairs and employees in the local Taluk Office and Devaswom Department obstructed the movement of traffic and did not allow the car in which the speakers were driving to proceed further. The police were looking on, but did nothing to warn these demonstrators that they should not obstruct free movement of vehicles and persons along a public road. On the contrary, they seemed to be conniving at it. A huge crowd had in the mean while gathered at the meeting place. It was quite peaceful. No disturbance was caused to anybody. Much less was there any breach of peace. But the convener of the meeting was served with the following order:

“Whereas it is seen that there is a likelihood of a breach of peace on account of the holding of this meeting here now at Munchira, the convener thereof is ordered to disperse the meeting immediately and to see to the silent and peaceful return of those assembled.

21-4-1123
Time 11.15 a.m.

(Sd.) First Class Magistrate
Vilavancode

It was 11 a.m. So the meeting was dissolved and everyone was dispersing to his home when the Reserve police charged the crowd with lathis and severely assaulted a few and carried them away in their vans.

A peaceful meeting was held at Elathuvilai. It was 5.30 p.m. and the meeting was about to end, when three lorry loads of Reserve Police arrived and the Magistrate served the following order on the president of the meeting:

“Whereas it is now 5.45 p.m. already, the convener and the president of this meeting now held at Nattalam are hereby ordered that this meeting be dispersed immediately.”

25-4-11233
Time 5.45 p.m.

(Sd.) First Class Magistrate

The Reserve Police had come purposely to charge the crowd with lathis and even to open fire on the crowd and incidentally on the president of the meeting if a chance occurred. The meeting ended and everybody went home peacefully. But the reserve Police would not stop at that. On their way back to their destination they fell foul of Tamilians and belaboured them all along the route.

Finding that people on their way to their homes after attending meeting

at night were mercilessly assaulted by the police, the Congress made it a point to finish all meetings before nightfall. When it was found that the police were bent upon disturbing and dispersing meetings held in the evenings, we resolved upon holding meetings during the morning hours. And yet the police would not leave us alone. But, on the other hand, State Congress meetings were held at late hours in the night, protected and escorted by the Reserve Police. No action was taken against the worst vituperative language used in those meetings. **It was entirely Government-managed, and who can dare to withstand this Government except to be exterminated in the end?**

As a last resort, we finally submitted a memorandum to the Government and to His Highness the Maharaja for the constitution of a special tribunal for the trial of the police officers who were concerned in the atrocities committed by the police (Appendix III). No reply has yet been received.

More than a thousand Tamilians, Tamil Nad Congress workers and volunteers have been assaulted with lathis and ends of rifles and kicked and assaulted by the police. It has now become a pastime and a sport for the police to hunt out Tamilians, subject them to inhuman torture and then let them go. Many have been rendered invalids for life. Several are incapable of following their peaceful avocations of life. Innumerable young men and respectable persons dare not stir out of their houses or move in public places as they live in constant fear of being assaulted and falsely accused of committing offences or impleaded in cases under investigation.

A. Nasamony, Inside Travancore Tamil Nad, Chapter III (1948), pp. 7-22

36. MANHUNT IN KALKULAM & VILAVANCODE (1948)

PETITION TO THE I.G. OF POLICE

To

The Inspector General of Police
Trivandrum

Sir,

We beg to present the following facts for your anxious consideration and immediate action.

During the days prior to the elections in South Travancore, the Reserve Police committed the worst atrocities against Tamil Nad Congress workers and sympathisers; and **on false and flimsy reasons opened fire and shot two people, one at Keezhkulam and one at Mankad**. The patently false cases foisted against such workers were legion. No complaints against the Reserve Police or the State Congressites who indulged in offences against Tamil Nad Congress sympathisers

and workers were paid heed to. The reason was only too obvious - the District Magistrate, and the D.S.P. Trivandrum, had identified themselves with the State Congress, and were sworn to crush the Travancore Tamil Nad Congress.

But the State Congress was unable to capture a single seat in the four southern taluks.

The Tamilians thought that the State Congress would take its defeat sportingly, and that the Reserve Police would return to its normal role. But as soon as the results were announced, the State Congressites set afoot false and malicious propaganda against the Tamil Nad Congressites, foisted false cases against them, mainly of arson, and before they whispered a complaint to the Police, the Armed Reserve was ready with Police vans to do their behest to beat, cause grievous hurt and shoot. Again complaints were of no avail; and Nairs and other State Congress rowdies, encouraged by the attitude of the Police, began to indulge in organized rowdyism against Tamil Nad Congressites, with impunity. The Police also showed themselves to be not anxious to help Tamilians to secure any redress, or even to send the injured among them to hospitals. Private practitioners also refused to treat them, even when severest injuries had been inflicted.

As if such systematic persecution did not reach to mark, the Working Committee of the State Congress appointed an "Enquiry Committee" consisting of the defeated candidates and people who had sworn the worst against Tamil Nad Congressites. **Mr. Pattom, accompanied not by the good elements, went to Kalkulam and Vilavancode; and immediately arose another crop of false cases, false allegations of arson, and Reserve Police persecutions with a vengeance.** At Marthandam on 4th March about forty of them came in a van, got down at the T.B. Junction, beat with lathis a Muslim boy, an old man who was taking coffee. in a hotel, a blacksmith in his workshop, the owner of a cycle shop and his lame son; got into the Christal Press, gave two slaps to the proprietor's brother, threatened dire consequence to Rev. N.H. Harris, who remonstrated; got into the Thoduvetti market, severely assaulted a trader in coconuts, and gave four severe blows with lathis to one Kochappy Nadankutty, of which one was right on the face; rammed Ponnayya with the butt end of a gun; gave a jaggery merchant, Rayappan by name, about ten blows, of which one was on his nose; and when he leaned on a wall stunned, snatched Rs. 250 he had in hand and caused loss of Rs. 10 change and 15 cakes of jaggery. One Chothi was severely beaten and put into the Police van, which drove off; and nothing is known about him. A few other people in the market were beaten on the head, and grievously injured. Two students of the local High School also received blows. Women who were in the market were also mercilessly thrashed, and they ran for their lives, losing their purchases, money and articles. Such atrocities have never been seen since the inception of the State.

The District Magistrate, District Superintendent of Police and others were phoned up. After a full day they came and sat in the Police Station, to which

some of the injured were taken. They were callous. The President of the Travancore Tamil Nad Congress met you and sought your help, and **it seemed that you justified the action of the Police for the reason that the Tamilians refused to buy fish in the market.**

At Themanur, Attoor Pakuthy, a building was set fire to by State Congressites, a false case foisted upon Tamil Nad Congressites, and it was made an occasion for the Police and Reserve Police to unleash their atrocities - and encouraged the State Congressites to do likewise.

On 1-3-1948 a phonocom was sent to you that Vikraman Nair, Vasudevan Tampi, Eswaran Tampi and Lokidasan Pillai of Thirunainar Kurichi were persecuting Tamilians and protection was sought. Instead of protection, the Armed Reserve Police went there in a van and indiscriminately attacked the innocent Tamilians of the place; Some of them are now in the London Mission Hospital, Neyyoor.

At Methukummal, the Armed Reserve Police beat and terrorised the people; and one Vishaksenam Nair, against whom many complaints have been given, continues to be still confident of the Reserve Police, and he about a week ago is reported to have feasted the Police, including high officers, with the flesh of a stolen sheep.

The Tamilians of Kalkulam and Vilavancode feel their life, properties and liberty are most insecure. As if the opportunities given to the Armed Reserve Police were not adequate enough, the District Magistrate had passed a curfew order in Kalkulam and Vilavancode.

We pray, Sir, that you may be pleased to visit the places, see the persecuted innocents, and do what you can to save them from the effects of the black terror that has passed over them and probably is in store for them.

We may point out that the District Magistrate, Mr. Raman Pillai and the D.S.P., Mr. Chandrasekarn Nair, are actuated by the worst partisan spirit, and are wading in the blood of innocent Tamilians.

We pray that the curfew order be immediately withdrawn and the above said two officers be transferred elsewhere, so that **the Tamilians of these two unfortunate Taluks may be saved from the valley of the shadow of death.**

Yours faithfully
(Sd.)

1. K. SIVARAMA PILLAI
3. D. PONNIAH

2. P. THANULINGAM NADAR
4. S. AMBROSE

Members of the Representative Body from Thovala and Agasteeswaram Taluks.

A. Nesamony, Inside Travancore Tamil Nad, App. VI (1948), pp. 45-48

37. RESULTS OF ELECTION (1948)

Constituency and Nature of seat.	Name of T.T.N.C. Candidate (elected)	Votes secured	Name of State Congress Candidate (defeated)	No. of Votes secured	Remarks
1. THOVALA : General	... K. Sivarama Pillai	... 14,089	... T.K. Narayani Amma	... 1,196	... Deposit forfeited
2. AGASTHEESWARAM : General	... K. Raman Pillai	... 50,911	... S. Muthu Karupa Pillai	... 6,273	... do.
Hindu Nadar	... P. Thanooligam Nadar	... 50,311	... * S.I. Pandia Nadar	... 5,866	... do.
Paraya	... D. Ponniah	... 50,804	... * P. Vivekanandan	... 5,276	... do.
Latin Catholic	... S. Ambrose	... 51,363	... Rodericz	... 5,489	... do.
3. KALKULAM - A : General	... T. Kochi Krishna Pillai	... 33,018	... Madavan Pillai	... 15,807	... do.
Latin Catholic	... A. Elias	... 32,948	... J. Simon	... 15,765	... do.
Hindu Nadar	... V. Dhas	... 32,314	... Ponmoni Nadar	... 15,906	... do.
4. KALKULAM - B : General	... D. Gnanasigamani	... 19,424	... C.N. Sivathanoo Pillai	... 10,699	... do.
Hindu Nadar	... A. Chidambaramatha Nadar	... 20,159	... Subramania Nadar	... 10,566	... do.
5. VILAVANCODE : General	... S. Satha Sivan	... 50,584	... A. Sankara Pillai	... 28,089	... do.
Hindu Nadar	... R. Chellaswami Nadar	... 50,707	... S. Muthuswami	... 27,872	... do.
Latin Catholic	... A. Gabriel	... 51,379	... Duraiswami	... 27,812	... do.
S.I.U.C.	... A. Nesamony	... 51,524	... G. Jebamony	... 27,463	... do.

* Members nominated by the State Congress to the rule-making committee.

A. Nesamony, Inside Travancore Tamil Nad, App. II (1948), P.37

38. WHO SUPPORTED T.T.N.C. (1948)

AFTER THE ELECTIONS

The elections are over and the results declared. But the defeated State Congress is at bay in the Tamil Nad. The voting showed that the Nairs, the fisherfolk and the barbers (Kerala Mudali) mainly supported the State Congress. The fisherfolk, who would normally have voted for the Tamil Nad Congress, were misled by the Malayalee priests and on pain of losing church privileges they were coerced to vote for the State Congress. The Kerala Mudalis who are mostly weavers and dependent on their textile licences, had to support the State Congress, as the Textile Commissioner, as shown elsewhere, was out and out a Nair and a State Congressite. His brother, Mr. Gangadharan Menon, is one of the leading State Congressites. Relying on the support of the State Congress and the Syrian Christians and Malayalee priests, **the fisherfolk became insolent in their behaviour towards their Tamilian brethren. The insults they offered to Tamilian women when purchasing fish resulted in a boycott of their fish in certain centres.** The situation was aggravated by the intervention of the Reserve Police, who indiscriminately began to assault all Tamilians who were pointed out to them by State Congress people. This ended in victimisation of Tamil Nad Congress workers and polling agents, and volunteers at various stations. When this victimisation became general and when it was found that the Reserve Police had joined hands with unruly and selfish elements, many Tamilians refrained from attending the market and buying fish. The police instead of infusing confidence in the public that their person and life would be safe when moving out of their houses, have now begun a reign of terror by assaulting persons who live by the side of the roads in their houses and by disturbing markets and shops.

A wanton attack on the houses, shops, presses and workshops situated on either side of the road from the Municipal Office, Kuzhithurai, to the cattle market at Thoduvetti was made by two van loads of Reserve Police. People engaged in their business were severely assaulted with lathis and the wounded were left uncared for. The evening market was dispersed, and the large number of men and women engaged in buying and selling fled for their lives, leaving behind their belongings. No action has been taken against those who were responsible for these acts of cruelty. Innumerable false cases have been taken up by the Vilavancode police on information given by the most undesirable elements of society, and poor Tamilians are being hunted down night and day. They spend their days in hiding, in fear and trembling. Encouraged by the partisan attitude of the Government and the police, bands of Nairs and fisherfolk roam about the villages, plundering houses and coconut gardens and damaging betel vines and other plantations.

But, who could complain to the police, lest he should be implicated in atleast half-a-dozen cases which the police have in their pockets? None dare go

to the court of the First Class Magistrate, Vilavancode, lest he should be dragged into the adjacent room which forms the Police Station, belaboured, arrested, and produced at the will of the police before the local Magistrate. It is understood that the Subordinate Magistracy have directions that they should not grant bail to other accused in the same case, even if the Sessions Judge grants bail to those whose applications are rejected by the Subordinate Magistrate. Applications for bail are heard and disposed of at leisure at the dictation of the police, in chambers or at home.

A committee known as the Peace Committee has been formed by the State Congress of discredited elements of society. They tour the countryside, setup community against community, organise looting and plunder, and negotiate through their agents for sale and purchase of vacant buildings, unwanted buildings and useless buildings, set fire to them, and foist false cases of arson on poor Tamilians. **In this, Syrian and Malayalee priests play a clever game.** There have been several cases of arson from various places. Hundreds of Tamilians are reported to have been included as accused. Not one such report is true. **Organized looting was carried on at Attoor market at the instance of Malayalee Catholic priests, the local police and Nairs.** The loss was immense. After all, it is the Tamilian who lost!

Freedom of association and speech had now been cut down by the Government in the taluks of Vilavancode and Kalkulam by prohibiting meetings of more than five persons in any part of these taluks for a fortnight since 5-3-1948. One wonders at the wisdom of the Government and that of the officers who recommended such a measure. **Can fish be thrust down the throat of the Tamilians with the butt ends of rifles and pointed ends of lathis? Can the Tamilians be forced to carry loads and climb palmyras by the various acts of police repression?** The Tamilian is a worker. He is the peasant. He was a tenant-at-will on vast estates which once belonged to him. Those estates fell into the hands of Nairs because of Pokudy (*ഉടൊഴി*) driven out of holdings; Sakudy (*നൊഴി*), massacred; and Nirthal (*ഭജരപ്പ*), unable to cultivate because of obstructions caused by Nairs. These poor Tamilians then trespassed upon Government lands in reserved forests and elsewhere. **The clever Nair who occupies all grades of offices from the lowest Proverticar to the highest Division Peishkar managed to get an easy registry from the Government in favour of a near relation.** One fine morning the poor Tamilian is turned out of this holding which he had improved with the sweat of his brow. **But times are changing. From a poor tenant-at-will he has now become a small peasant proprietor. He has got his vote. He need not fall back on the good offices of the Nair close by. And the Nair can no longer brook the independence of the Tamilian whom he trampled under his feet and kept under economic bondage. Power and wealth are slipping from the hands of the Nair. The Tamilian taps the palms for toddy and sweet juice and boils it into Jaggery. He tills the soil and reaps the harvest. He is the sole manufacturer of salt. He**

has developed spinning and weaving as a cottage industry. The bleak and barren slopes of the hills have yielded to his pickaxe and spade and are covered with resplendent vegetation, food crops of various kinds. His hands built the Kodayar dam and dug the channels.

His opponents are leeches on society, living on jobs. The oppression of the peasant and the worker never succeeded anywhere in the world. **Oppression has steeled the nerves of the Tamilian for suffering.** He is determined to suffer for his cause, for it is a righteous cause. He has now begun to feel his strength. He has the strength to break the shackles that bound him to a life of thralldom. Let the Government read the writing on the wall and the signs of the times. **It is a struggle for political emancipation** from the iron grip of the Malayalee. The earlier the Malayalee releases his hold, the better for all. Peace would then reign supreme in this Land of Charity.

A. Nesamony, Inside Travancore Tamil Nad, Chapter V (1948) pp. 27-31

39. MERGER WITH MADRAS PROVINCE (1949)

COPY OF THE MEMORANDUM SUBMITTED TO THE

STATES MINISTRY, GOVERNMENT OF INDIA by

THE TAMIL NAD CONGRESS PARTY

IN THE TRAVANCORE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

THE HON. DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER OF INDIA, NEW DELHI

Sir,

We, the undersigned fifteen members of the Travancore Tamil Nad Congress Party in the Legislative Assembly of Travancore, submit the following for your kind consideration and action.

1. The struggle carried on by the Travancore Tamil Nad Congress for justice at the hands of a Malayalee Government and our demand for merger with the adjoining Madras Province as the sole solution of all our ills is so well known to you that it requires no reiteration. We are grateful that our demand had commended itself to you and to the President of the Indian National Congress, who in a speech at Madras recently upheld the right of the contiguous and predominantly Tamil areas of Travancore to join the Province of Madras, But the Prime Minister of Travancore has unfortunately characterised it as "most regrettable"

2. The visit of Sri. V.P. Menon is causing much concern to us now. When we met him he told us that the Government of India has accepted the principle of Union of States and that questions relating to the merger of Travancore and Cochin and the formation of the Kerala Province were beyond his purview. A

pertinent question was put to us 'what has Madras done for Malabar' and that gave us the clue to what he had in his mind, viz., a province for Malayalees. Subsequent events also have justified our inference. The cent percent Malayalee dominated District Congress Committee of Travancore and Cochin, and the Aikya Kerala Committee have passed resolutions welcoming the Union of Travancore and Cochin as a first step towards the formation of the Aikya Kerala Province. The representatives from Malabar were warned to keep quiet and not demand the union of Malabar, Cochin and Travancore until a three and a half crore scheme for the development of Malabar to be borne by the Government of India and the Government of Madras in equal shares had been put into operation.

3. The repeated statements of Sri V.P. Menon at the various conferences he held with groups of persons representing different views and at the press conferences created in the minds of the public and impression that the union of the two states was a *fait accompli* in Delhi and that his visit was only to find out ways and means to give effect to it. This was further strengthened by the timely visit of Sri M.O. Mathai, and the Syrian Christians lost no time to set afoot a propaganda that this union had the blessings of the Government of India. All these are being so well twisted by several agents and agencies sponsored by the Government to mean that the merger of Travancore with the adjoining Province of Madras is out of the question and that it would be futile to press that issue further.

4. The Prime Minister of Travancore has declared that the Government of Travancore will oppose the merger of Travancore with all the powers at its command. We question his competency to speak on behalf of the people of Travancore on such a vital matter which affects generations still unborn. The Representative Body of Travancore was elected only to suggest the revision of the Constitution Act of 1122 and submit a draft to His Highness the Maharajah for approval. The sweep of events in the Indian Union made His Highness move with the times, and by the Interim Constitution Act converted the Representative Body into a Legislature. We wish to impress on you the fact that the Legislative Assembly was not elected as such to form a Government and the Union of Cochin and Travancore has never been placed before the electorate as an issue during the last elections.

5. During the session of the Legislative Assembly held in February 1949, the Leader of our party prayed for a ruling from the President whether the opposition is entitled to call upon the Leader of the House to make a statement of the policy of the Government towards Aikya Kerala, the reported agreement between Travancore and Cochin on certain outstanding points in dispute and the result of the investigation into the finances of the State by the Government of India. It is on the debate on such fundamental issues that Governments rise or fall. Though the President ruled that debates could be allowed only when the Leader of the House makes such a statement, the Prime Minister who is the

Leader of the House was not prepared to make any statement and thus allow a debate on the floor of the Legislative Assembly. Even now we would respectfully suggest that this matter of Union of States of merger with the Madras Province be allowed to be moved in the Legislative Assembly and be discussed and voted upon as a non-party matter.

6. The District Court Bar Associations at Nagercoil, Trivandrum, Quilon and Mavelikara and other Bar Associations at Thuckalay, Kuzhithurai and Haripad have already passed resolutions requesting the merger of Travancore with the Madras Province and opposing the Union of Cochin and Travancore. The Trivandrum Division Committee of the State Congress had passed a resolution recommending to the Government of India that Travancore should be allowed to merge with the Madras Province. The Travancore Tamil Nad Congress has already taken its stand on merger. These resolutions interpreted in terms of area and population indicate that 21 Taluks out of the total of 30 Taluks and an area of 5,226.2 square miles having a population of 40,29,039 are for merger out of a total area of 7,662 square miles and 65 lakhs of people. Of the three administrative divisions of Travancore, the two southern divisions of Trivandrum and Quilon and the Taluks of Peermade and Devikulam in the northernmost division of Kottayam are for merger. The map appended herewith would bear this out clearly.

7. Out of the six ministers, only two come from the area which is for merger and the remaining four from the area which advocates Aikya Kerala, being nearer to Cochin. It may also be pointed out that the District Court Bar Association at Quilon had passed a resolution advocating merger in spite of Sri Kesavan, the President of the District Congress Committee of Travancore, and Sri T.M. Verghese who are members thereof.

8. The Malayalee - dominated Government of Travancore is bent upon putting under its heels the interest of the Tamils of Travancore. The plight of the Tamilians in Travancore is now desperate. They are being oppressed and the Tamilian Officers are in a terrible fright considering what befell the acting Surgeon General, a Tamil lady. In the industrial concerns wherein the Government had shares, in the rubber, tea and other plantations owned and conducted by private persons and companies, there is now a slow silent persecution of Tamilian employees engineered by the Government, and an adjournment of the business of the Assembly for the purpose of discussing the situation caused in the Kannan Hills Produce Company by the reversion of three Tamilian Labour Welfare Officers to make room for the appointment of three Malayalees was moved and it was ruled out by the President.

9. The Malayalee Government in Travancore is still resorting to the old mode of suppression of the Tamilians with a view to coerce them to submit to Aikya Kerala. The false cases taken up against the Tamil Nad Congress workers in the taluks of Agastiswaram and Neyattinkara and a few others in other taluks

have not yet been withdrawn. The Travancore State Congress which two years ago passed a resolution granting self-determination to the Tamilians has now gone back upon its plighted word. If this be our fate in Travancore, worse is in store for us in a Union of Cochin, which is cent percent Malayalee, and Travancore.

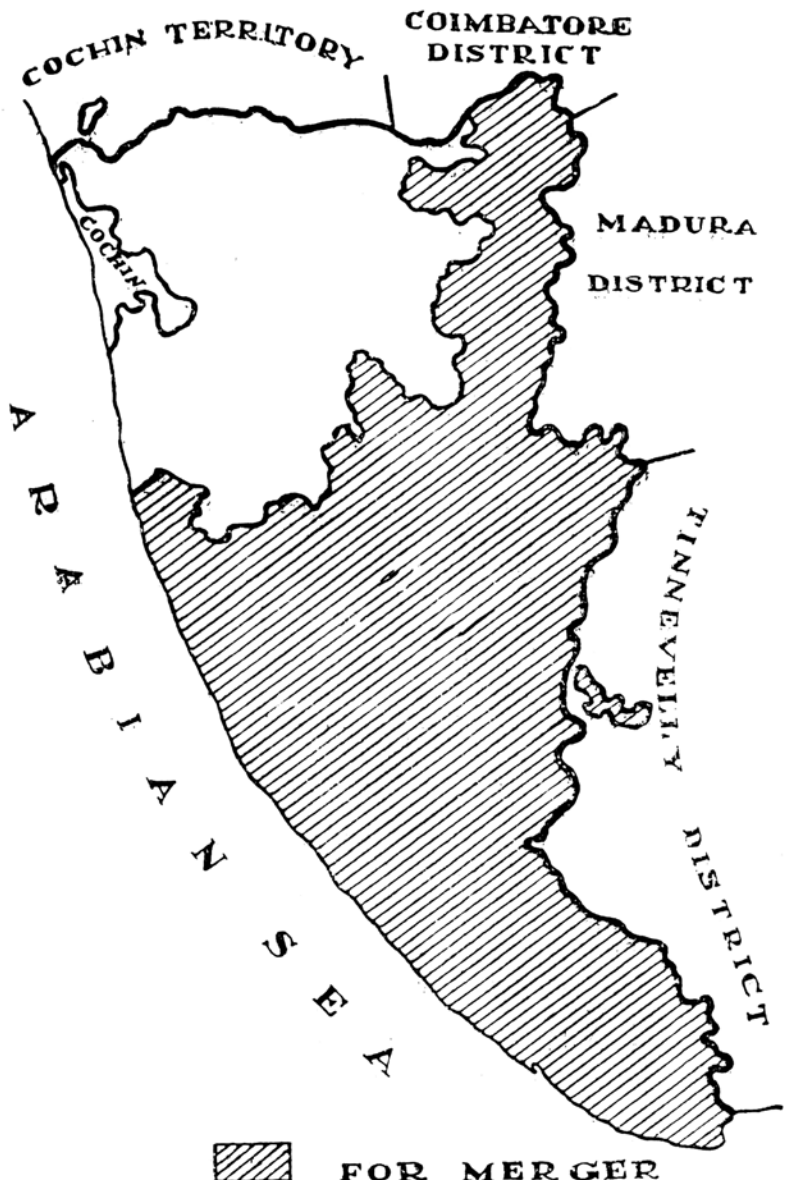
10. The short history of ministry-making in Travancore bears ample evidence that the three ministries which have come into being within the short period of a year were composed of only three communities, the Syrian Christian, the Ezhava and the Nair. There are now 8 Muslims, 40 members of the backward communities and three Tamilians among the ranks of the party in power and none of them were given a place in the Cabinet and the only Tamilian who was taken as a minister had to resign within 72 hours, lest there should be a crisis in the cabinet. The Aikya Kerala Province, with an overwhelming majority of the people of these two States, especially in Travancore, are in favour of merger. The statement of Sri V.P. Menon that this Union is the forerunner of the formation of a province for Malayalees from Cape Comorin to Kasargod had made our future dark and anxious.

It is therefore our earnest prayer that when you take action on the report of Sri V.P. Menon, at least the predominantly Tamil areas of Travancore, if not the whole of Travancore, may be permitted to merge with the Madras Province.

Nagercoil
21st March, 1949

Yours faithfully

(Sd.) The fifteen Members of the
Tamil Nad Congress Party in Legislative Assembly



Thompson & Co., Ltd. Madras.

41. AREAS FOR MERGER - POPULATION (1949)**Area proposing to merge with the Province of Madras**

Serial No.	Taluk	Area in Sq. miles	Total Population
1	Thovala	141.84	43,324
2	Agasteeswaram	106.92	1,83,654
3	Kalkulam	228.9	2,42,566
4	Vilavancode	166.06	2,07,430
5	Neyattinkara	232.96	3,06,612
6	Trivandrum	97.52	2,87,495
7	Nedumangad	366.47	1,87,495
8	Chirayinkil	146.50	2,28,069
9	Quilon	147.41	3,04,387
10	Karunagapally	88.99	2,18,018
11	Karthigaipally	74.38	1,51,393
12	Mavelikara	111.95	1,93,659
13	Kunnathur	150.46	1,44,742
14	Kottarakara	212.74	1,87,817
15	Pathanapuram	414.96	1,20,148
16	Shencottah	129.14	55,451
17	Peermade	450.90	64,899
18	Devikulam	667.03	64,395
19	Amphalapuzha	147.35	2,69,866
20	Thiruvalla	212.23	3,69,193
21	Pathanmthitta	931.49	1,98,223
Total		5,226.20	40,29,039

42. HINDU - CHRISTIAN DIVIDE IN T.T.N.C. (1950)

THE BHARATI
(The Daily with widest circulation)

Managing Editor
A.N. Sathianesan

Trivandrum
14-8-1950

A. Nesamony Esq. B.A., & B.L. M.L.A.
Leader, Tamil Nad Congress Party, Nagercoil

Dear Sir,

Para 2. Great is your responsibility as leader of the Tamil Nad Congress to avoid schism and strengthen them to go forward. I trust that you, the Party Leader, **will in no way encourage division among Hindus and Christians in Tamil Nad Congress and will prevent any such direct or indirect attempt with all strength at your command. Whatever be the present misunderstanding it is my firm faith that the Tamil Nad Congress will on the whole appreciate your continued service and leadership.** I would request you to pay attention to these matters for the safety of the Tamilians when discussions take place in the party meeting and in the Congress Committee.

Yours faithfully,
Sd/-

A. Nesamony's Personal File

43. RESIGNATION OF T.T.N.C. PRESIDENT (1950)

THE BHARATI
(The Daily with widest circulation)

Managing Editor
A.N. Sathianesan

Trivandrum
14-8-1950

S. Sam Nathaniel Esq. B.A., & B.L.
President, Tamil Nad Congress, Nagercoil

Dear Sir,

Para 1. Sorry to hear that you again resigned your presidentship at this critical period. I am one of those who believe that you have a duty far better than any one else not to give occasion to weaken or break up the T.N.C. organisation on account of differences of opinion in respect of the compromise. Instead of throwing mutual blame on the matter every one of us is in duty bound to forget that old chapter. The most serious problem that faces us now is to strengthen the organisation for the next general election. In that matter we must try our utmost to remove all differences with a feeling of give and take. If we were able to come

to a settlement before the coming legislature sessions, it would be more to our advantage.

Yours sincerely
Sd/-

Copy to :

A. Nesamony, Leader
Tamil Nad Congress Parliamentary Party
Nagercoil

A. Nesamony's Personal File

44. T.T.N.C. MINISTER'S RESIGNATION (1953)

A. Chidambaranatha Nadar, B.A., B.L.
Minister for Land Revenue & Forests

Trivandrum
13th August, 1953

My dear Sir,

I received your letter dated 5-8-11953 and I have very carefully noted its contents. I shall strive my best to see that all the matters mentioned therein are taken up without any delay. Yesterday I had a very frank talk with the C.M. and told him that these things have to be done or there is little purpose in this alliance between our two parties.

The question whether I should continue to be a minister or not is a matter which I leave entirely to you. As you always know that I am always at your disposal and the moment you command I will give up this business and go away without any kind of hesitation. Moreover I am also fed up very much with this for very many other reasons also.

In this connection I wish to bring to your kind notice that yesterday sanction has been accorded for the execution of the Karingal water supply. Sri Baillis Paul (Son-in-law of Dr. John) Executive Engineer, Water Works is taking urgent steps to call for tenders. Today morning I also feel that the work will be started immediately. Sri K.C. Chelliah's suspension has been cancelled and he has been re-posted and his suspension period is being treated as leave and the lady who has been causing so much of trouble to Mr. Chelliah has been recruited by the P.S.C. as teacher in the Education Department, and the trouble from her to Sri K.C. Chelliah is over once and for all. Regarding the Ammandivilai affair the Home Minister has promised to transfer the fellow from there. About the Vilathara Lift Irrigation Scheme it seems that the Superintending Engineer, Southern Circle who happens to be a Cochinite has written against this Scheme. Immediately after I got scent of this I contacted the Chief Engineers P.W.D. over the phone and he has promised me to help us in the matter. Today morning I met the Works Minister and pressed him to take up this work and he has promised to take this up and I also feel that this work also may be pushed through.

Today I am going to Edapalayam and will be returning by the 17th. As soon as I return I shall take up the cudgel as advised by you.

Last week I had been there to your residence. Your missis, children and grand children are all doing well and I am also doing well here and I wish the same with you by the grace of God.

Soliciting a word of reply
With my regards

To

Sri A. Nesamony, M.P.
194, Constitution House
NEWDELHI

I am ever yours
Sd-

A. Nesamony's Personal File

45. T.T.N.C. MINISTER'S RESIGNATION (1953)

2nd September 1953

Dear Mr. Nesamony,

I have your letter and have gone through the contents very carefully. As you said the local papers have given the news in full detail and even envisages far-reaching changes in the near future. No doubt certain sections of the Press are out to reap the maximum benefit out of this deadlock. All the same it appears to me that we have to proceed cautiously so that we may not feel sorry for any precipitate action taken. I have not contacted the President yet but hope to do so tomorrow.

I take it that you will be present at the meeting you have suggested to be convened and it is only under that presumption we have to take further action. In your letter you have not indicated the date on which the meeting is to be held. But perhaps you might have done so in your letter to the President. I do not think it is advisable to have a meeting of such importance in your absence. Sri Chidambaranathan Nadar met me today and apprised me of the contents of the letter sent to him. **He was in a mood to tender his reignation forthwith without any kind of hesitation but I insisted that he must wait until after the meeting is over.**

The Assembly is meeting on the 22nd September and you will certainly be here before this. The question of Mr. Chidambaranathan Nadar leaving the Cabinet without bringing down the whole Ministry is to be considered in the light of the developments that are taking place just now and so it is of utmost importance that we all put our heads together before any final direction is given by you.

Mean while I am able to gather from certain Congress quarters (Christians) that they are sorry for the stand they have taken in asking us to join the Congress and which has led to this deadlock and there is a possibility that they may devise other means to end this deadlock either by election of a Christian leader or by any other method to our satisfaction. In that case I would like to know whether according to you it will be in our interest to nurture such a situation and reap the maximum benefit possible; but all the same your presence is absolutely necessary and I do not think you will be delayed there longer than 15th of this month. We are watching further developments very closely and apprise you of the real situation as and when necessary.

I once again wish to emphasise that if at all there is an exit it must be the exit of the whole Ministry and we must try for that end before any final action is taken by us.

It is contended from the quarters referred above that while Nesamony can deliver the goods to T.T.N.C. Madhavan Nair cannot. As the time approaches the problem gets more and more complicated and no stone shall remain unturned by us in the present situation . I hope you will give a considered reply as early as possible.

To

Sri A. Nesamony, M.P.
194, Constitution House
New Delhi

Yours sincerely
D. Gnanasigamony

P.S. Since writing this letter, I read from Dinamalar that the meeting is convened on the 13th when your presence is absolutely necessary.

D.G

A. Nesamony's Personal File

46. CHOLERA AND T.T.N.C. (1953)

Brief summaries of the press issued by the Government contradicting the statements contained in the appeal issued by me for cholera relief have appeared in some papers. Any number of press notes contradicting my statement cannot blind the public to the fact that the frantic efforts made by Panchayats to persuade the authorities to inoculate the people in the cholera - stricken areas and to secure the necessary medicines were met by replies that vaccine and medicines were not available. Wherever vaccine was available in small quantities a discrimination was made by sanitary overseers in the matter of inoculation. On a complaint made by the President of the Kollencode Panchayat to the Director of Public Health pointing out instances of discrimination, one Kumaran Nair was suspended after due enquiry. **The van and car used by the Sanitary Department**

was withdrawn from Tamil Nad. Distribution of rice, clothing and money by the Government to those families affected by cholera was stopped and it was stated by responsible officers that no funds were made available for the purpose. And it is a wellknown fact that the callousness and indifference of the Government was due to political considerations.

Heart rending news of the suffering of the people and their helplessness in certain localities poured into the office of the Travancore Tamil Nad Congress and we were obliged to take action. I issued an appeal for help and sought the services of private medical practitioners. It was forthcoming in an abundant measure. Free medical aid and inoculation was started at our instance. Dr. M. Mathias, a private medical practitioner of standing and reputation as the best in South India was the first in the field with his staff helping the sick and the needy with food, clothing and medicine. When his stock of vaccine was exhausted he asked the Director of Public Health for some vaccine. Though he was promised a supply one evening, his messenger came home empty - handed the following morning as he was told that no vaccine could be supplied to inoculate at the instance of the **Travancore Tamil Nad Congress. Undaunted by this petty and mean act of the Government, a band of able private practitioners came forward to help us as a challenge to the menacing attitude of the Government.** They were able to inoculate about ten thousand people. The Government was then convinced of its folly and started inoculation. But there is a general complaint that the necessary dose of vaccine is not injected by the Vaccinators and that in many cases distilled water was used instead of vaccine. From the results I am led to believe that there is some truth in it, for many of those who had an attack of cholera and many who succumbed to it were people already inoculated.

I understand that at the meeting of the Congress Workers at the Cape Guest House, Sri Kalathil Velayudhan Nair as a typical representative of the present government is alleged to have stated that some would drag out corpses from pits and lecture about them making a political propaganda out of it and that the Government is not prepared to do anything more than what it is now doing. There was not a single word of protest from any individual at that meeting. **Managers and teachers of schools where school children were inoculated by the volunteers of the Travancore Tamil Nad Congress have been asked to explain why they allowed that to be done in the schools.** After the last Panchayat elections, about 36 teachers were deported from Tamil Nad and probably the same fate might befall some. Several young men selected by the Public Service Commission are not granted appointments on the reports of the C.I.D. officers that they are sympathisers of the Travancore Tamil Nad Congress. Instances there are where police officers **summon respectable citizens to police stations and insult them.** **The cholera epidemic in Vilavancode Taluk is due to the famine conditions prevailing in that taluk. This is due to the criminal negligence of the Government to execute the Vilathara Lift irrigation scheme and the Karungal drinking**

water supply scheme though they were included in the budget for this year. This Government is answerable for this criminal negligence and they shall have to account for it. The day of reckoning is not far off. Vilavancode knows what suffering is and phoenix like it will rise from this holocaust of suffering to wrest from the unwilling hands of this Government its rights and legitimate privileges.

The Travancore Tamil Nad Congress is all to save the precious lives of all citizens in Tamil Nad. In this labour of love and charity it does not count the cost. We thank our volunteers and friends for the generous help they are rendering to enable us to offer relief from the twelve centres viz., Kulathur, Kollencode, Methukummel, Kirathur, Kanjanpuram, Cherumanvila, Koikathope, Irenepuram, Kappicaud, Panikulam, Madattituvilai and Villukiri. Rice, clothing and medicine are distributed from these centres. We thank all those who are engaged in this humanitarian work of relieving human pain and suffering.

In conclusion I wish to say that the Press Note is false and misleading. **The total population in the four southern taluks is 8, 29, 980 but the Government claims to have inoculated 8, 31, 518. The four municipalities inoculated their citizens numbering 1, 17, 147 and the Travancore Tamil Nad Congress inoculated about ten thousand.** Appeals are even now being received from various localities by me to send medical men for inoculation. We are watching the situation and we are again organising to inoculate. The Travancore Tamil Nad Congress would stand by the people alleviating human pain and suffering. It is no political stunt. But on the other hand I would warn this Government not to pursue this sterile path of victimisation to gain its political ends.

Nagercoil
28-11-1953

(Sd.) P. Ramaswamy Pillai
President, T.T.N.C.

47. WARNING TO GOVERNMENT (1954)

The petition filed before the Chief Minister of Travancore-Cochin State by the Parliamentary Party of the Travancore Tamil Nad Congress.

We, the members of the parliamentary party of the Travancore Tamil Nad Congress bring the following to your immediate attention.

Due to continuous drought, the farmers belonging to the Tamil area of this State are enduring various sufferings and hardship. We have ever been requesting each and every government, which came to power from 1948 onwards to formulate appropriate irrigational schemes to redress the very long suffering of farmers belonging to the Tamil area. Palatable assurance with some vacillating ones were given in this respect. Besides, budgetary proposals were also made in some cases. But the governments are reluctant to put into implementation of the schemes so as to fulfill such given assurances. During the First Five Year Plan and its subsequent revised plan, a sum of Rs. 1,021/- lakh was made available to this state

from the central fund. But very meagre amount of Rs. 6 lakh, just required to complete the Perunchani irrigational scheme is spent for the whole of Tamil area. This Perunchani irrigation project was prepared and partly implemented during the Dewan's period which was later left out uncompleted. There is a limit for our long patience in this respect and we are now constrained to request the govt, as a last resort, to implement the schemes listed here under before 30th June by all probabilities. **If the government is not having a good mind to implement the following schemes, within the period stipulated we will be constrained to resort to all such other measures which lie within our limits and ability to get them redressed:-**

1. Pattanam Canal Project

This project was a subsidiary project of Kodayar irrigation scheme, which was drawn up some sixty years back. Since the Kodayar Dam is located within the boundary of Vilavancode Taluk, it is imperative on the part of the State to safeguard the irrigational interests of the ryots of Vilavancode. This principle has also been duly accepted by the government as seen through its deliberations on various occasions. But it is most unfortunate that the voice of the ryots of Vilavancode were not heard by the authorities so far. Their voices never came to light even. But during 1950, the government came forward to have a detailed study about this project. For this project study, provision of a nominal amount of Rs. 10,000 was made in the budget for the year 1953-1954. On its strength, it was expected that a revised Pattanam Canal project might have been drawn up and included in the revised five year plan schemes. Instead, the government, then in power kept mum over this project. Therefore the allotted amount was not fully utilized for the very purpose for which it was set apart. As a result, the ryots were stricken with famine and poverty followed as usual. By the end of 1953, due to scarcity of good drinking water, Cholera epidemic broke out in these Tamil areas which claimed many precious lives.

2. Vilathurai Lift Irrigation Scheme

This project was materialized during 1950. The electrical power required to run the water lifting pumps was sanctioned by the Electricity Department and the required transmission poles were planted. But the government, for the last two years, took no step to implement the project. The budgeted amount of Rs. 1,00,000/- for the year 1953-54 was not even spent. The land needed for the construction of a reservoir required under this project was already surrendered to the government. Repeatedly it was assured to the government that the land required to dig the Canal shall also be gifted to the govt. and the respective panchayat shall take up the responsibility to dig the Canal at reasonable low cost. Even then the government did not take any positive step to have the project implemented.

3. Neyyar Left Bank Canal

Even though the scheme for the construction of Neyyar Dam was included in the first five year plan, no tangible scheme was formulated for the digging of the left Bank Canal. Even though the Dam was not completed but in its half way, the Right Bank Canal which runs though non-Tamil area was dug to a distance of 9 miles. As such we have to presume that the Right bank Canal will alone be implemented during this plan period. Hence we have every reason to conclude that the Neyyar Left Bank Canal which is to benefit the Tamil area would meet the same fate which the right Bank Canal project of Kodayar irrigation scheme met. Ultimately we suspect that the Neyyar Left Bank Canal would be dropped in due course like that of the Kodayar Right Bank Canal project.

Therefore we have to warn the government against their policy of wasting its time by giving hollow assurances and unproductive correspondences than to show the aforesaid schemes on the ground

Trivandrum
31st March 1954

Yours,
Signature of

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. A. Nesamony, M.P. | 2. A. Abdul Razaak, M.P. |
| 3. A. Chidambaranathan Nadar, M.L.A. | 4. P. Ramasamy Pillai, M.L.A. |
| 5. P. Thanulingam Nadar, M.L.A. | 6. A. Kunjan Nadar, M.L.A. |
| 7. N.A. Noor Mohamed, M.L.A. | 8. M.D. Anandaraman, M.L.A. |
| 9. A.M. Simon, M.L.A. | 10. T.T. Daniel, M.L.A. |
| 11. M. William, M.L.A. | 12. S.S. Sarma, M.L.A. |
| 13. R. Ponnappan Nadar, M.L.A. | 14. A. Thankiah, M.L.A. |

48. PROCEEDINGS OF THE TRAVANCORE - COCHIN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY - SECOND SESSION (1954)

Monday, the 12th July 1954

Official Report

Vol. XI No.1

States Reorganisation Commission

Shri K. Sattanatha Karayalar : Will the Chief Minister be pleased to state:

a) whether this Government have submitted their view before the States Reorganisation Commission; and

b) if so, what are its views?

Chief Minister (Shri A. Thanu Pillai) : (a) and (b) No written memorandum has been submitted to the States Reorganisation Commission by the State Government.

In the course of the interview with the States Reorganisation Commission, the Chief Minister has, however, apprised them of the views of Government. Broadly, the points stressed are the following :

(1) Travancore - Cochin has reached a high level of development in many directions. The addition of Malabar to this State would create administrative problems which are difficult of solution and would jeopardise the existing standard of development in the State. The proposition would also result in heavy financial burden to the State. If, however, in deference to public opinion, Malabar is to be joined to this State, substantial subsidies from the Government of India have to be guaranteed to ensure the financial stability and necessary development.

(2) The claim for secession of the Tamil speaking areas or any part thereof is not based on facts and would cut at the root of the economy of the State, especially, on the power and food fronts , whether Malabar is to join the State or not.

(3) The existence of Fort Cochin is an anomaly in the present set up causing serious administrative inconvenience and loss of revenue.

Shri K. Sattanatha Karayalar : Am I to understand that this Government is against Aikya Kerala and Aikya - Tamil Nad?

Shri A. Thanu Pillai : I have placed before the House what I told to Commission. We will be glad to see the Tamil speaking areas remaining within the State. If Malabar is to join Travancore - Cochin to form a new State, we should get enough financial help from the Centre.....

Shri T.S. Ramaswami : It is seen from the replies of the Chief Minister that he presented before the commission not only facts but also his views. May I know whether these were his personal views or the views of Government?

Shri Thanu Pillai : Whatever views I have placed before the Commission are the views of the Government.

49. REPLY TO THE AYKIA KERALA COUNCIL (1954)

We have read the explanatory note on the answers to the questionnaire of the Linguistic Provinces Commission submitted jointly by the Kerala Provincial Congress Committee and the Aikya Kerala Council and the joint statement submitted by a majority of the representatives of the State Congress members of the Representative Body of Travancore and of the All Travancore Congress Committee and issue this statement in reply thereto.

The reasons advanced by the Aikya Keralites why Kerala should be a separate province are :-

1. A Tamilian majority cannot continue for all time to be the arbiter of the destinies of the people of Kerala. If this is the reason for the separation of Kerala, how could they claim Travancore Tamil Nad as part of Kerala. The Government of Travancore is run by the Malayalee - the Nair, the Ezhava and the Syrian Christian. Two ministries have come into being within a space of six months. Was any Tamilian chosen, chucked out within 48 hours? If the Aikya Keralite cannot tolerate a Tamilian majority in the Madras Province, how dare he to rule over the Tamilian and be the arbiter of the destinies of the Tamilians who are in a overwhelming majority in the Taluks of Thovala, Agasteeswaram, Kalkulam, Vilavancode, Shencottah, Deviculam and Peermade?

2. The competition among linguistic groups transcends all party - alignments and endangers its efficiency and usefulness. The Travancore Tamil Nad Congress is a political party. It represents Travancore Tamil Nad. It is knit together by ties of language, custom and manners. It is represented in the Legislature of Travancore by fourteen members. They have nothing in common with the State Congress Malayalees who form the vast majority of the members. But for the voting system of proportionate representation by means of the single transferable vote no Tamilian could ever get into any of the Committees by open election. Of the six members elected to the Constituent Assembly of India, five are State Congressites. They preferred a Malayalee Muslim Leaguer to a Tamilian Tamil Nad Congressite for the remaining one seat. If this be the fate of the Tamilian in a Malayalee dominated Travancore, one shudders to think of his fate in a cent percent Malayalee dominated Kerala.

3. It will not do to have language as the guiding factor for purpose of demarcation. It is on the economic and cultural setup of the people consequent on geography, that the life and growth of a people depend. This is a strange argument. The Aikya Keralite wants to separate from the Madras Province lest he should be dominated by the Tamilian. This argument is advanced for he wants to swallow the Tamil Nad in Travancore, the Tulu Taluks of South Canara, Coorg and Ootacamund Taluk, which differs from the Malayalam area, in language, custom, laws and habits. He is not to suppress all minorites against their will. Let him advocate the principle of self determination to the areas he wants to rule instead of dictation to these voiceless minorities. Will there be a single area which he claims outside his Malayalam area which would declare in favour of the proposed Kerala Province. Travancore Tamil Nad is out to merge with the Province of Madras and those small areas now in it would never join the proposed Kerala Province.

4. Kerala a unique geographical entity : Arguments housed on tradition and mythology have been advanced to show that Kerala is a geographical entity. Those portions of the statement dealing with Tamil Nad betrays a colossal

ignorance of both history and geography. They contend that : -

I. Immigrants from Tamil Nad entered and settled in the Southern Taluks.

The southern Taluks of Travancore formed part of the ancient Tamil **Pandian Kingdom**. The **Pandyan Dam** on the Paralar in Kalkulam Taluk - but for this mighty work of genius and invention Nanjinad would not have been what it is - and the **Pandyan Kal** irrigating the rich rice fields in the Taluks of Thovala, Agastiswaram and Kalkulam are standing monuments to the solicitude of those ancient kings towards the agricultural population of this part of Travancore. "The Pandyan Dam and Channel are under the safe calculation about eight centuries old, when Akbar and Ahalya Bhayi, the most beneficent and wisest of Indian Rulers were yet in the womb of time". A thousand years ago they held sway in South Travancore and long before Travancore came into being. Since the fall of the Pandyan Kingdom, the southern taluks split up into three units - the Purathaya Nadu surrounded by the Mannukotai, ruins of which can still be seen round about Cape Comorin under the Pandyan Kings, the Nanjinad Republic extending from **Mangalam to Manakudy** and the Venad comprising the Taluks of Vilavancode, Neyattinkara and portions of Kalkulam and Trivandrum Taluks. A Tamil Chieftain of the Pandyan King proclaimed himself as the Rajah of Venad and entered into a treaty alliance with the Republic of Nanjinad guaranteeing fullest autonomy to it. The Rajah of Venad began to extend his domain towards the North which had split up into petty principalities on the **fall of the Cheras. By adoptions, sambandams and alliances, he conquered several** principalities and adopted the matriarchal system of inheritance prevalent among the northern princelings owing to the prevailing unsettled conditions. Padmanabhapuram which was his capital was shifted to Trivandrum and Malayalam became the language of the ruling family. **Subsequently Purathaya Nadu and Shencottah were gifted to the Maharajah of Travancore in 1766 by the Nawab of Arcot who conferred on him the title of Sham Sher Jung.** The Rajah of Venad was thus the maker of modern Travancore and he was a Tamilian. It is absurd on the part of the Aikya Keralite to contend that **"Immigrants from Tamil Nad entered and settled in these taluks"**.

II. Most of the Tamil population in the taluks of Shencottah, Peermede and Deviculam constitute 'emigrant plantation labour'. Nothing could be far from truth than this statement. Peermede, Deviculam and the neighbouring areas in the Madras Presidency were under local rulers called **Mannadis**. Kannan Devan from whom the Kannan Devan Hills Produce Company claims its name was one of those Mannadis who ruled over that area. These hilly tracts were inaccessible from the west but were accessible from the east through the various passes. So it was Tamils who lived in these Taluks and the European planters entered these taluks from the east and never from the west. The people of these taluks are Tamils and are called Mannadiars and they form the bulk of the population inhabiting Marayur, Kanthalur, Nachivayal, Kottakudy, Kizhanthur, Karayur, Puthur and Perumalayar. The invasion of Tipu drove Pulayas and others from

the plains into these areas and they still speak Tamil, living side by side with the Mannadiars. The Muthuvans who move from one mountain top to another persecuted by petty government servants of the Exercise, Forest and Revenue Departments are Tamils. These are the sons of the soil retaining their connection with the neighbouring Districts of the Madras Presidency as their only means of communication were through these Districts. In course of time these Taluks came under the suzerainty of the Maharaja of Travancore. When the Europeans opened up estates, naturally, Tamilians from several parts of the Madras Presidency were recruited as labourers and officers in these estates. There is now a good Tamil population which has settled in these estates for generations and are awaiting enfranchisement. The Neriamangalam Bridge and the Pallivasal Road opened up these taluks from the west and the Malayalees are now infiltrating into this area for economic exploitation lured by land grabbing which has now become a menace in these taluks Shencottah is outside the ghats and its population is indigenous and not plantation labour.

III. The so-called Tamil population in South Travncore is at present bilingual. The official language in Travancore was Tamil. But owing to the preponderance of the Malayalee in government service, Tamil was replaced by Malayalam. **The Civil Courts guide has provided that Tamil also shall be the court language in the Courts in the Taluks of Thovala, Agastiswaram and Shencottah.** But as the officers who preside over these courts are Malayalees knowing only Malayalam with very few exceptions, in the interest of the litigant population Malayalam happens to be used in these courts. In the Revenue Taluk offices, Police and Excise Departments the officers, clerks and menials happen to be Malayalees and so the Tamilian cannot have a hearing except in Malayalam. So, those educated few have been forced by circumstances to study Malayalam. They too along with the mass speak only Tamil and Tamil alone is their mother tongue: The 1941 Census Report gives the following figures regarding the language used in the Tamil Taluks:-

Thovala	698	190	42,448	186
Agastiswaram	4,931	1,029	1,76,874	1,205
Kalkulam	36,100	4,758	2,05,944	9,042
Vilavancode	46,023	2,236	1,61,217	13,395
Shencottah	1,677	73	52,432	347
Peermede	31,748	1,349	31,911	1,089
Deviculam	8,282	570	53,394	542

According to the same census report the population of these taluks who talk other languages as mother tongue and talk Tamil as subsidiary language are 106, 1220, 167, 45, 1199, 607 and 2313 respectively and Malayalam as subsidiary language are 11, 28, 146, 82, 4, 180 and 46 respectively.

There is a lot of difference between the Malayalam dialect of Travancore and that of Cochin and Malabar and on that account nobody will seriously argue that the Malayalam areas of Travancore shall not be united to Malabar and Cochin and it may with certainty be asserted that the dialect of Travancore Tamil Nad bears a great resemblance to that of Tamil Nad than the Malayalam dialect of Trivandrum or Quilon bears to that of Calicut or Cochin.

IV. Many of the early Vellala settlers have fully adopted the Malayalee usages and customs including even the matriarchal family law. A small section of Tamilians numbering 27,000 according to the census of 1941 classified as Nanjinad Vellalas adopted Marumakkathayam Law for inheritance alone following the ruling family of Travancore under **whom they held high offices** especially in the finance department, but continued in all other respects as Tamilians in language, marriage custom and ceremonies, funeral rites, dress, ornaments and manners. A special right for the widow over her husband's property called **Nangudama** and of the children over the father's property called **Ukanthudama** are two peculiar characteristics of their system of inheritance even when they followed the Marumakkathayam law to which it is foreign. Since 1102 they too have adopted the Makkathayam system of inheritance,

V. Great irrigation projects costing crores of rupees have been under taken in South Travancore. Arguments have been advanced that a large amount of money has been invested in Travancore Tamil Nad and Kerala could ill afford to lose it. The following figures would show the small amount of money invested in this area when compared with that invested in other parts of Travancore.

Travancore Tamil Nad

Kodayar Project	Rs. 83.64 lakh
Perunchani	Rs. 10.00 lakh (estimated)
Dustless Road South of the River Neyyar	Rs. 11.52 lakh
	Rs. 105.16 lakh

Travancore Malayalam area

Shencottah - Quilon Railway	Rs. 144.56 lakh
Quilon - Trivandrum Railway	Rs. 63.16 lakh
Chakai - Thampanoor Railway	Rs. 21.86 lakh
Willingdon water works, Trivandrum	Rs. 57.75 lakh
Neria Mangalam Bridge	Rs. 4.35 lakh

Town Planning Scheme, Trivandrum	Rs. 21.08 lakh
Drainage do	Rs. 27.21 lakh
Pallivasal Hydro Electric Scheme	Rs. 339.65 lakh
Neendakara Bridge	Rs. 5.36 lakh
Dustless Road (Trivandrum to Neyyar)	Rs. 3.84 lakh
	Rs. 688.82 lakh

This does not include the expenditure on the **canals and waterways** in North Travancore and the **Cochin Harbour** scheme. As the Census Report for 1941 says Large sums of money were expended during successive decades for constructing and **improving canals** which link up the lakes and rivers. Nearly ten out of the thirty taluks of the State are benefited by this route. Neither are the **lakhs invested** on the **Kuttanad irrigation** scheme and the **broadening and metalling of road** and the construction of the **pier** at **Valiathorai** and other landing and shipping **facilities** taken into account. Nor are those **factories** and **industrial concerns** in which government has taken shares taken into account.

VI. A great part of the land owners are still Malayalees. This is a wrong assertion. No where in Travancore Tamil Nad does the Malayalee own a great part of the lands. In the taluks of Thovala, Agastiswaram and Shencottah the Malayalee does not own even **quarter percent** of the total area. It is infinitesimally small. In the Taluks of Peermade and Deviculam apart from the various tea and cardamom estates and reserve forest the area owned by the Tamilian is greater than that owned by the Malayalee . In the Taluks of Neyyattinkara, Kalkulam and Vilavancode the Malayalee can claim to have a small percentage of the land mostly enjoyed as grants to descendants of the Royal family or obtained by illegal registry. So it is false to assert that a great part of the land is owned by the Malayalee

VII. South Travancore has all along been part of Kerala. A reading of any text book on the history of Travancore would convince the Aikya Keralite that this assertion is false. Historians are unanimous that Travancore Tamil Nad never formed a part of Kerala. Kerala seems to have extended only from Perumpuzha in the North to Kannetti in the South. Venad was outside the limits of Kerala. So it was the land twenty five miles north of Trivandrum that was known as Kerala.

VIII. These Southern Taluks are geographically as in economic and cultural interests part and parcel of Kerala. The Western Ghats are said to divide Travancore from the Province of Madras. If that be the argument of the Aikya Keralite how could he include the Taluk of Shencottah which is beyond the ghats and lying within the adjoining Tinnevely District. If mountains are effective barriers against the formation of provinces in this atomic age, India could never be one as the Vindyas are an effective barrier to keep out North India from South India. The Bombay Province could never include Poona and much

less would Coorg and Nilgiris be included in the proposed Kerala Union. If the sea is an effective barrier and boundary of a province, the islands of Lacadives and Maldives in the Arabian sea could never form part of Kerala. If the argument based upon sea and hills as boundaires are pushed to their logical conclusion, then the proposed Kerala Province would have no place and it ought to form part of the Province of Bombay as a coastal region.

The first level country stretching from the frontiers of Travancore touching the Tinnevelly District extends up to Neyattinkara. "The collected villages, waving plains, palmyra topes and extensive cultivation of Nanjinad resemble in every particular way the neighbouring province of Tinnevelly." Western Ghats are only a low lying ridge with scattered hillocks in the southern taluks. "In the South the mountain range is of no great breadth For the rest of its length towards the south the mountain back bone is a mere ridge sloping down on either side The Ghats end abruptly near the Aramboly Pass." From Aramboly down to Cape Comorin, a distance of **fifteen miles, there are** no barriers whatever to separate Tinnevely from Travancore. In some places the border line **runs through villages** dividing them into two. Nowhere in Tamil Nad is the distance between the hills and the sea greater than fifteen miles. The Travancore Tamil Nad in the south lies contiguous to the Madras Province and geographically there is no impediment to the merging of these two areas. The vegetation, cultivation of paddy, cereals and pulses and irrigation are so akin to the Madras Province.

The Travancore Tamil Nad forms an economic unit with Madras Tamil Nad with its network of roads and irrigation channels. Its trade is with the Madras Tamil Nad. The Madras Tamil Nad gets an access to the Arabian sea and an occassion to improve its coastal trade and communications. It produces enough paddy and salt which can be raised on a commercail scale. It is rich in minerals especially Monozite, Illiminite and Zircon. It has rich forests producing rubber, tea, coffee and cardamoms. Its forests are abundant with timber and other forest produce. The rest of Travancore, Cochin and Malabar is economically backward and if this Travancore Tamil Nad is added on to a deficit area, it would end in economic exploitation and its ultimate ruin

The hundreds of inscriptions scattered throughout the length and breadth of Travancore Tamil Nad are only in Tamil. Even the mile stones were numbered in Tamil. The old settlement records were in Tamil. Grants and Neets were in Tamil. The wearing of single piece coloured sari over cloth and removal of Thali indicating widowhood are peculiar only to the Tamils. The Mithakshara law of inheritance governs all Tamil Hindus and the Christians of Travancore. Tamil Nad as governed by the same system of inheritance till the passing of the Christian Succession Act in 1916.

The architecture of the temples of Travancore Tamil Nad including the Sri. Padmanabha Swamy Temple at Trivandrum have the same peculiar characteristics as those in Madras Tamil Nad. The gopura, the moolastanam, the prakaram, the location of the flag staff inside the prakaram, the clothing of female dieties with coloured saris and the tying of the thali around their necks and the forms of worship are similiar to those in Madras Tamil Nad. No temple beyond Trivandrum can boast of these characteristics.

The unit of measurement which is the para and edangali was unknown in Travancore Tamil Nad till a Malayalee government imposed it in the last settlement. But the Madras measures of **Pukka, Marakkal and Kottah** alone are stilll prevalent in this area and the nirak rate in courts is calculated on the basis of Kottahs and Pukkas.

5. Broken Pledges : The State Congress by its resolution passed in 1946 at Nagercoil resolved that the Travancore Tamil Nad has the right of self-determination when the Kerala Province is formed. They have now gone back upon that resolution and they have now taken the firm stand of denying the right of self determination to Tamil Nad and of binding us to the chariot wheels of the Kerala Province with the promise of carving out a separate District of Tamils in the South. Could any reasonable person rely on the word of a political party which never keeps its promises? Their leaders who adorned the cabinet have sent a 600 word telegram opposing the Kerala Province which they so openly advocated on all platforms in Cochin, Malabar, Madras and Delhi. The same people who advocated self-determination for Tamilians are now denying their right on geographical and economic considerations and shed crocodile tears that we would be ruined if we join the Union Tamil Nad. How could the Travancore Tamil Nad form part of a Kerala Province led by leaders who never keep their promises and who are only bent upon exploiting us by false promises and hostile propaganda.

6. Difference in political outlook : Malabar has the most serious problem of its economic backwardness to tackle. It has now the most serious menace of communist uprisings whose activities have come down to the industrial areas of Travancore. It has the problem of the Moplastan to deal with. It is always a disturbed area where peace and tranquility is at a discount. The fight between the Nayar and the Syrian Christian, who has nothing in common with the Tamil Christians obtaining in Cochin and Northern Travancore for political mastery is not heard of in Tamil Nad. With the advent of Aikya Kerala it is to be an unending tricorned fight between the three numerically strong communities in Kerala - the Nayar, the Ezhava and the Syrian. If within Travancore the Tamilian cannot raise his head, have his due share in the government and a part in the administration, what a plight is in store for the Tamilian occupying the southern tip of Kerala. he would be swamped, his language and culture destroyed. **Accession** with Union Tamil Nad would save him from ruin.

7. Responsible government and Travancore Tamil Nad : The suffering that the volunteers, workers and organisers underwent simply for claiming the right of secession when Kerala province becomes a reality are now a matter of history. **More than two thousand Tamil men, women and children have been tortured by the police. Seventy two cases are now pending in various courts and not a single Aikya Keralite had moved his little finger to withdraw these cases** though a large number of cases against State Congressites has been withdrawn. The Malayalee Police under the command of the Inspector General of Police and the District Superintendent of Police, Trivandrum still persist in manhunting on the pretext of arresting unidentified accused wanted in various cases. The Travancore Tamil Nad Congress opposed their promotion to these offices and so they are now wreaking vengeance on Tamilians. The short-lived Pattom Ministry was hand in glove with these police officers to suppress the Travancore Tamil Nad Congress. The only Tamilian who was sworn in as a minister was dismissed within 48 hours of his assuming office. About 275 appointments carrying a salary of Rs. 200 and more fell vacant consequent on the lowering of the age of retirement. Not a single Tamilian was recruited direct to any of these offices. Hooligans have been set up by the police to disturb public worship in certain churches to spite Tamil Nad Congress. Orders from civil courts are not respected by the Police. Rank communalism, nepotism and corruption is the order of the day. The State Congress is now divided into two camps, each contending for political power and supremacy.

The new Aikya Keralite ministry has vowed to drag us on to the Kerala Province and they would leave no stone unturned to effect their object by suppressing the Tamil Nad Congress and Tamilians by the slow process of strangulation. The Tamilian officers are in a fright. No consideration is shown to minorities and much less to the Tamilians. Rank indiscipline among officers and chaos and unrest prevails everywhere. The **Maharajah has taken the side of the majority** party which is entirely Malayalee and all our attempts to induce him to interfere have proved futile. So, there is no choice before us but to secede from Travancore and join Madras Presidency. There alone lies our political salvation.

**The Travancore Tamil Nad Congress
Working Committee and
Legislative Assembly Party.**

50. T.T.N.C. RESOLUTION (1954)

Resoultion passed by the working committee of the Travancore Tamil Nad Congress on 6-7-1954

The T.T.N.C. has been working for the last eight years for the merger of the predominantly Tamil areas of the T.C. State in the adjacent Madras Tamil Nad. As smilar problems exist in different parts of India, the Central Government have

appointed a high powered Commission to go into the question. Pending report of the-ommission the Tamilians in the State have so far put up with the injustice done to them by the State Government namely, the continuance of Malayalm as the court language and official language even in the predominantly Tamil areas in the State, the conversion of Tamil schools into Malayalam Schools, the shifting of industries from the Tamil areas to Malayalam areas, the wilfull refusal to include much needed irrigation and other projects for the Tamil areas in the 1st and 2nd five year plans; the denial of legitimate promotions to Tamil officers, the failure to give adequate representation to the Tamilians in the services, and such other acts of injustice and discrimination. While so with the view to prevent the predominantly Tamil areas of Deviculam and Peermade being merged with Madras the Malayali Sirkar have been willfully attempting to create a split among the Tamilians and those who do not accede to their design are being harassed and publicly humiliated, through police excesses and foisting of false cases, and thus they have made the life of Tamils impossible. Even the elementary rights of the Tamils are being callously denied. Further when the top ranking leaders of the Travancore Tamil Nad Congress namely Messrs. A. Nesamoney, M.P., A.A. Raazak, M.P., A. Chidambaranathan Nadar, Ex-Minister and M.L.A. went over to Deviculam to console the Tamils who were in distress this government have without just cause and excuse promulgated an order under Sec. 144 Cr P.C. and arrested, convicted and sentenced them. It is made clear that the Tamils in the State cannot heareafter continue to be under this Government with liberty and self respect. There is no way out for the Tamils in the State except the merger of the Tamil areas with the adjoining Madras State. It is therefore **resolved to launch a nonviolent satyagraha campaign for the liberation of the Tamils from this oppressive Government for carrying on this campaign a five man action committee is hereby constituted. The working committee is dissolved.**

P. Ramaswamy Pillai
President, T.T.N.C.

51. NEHRU'S LETTER (1954)

Dear Shri Ramaswamy Pillai,

New Delhi
July 9, 1954

I have received your telegram in which you state that you propose to launch satyagraha for merger of Tamil areas with Madras State. I can only say that I deeply regret your taking any such step. You know that the whole question of redistribution of States is being considered by a high-powered commission. It is obvious that till this Commission has reported and the Central and the various State Governments concerned have had time to consider this report fully, no action can be taken in regard to any changes in State boundaries. Your suggestion, therefore, that any step should be taken at an earlier stage is unreasonable and not at all feasible.

Apart from this, I would regret greatly the launching of Satyagraha for any such objective. That does not and cannot help. I hope, therefore, that you will reconsider this matter.

Shri Ramaswamy Pillai
President
Travancore Tamilnad Congress
Pangaudi
Travancore - Cochin

Yours Sincerely
Jawaharlal Nehru

52. REPLY TO NEHRU (1954)

To

The Honourable Prime Minister of India
New Delhi

Nagercoil
16 July, 1954

Honoured Sir,

I am extremely thankful for your letter No.586-PMH/54 dated 9th July 1954 which has been received by me on the 14th instant. I have sent the following telegram to you which I confirm. It is "JAWAHARLAL NEHRU PRIME MINISTER, NEW DELHI. THANKS FOR YOUR LETTER. DETAILED REPLY FOLLOWS. PRESIDENT T.T.N.C. 15-7-54".

I wish to place before you the following circumstances which led to the decision of the T.T.N.C. to launch Satyagraha. The Travancore Tamil Nad Congress has been agitating for the past eight years for the merger of the predominantly Tamil Taluk of 1. Thovala, 2. Agasteeswaram, 3. Kalkulam, 4. Vilavancode, 5. Neyyattinkara, 6. Shencottah, 7. Devikulam, 8. Peermade, 9. Chittoor of the T.C. State with the adjacent State of Madras. The above taluks are contiguous to Madras Tamil Nad and the people of these taluks have in the past general elections declared unequivocally their intention for merger, by voting for the T.T.N.C candidates and electing 12 T.T.N.C. members with an overwhelming majority. We are thankful to the Central Government for having appointed a high power commission for the reorganisation of States. When the Commission visited Trivandrum in May 1954 we represented our case before them hoping that the commission would by accepting our demands set at rest the innumerable disabilities to which the Tamilians in the State are subjected to at the hands of the successive Malayali Governments. We apprehend that one of the three members of the Commission namely Sri. Sirdar K.M. Panikkar is assuming an attitude inconsistent with the real state of facts, and proposing the formation of Aykia Kerala with the Tamil Taluks of Devikulam and Peermade in it. He has on many occasions publicly expressed his view as stated above. The present P.S.P. Government has also expressed its view on the linguistic question and it favours the T.C. State to remain as it is. Since the visit of the States Reorganisation

Commission to the State the government is trying to set up a section of the people in the Tamil areas against those who agitate for merger. The government has already been following a policy of discrimination against the Tamils of this State. The Tamilians in the State have so far put up with the injustice done to them by the government namely the continuance of Malayalam as the court and official language even in the Tamil taluks of this State, the conversion of Tamil classes into Malayalam, the discrimination shown against the Tamilians in the matter of appointment in the public services, the step motherly treatment meted out to Tamilian officers in service, the shifting of industries from Tamil areas to the Malayalam areas, thus depriving the Tamilian labour of their means of livelihood, the wilful neglect to include projects for Tamil areas in the First and Second Five Year Plans and such other acts of injustice. Out of the 27 and odd crores allotted for the First Five Year Plan only a paltry sum of four lakhs has been utilised by the State Government as balance of expenditure in the construction of the Perunchani Dam. Representations from the T.T.N.C. to include such of the urgent irrigation projects as the Pattanamkkal, Neyyar Left Bank Channel have neither been included in the First Five Year Plan nor is there any attempt to include in the Second Five Year Plan. The Tamil areas of the State form nearly one fourth of the total area of the State and one could legitimately claim a good proportion of the amounts to be utilised for the benefit of the Tamil areas of the State. The Malayali government is not for accepting this and when asked they seem to reply that the Tamil areas claim to get off from Travancore-Cochin and as such they are not prepared to spend any amounts in the Tamil areas.

In Devikulam and Peermade the present government is willfully attempting to create a split among the Tamils by setting the police against them by harassing and humiliating those who do not accede to their designs and thus making it impossible for the Tamils to get on there peacefully. Many false cases were foisted on innocent people. Even their elementary fundamental rights are callously denied. Security proceedings were taken up against nearly 400 persons including many women. They are arrested and taken to distant places with babies in their arms. The Sub-Inspector of Police at Devikulam, a Malayali who in his consistent attempt to molest those who desire for merger has recently arrested one Subbayya Nadar and Kuppuswamy, two of the labour leaders there of the T.T.N.C. and severely manhandled Sri. Kuppuswamy in the lockup which resulted in the breakage of his ear-drum impairing him permanently deaf. Many others were arrested and kept in the lockup and such of those persons who agreed to give up their claim for merger were let off while cases were chargesheeted against the others on some pretext or other. Representations were made to the Chief Minister through a deputation of six of the T.T.N.C. M.L.A.s praying for immediate intervention and enquiry into the conduct of the police officer No action was taken by the Chief Minister but on the other hand the police excesses began to be in the increase since then. The inertia on the part of the government leads us to suspect that they connive at the police excesses. It was in these circumstances that the

T.T.N.C. decided to send three of its leaders to go to Munnar to meet the persons in distress and to enquire into the conduct of the Police officers. In pursuance of the decision when the T.T.N.C. leaders Messrs. A. Nesamony, M.P., A.A. Razack, M.P. and A. Chidambaranatha Nadar, M.L.A. and Ex-Minister visited Devikulam to console their Tamilian brethren in distress the Government had promulgated an order under 144 Cr.P.C. without any just cause or excuse but only to prevent them from meeting the Tamilians at Devikulam. They were arrested and sentenced to six weeks imprisonment for defying the ban. It is therefore abundantly clear that the State Government is adumbrating a policy of not only repression against the Tamils of the State but callously neglecting to safeguard the interests of the Tamils in diverse directions. It has become absolutely impossible for the Tamilians in the State to continue to be under this Malayali Government with liberty or self-respect. There is no way out for the Tamils in the State except the merger of the Tamil areas with the adjoining Madras State.

We are aware that the States Reorganisation Commission is seized of the question of the Travancore Tamil areas being merged with Madras Tamil Nad. We are also aware that there are certain constitutional procedures to be adopted before the merger could be given effect to. But the conditions and circumstances in this State are such that it is absolutely impossible for the Tamils to continue under this government without their solidarity being disturbed at the hands of the Malayali Government and its officers. There is absolutely no guarantee for the Tamilians to maintain Status quo in this State till the report of the Reorganisation Commission is published and action taken on it. Hence it is that the T.T.N.C. has decided to launch satyagraha.

You in your letter have stated that “the launching of satyagraha does not and cannot help” the objective. But considering the peculiar situation in which we are now placed in the State we find no other alternative. Our condition is in no way different from the conditions of Tamils in Chittoor, Pondicherry and in Ceylon with the difference that we have the right to appeal to our Central Government.

However I would request you to have personal visit to the State or to depute somebody in whom you have got confidence to make personal enquiries into the conditions that prevail in this State and then to advise us as to what we should do.

Thanking you,

I beg to remain
Honoured Sir,

P. Ramaswamy Pillai, President, T.T.N.C.

53. STATEMENT TO "THE HINDU" (1954)

This present Satyagraha is started for the liberation of the Tamils of this State. The T.T.N.C. is the only organisation which has been agitating for the merger of the 9 predominantly - Tamil Taluks of the State with the adjoining Madras State. And this agitation for the merger is opposed by all political parties in the State. The P.S.P. Assembly party has recently said that Travancore - Cochin State must remain as it is. The Travancore - Cochin P.C.C. has not expressed so far its view but its tendency is for the formation of an Aykia Kerala including Tamil Taluqs of the State. The Communist party agitates that the Tamil areas may join with Madras Tamil Nad but they are also not prepared to admit that the 9 taluqs are predominantly Tamil Taluqs. Ever since the recent visit to the State of the States Reorganisation Commission, these political parties have become anxious about the future of Devikulam and Peermede. In Devikulam, there are two labour organisations of which S. India Plantation workers' Union is headed by Sri. Subbiah Nadar and it consists of 40,000 labourers who are all members of the T.T.N.C. There is another organisation High Range Estate Workers' Union whose President is Ganapathi, Ex-M.L.A., having a strength of less than 2,000 who are followers of the Indian National Congress. The leaders of the latter organisation have given evidence before the Reorganisation Commission pleading for maintenance of Status quo in Travancore - Cochin, which is in harmony with the decision of the present P.S.P. Government. So, the present Government through its officers and police force have been patronising this organisation at the risk of the S. India Plantation Workers' Union. The Police officers unnecessarily and without any justifiable cause are in the habit of molesting the members of the S. India Plantation Association and coercing them to leave that organisation and to join the organisation led by Ganapathi. They make wantonly security proceedings against leaders and sympathisers of S.I.P. Workers' Union, arrest them without notice, put them in the lock-up, beat them there till they agree to become members of Ganapathi's organisation. Those who refuse are severely man-handled by the Police.

On one such occasion, (in the month of May), a woman of the S.I.P. Union was kicked on the belly by a member belonging to the rival Union but working in the same Estate. The Doctor to whom she was taken for treatment refused to admit her as an in-patient. Her condition became worse in 10 days' time. The Police officers to whom a complaint was launched also failed to take action. On the 10th day she grew so worse that she was admitted to the Hospital on that day but she died on the following day. The culprit to whom the Police Officer was in lenience through Sri Ganapathi, allowed him to abscond to Madurai District, on the date of her death. There was also an attempt on the part of the followers of the Ganapathi's Camp to snatch away the dead body from the Hospital for being cremated without post mortem. There was reason also to suspect that the Police Officer connived at it because he failed to book a case earlier. But the

relatives and friends of the deceased put up a strong guard in the Hospital and pressed the Doctor as well as the Police Officer for post mortem. There ensued a scuffle between the two parties (relatives of the deceased and friends of the accused) in which both parties sustained slight injuries. On the same day the S.I. of Police, one Mr. Raja of Devikulam Police Station went to the S.I. Plantation workers' Union office at about 6 p.m., asked Subbiah and their Organising Secretary Kuppuswamy to enter the Police van. They were taken to the Devikulam Police station where they were left in the lock-up without giving them food for the night and without even a blanket to cover the chill at a height of over. 5, 500 feet above sea level. Sri. S.S. Sarma, M.L.A. (T.T.N.C.) and advocate, Munnar tried his best to ascertain from the Police why these people were arrested, But the S.I. absconded. Information is that the Circle Inspector and D.S.P. of Kottayam were camping at Munnar at the time. The arrest of Sri Subbiah and Kuppuswamy, labour leaders of the T.T.N.C. was effected, as a result of all these Police Officers conspiring to discredit the leaders in the eyes of the 40 thousand poor labourers who adore them almost as God.

These leaders immediately wired to us and prayed for our intervention. Myself, Sri. P. Thanulinga Nadar, M.L.A. and A. Razac, M.P. went to Munnar to have a personal acquaintance with the circumstances of the case. We held a protest meeting where a resolution was passed condemning the action of the Police and meeting the Chief Minister in deputation led by Sri. S.S. Sarma. Accordingly, 3 days later, six T.T.N.C. M.L.A.s met Sri Pattom in his official residence, presented a memorandum on the subject and requested him to make a personal enquiry into the conduct of the Police Officers there. But to our surprise, on the 3rd day, the same Kuppuswamy and Subbiah were again arrested by the same Sub-Inspector. They were hand-cuffed and paraded in pouring rain through the streets of Munnar. Subbiah was put in lock-up and Kuppuswamy was very severely thrashed, kicked and fisted by the S.I. in his room. His hair was caught hold of by two police constables and the whole body was lifted and again thrashed, fisted by the S.I. Abusive languages were used by the S.I. about the T.T.N.C. M.L.A.'s and about their complaints to the Chief Minister.

Kuppuswamy was compelled to sign on a blank paper against protest from him. Again he was given a blow on the check which caused the ear-drum to break. Blood oozed out of the ear and the man was thrown into the lock-up. Next day Sri Kuppuswamy was bailed out and at his request the injuries and condition of the ear were noted down by the Magistrate. The injuries were again noted down by A.S.P. who was then camping at Munnar. The complaint regarding the police excesses has not been so far enquired into. The matter immediately was wired to us and I informed the Chief Minister, Sri Pattom Thanu Pillai by means of a wire on the 9th of June complaining of the above police excesses and praying for immediate intervention. Sri Kuppuswamy was brought to Nagercoil and he was ex-rayed in the Hospital of Dr. Mathias and he was treated there.

Our General Committee on the 19th of June resolved condemning the Police excesses and requesting Sri. A. Nesamony to go to Munnar for consoling the victims of the police excesses. Bit notices were issued at Munnar the next day that Sri Nesamony and others are coming to Munnar to address them on 4th July. To our surprise, the Prohibitory order under section 144 Cr. P.C. dated 29th June, 1954 was promulgated on the 2nd of July. It may be recalled that there was absolutely no justification for the promulgation of such an order. There was no clash at all between any labour groups or collection of men at Munnar to justify such an order. The only rival group against the T.T.N.C. workers was the police forces there and the complaint of the T.T.N.C. was only against them. Hence, it could be seen that the prohibitory order was calculated only to prevent the T.T.N.C. leaders from openly discrediting the conduct of the Police of which they were so conscious.

The Tamils of the state have for long been putting up with all these disabilities with the fond hope that the States Reorganisation Commission would soon come forward with a report which would facilitate the Tamil area to join its mother land. But the conditions as stated above, in Devikulam have placed the last straw on the camel's back. **The situation is such that no self-respecting Tamilian can continue to be under this Malayali Government without humiliation. Hence the T.T.N.C. was forced to take a decision to liberate the Tamils immediately from the Malayali administration. Satyagraha is the only alternative possible under the circumstances.** Hence the movement.

Sri. A. Nesamony, M.P., Sri. A. Chithambaranatha Nadar, M.L.A., Ex-Minister and Sri. A. Razak, M.P. who reached Munnar on the 3rd were surprised at the promulgation of the Prohibitory order. On reviewing the whole situation, they rightly came to the conclusion that the order was unjustifiable and they should defy it.

They defied it accordingly and courted arrest on the 4th of July. On the 5th July, the District Magistrate of Kottayam sentenced and imprisoned them for 6 weeks.

The working committee of the T.T.N.C. immediately was convened and the situation discussed. The Tamilians and the Tamil area in Travancore - Cochin State has long been neglected and their subjects under step-motherly treatment at the hands of successive Governments. Their complaints are many. The want of Tamil schools in the Tamil areas, the want of proper Tamil teachers in the existing few Tamil classes, the neglect of the Government in attending to the pressing problems of the Tamilians such as drinking water supply, maintenance of irrigation tanks, cutting of canals & c. the non-selection of Tamilians in public service, the not-giving proper encouragement to Tamil officers already in service, viewing the Tamilians already in service as more or less 5th columnists are only a few of the instances of this step-motherly treatment which the Tamilians of the State are

receiving at the hands of the Government. Out of 28 crore of rupees allotted in the 1st five year plan only 4 lakhs of rupees was spent in the Tamil area as balance of expenditure in the putting of the Perunchani Dam. The one or two industries in the Tamil areas have been removed further North to the Malayalam area, depriving the labour population of the Tamil area of their means of livelihood. Even in the II - 5 Year Plan no amount has been allotted for any major works in the Tamil areas. The Tamil areas which form nearly 1/4 of the whole state, must have legitimate share of the total allotment in the plans. The Malayali Government of Travancore is robbing the Tamil area of its benefits and the money so obtained is utilised by the state for setting up luxurious roads, canals, buildings &c. in Malayalam areas. When complained, the State Government does not hesitate to answer the Tamil area is bound to separate from Travancore State and that they cannot spend for the benefit of the people of that area. While Madras State spending very huge sums in Malabar area after knowing that the District of Malabar is bound to become a part of Aykia Kerala, has no effect on the Malayali Government of the State.

In conclusion, I may state that the present P.S.P. Government is instrumental in setting up Ganapathi's party as against the bigger labour association. Sri. Pattom in the last Assembly Session unequivocally declared on the floor of the Assembly that the Tamils would have the right to go to Madras Tamil Nad when Provinces are redistributed on language basis. But when the Re-organisaion Commission visted the State the Parliamentary party of the Travancore-Cochin Praja Socialist Party resolved and submitted a memorandum to the Commission pleading for the continuance of the Travancore - Cochin as it is. As against this, Sri Subbiah Nadar and his men at Devikulam pleaded for the merger of Devikulam, Peermade with Madra State. The Commission has not finalised its enquiry of this State. The move on the part of the local Government appears to be to terrorise the members of the merger group through its police force and its subordinate machinery and thus to coerce them to their view. Thus, the incidents at Munnar have brought far-reaching consequence in the politics of the State and each step is calculated to put down the voice of merger with the Madras Tamil Nad.

P. Ramaswamy Pillai
T.T.N.C., President

20-7-1954

54. AGAIN REPLY TO NEHRU (1954)

The Prime Minister of India
New Delhi

Nagercoil
12-8-1954

Sir,

Your letter of 29th July 1954 suggesting to me that your previous letter of the 18th should be published was received by Sri. A. Kunjan Nadar after I was arrested at Munnar on 28th July. I was convicted on 30th July and released on 10th August 1954. I came to know of your letter only yesterday and so I was not

able to publish it as directed. I have published your letter along with my letter dated 16th July this morning though extracts of your letter have already been released to the Press by the Chief Minister of the T.C. State at a Press Conference held on 11th August.

Your letter was marked confidential and so it was not passed on to Sri. Kunjan Nadar. It was because of this, that your suggestion was not complied with by him. I am sorry that this has happened but I wish to assure you that we have no intention at all to refuse publication of any of your letters.

I have this day despatched the following telegram to you and to the States Ministry.

“T.T.N.C. temporarily suspended satyagraha. Hundreds of people arrested tortured in Police lock-ups. Orgy of man hunt going on. Normal life in villages and market places rendered impossible. Sanctity of home violated day and night. Advocate not allowed facilities for defence. Request immediate intervention. P. Ramaswami Pillai, President T.T.N.C. 13-8-1954”

In view of certain unforeseen unfortunate incidents which took place on the 11th August, the T.T.N.C. resolved to suspend picketing on the very same night. I am convinced from the information available to me till now, no untoward event was caused by any one of our volunteers or leaders. Certain political organisations and individuals opposed to us created troubles wantonly to suppress our peaceful and nonviolent agitation by causing violence. The State Government has now seized this opportunity of wantonly arresting respectful citizens and sympathisers of T.T.N.C. through out the Tamil Area. Hundreds are being arrested everyday, taken to the Police Lock-up and are severely tortured. There are several instances where people are beaten up and carried away in the Police vans from the public roads and public markets. Day and night man-hunting had become common and sanctity of home is not respected. Facilities for advocates to get papers and vakalaths signed by those in custody are not granted by the authorities. No information has been laid before any court of law up to the present time though time prescribed by law has elapsed long ago. Normal life and security of persons are at stake.

Therefore I request you to intervene at this juncture for the sake of the protection of persons and homes of our people.

I remain,
Yours faithfully
(P. Ramaswami Pillai)
President, T.T.N.C., Nagercoil

55. STATEMENT OF M.P. SIVAGNAM (1954)

After the shooting incident in the Tamil areas in the T-C. State on the 11th August I visited the area on the 12th to collect first hand information regarding the same.

I found that on the 12th August Police have commandeered all the available taxis in the towns. From the information that I was able to get I have no doubt that the T.T.N.C. had arranged to observe the Deliverance Day on the 11th August in a peaceful and non-violent manner. But the Police lathi-charged a peaceful procession of students at Kuzhithurai and arrested the student leaders. This alone led to the pelting of stones and obstruction of traffic by the students. Availing this opportunity the Police resorted to firing. The Police, it is noteworthy, had not given sufficient warning to the crowd to disperse of, there by using tear-gas or shooting at the sky. At Puthukadai also, my information is that the Police opened fire without any provocation and that the post office and the Police outpost there were attacked by the infuriated mob after the firing took place. Government press note mentions that three died at Kuzhithurai and six at Puthukadai. But four died at Kuzhithurai and six at Puthukadai. Many suffered serious injuries; the number is not definitely known.

After the 11th August Police -Raj is let loose in Kalkulam and Vilavancode Taluks. The innocent Tamils of the locality are the target of indiscriminate attacks by the Malayalee Police. Women are also being ill - treated; in some cases, their modesty is out-raged. Day and night Police break open the houses and belabour men and destroy movables. Because of the reign of terror perpetrated by the Police, villages and busy places look deserted.

Not withstanding the fact that the T.T.N.C. has suspended Satyagraha, the T.T.N.C. leaders and workers are being arrested daily. Even M.L.A.s and advocates who are arrested by the police are being manhandled and illtreated. Satyagrahis and other Tamils who are in the Police lock-ups are being tortured.

Such a reign of terror has never been witnessed even during the worst periods of British rule. The Central Government must forthwith appoint an impartial commission to make an open enquiry into the happenings in the Tamil Taluks in the T.C. State. Prompted by their rancour and enmity towards the Tamil, the Chief Minister Sri. Thanu Pillai and Malayalee Police have launched this orgy of terror. Unless the Central Government intervenes at once, there can be no safety for the life and property of the Tamils in the State. All parties and associations in Madras should come forward to urge on the Central Government to institute a public enquiry in the matter.

18-8-1954

M.P. Sivagnanam
President
Tamilarasu Kazhakam

56. RULE OF STEEL AND FIRE (1954)

The Travancore Tamil Nad Congress (TTNC) stands for the merger of the predominantly Tamil areas of Travancore - Cochin with the adjoining Madras State. With this declared objective it has routed all other political parties in the several elections since 1948, both to the State Legislature and the local bodies. At present it is represented by twelve members in the State Legislature and one each in the two Houses of Parliament.

Since the visit of the States Reorganization Commission to the State late in May last, when the TTNC representatives had their effective say with them, the Praja Socialist Government of the State took to a repressive and discriminatory course of action against the Tamils in Deviculam with a view to dislodge the Tamil population there and supplant the same by Malayalees. Several false proceedings were instituted against a very large number of Tamil workers, both men and women. Accredited labour leaders were publicly beaten and insulted. People taken into custody under one flimsy pretext or other were subjected to the most primitive forms of torture inside the police lock-ups. Representations made to the Chief Minister against these police excesses were of no avail, and therefore the TTNC decided to observe 30th June last as "Deviculam Day" throughout Travancore Tamil Nad. To prevent such public expression in Deviculam, the Sub-Divisional Magistrate of the place promulgated under questionable circumstances an order under Section 144 Cr. P.C., prohibiting all public meetings and processions for a period of one month from 29th June. On the face of it, the order was motivated by political considerations and as such it was defied by batches of Satyagrahis including members of the Parliament and Assembly, and Chairmen and members of municipalities and village panchayats. It was defied until the last day, viz., 28th July when it expired. In the meantime, peaceful picketing of Courts and public offices was carried on till 10th August for vindicating the right of the Tamils to have their language as the regional language. By then about 500 persons were arrested in these two campaigns, convicted and sentenced to varying terms of imprisonment. Thus when the TTNC movement was peaceful and non-violent even according to government spokesmen, the Chief Minister and top-ranking police officers indulged in threatening and inflammatory public utterances declaring that the TTNC movement would be beaten off by all means, fair or foul.

The programme for 11th August - the day marked for the observance of the "Deliverance Day" - differed in one aspect only from that of the preceding days namely the observance of a general hartal throughout the Tamil areas on that day. Certainly, therefore, it was never the intention of TTNC to cause violence to person or damage to any property. Peaceful processions were taken out and non-violent picketing of public offices was resorted to as usual. Still in accordance with the pre-determined plan of Shri Thanu Pillay to quell this movement, the police were let loose on the people throughout the Tamil areas. They indulged in acts of lawlessness, and eventually resorted to firing at Marthandom and

Puthukaday without provocation and without warning. Many lost their lives and many were severely wounded. The police then, with the aid of agent provocateurs and anit-social elements, deliberately caused damage to certain public property with a view to justify the action of the police. These marked the beginning of a Black Reign of Terror which still continues. Regular man-hunt, illegal arrests and searches, looting of shops and molestation of women became just normal features of this dark regime.

Until the time when writs of Habeas Corpus were moved in the High Court of the State, hundreds of persons were taken into custody and were subjected to inhuman torture. Marks of violence with lathis, buttends of rifles, rulers and wooden hammers are still visible on the persons of under-trials and on the few who have been released on bail. The under-trials are kept in lock-ups, 18x9 feet each, along with convicts, with little ventilation and light and the number varies from 15 to 22. Every such cell is a black hole infested with vermin and yet the inmates have to lie on the bare floor. They have to answer their calls of nature in a pot kept inside the cell and which the under-trials are compelled to clean every morning. The awful stink emanating from the pot is suffocating and injurious to the health. Yet the request made for reasonable amenities was turned down by the Magistrates. The treatment meted out, the feelings of the police and of the officers concerned are such that there is a fear in the mind of every one that they are not safe in mind or in body while in jail. The dealing is wholly vindictive and calculated merely for securing these persons for as long a period as possible, and terrorise them and the possible witnesses in the various cases and the Tamil public. The picture on the front page is one of the many examples of police victimisation in lock-ups, the case of Shri. S. Chellappan. He was arrested while leading a procession on August 11. Due to inhuman torture at the hands of the police his right leg was fractured. A writ application was moved on his behalf before the T-C High Court, and when he appeared in Court limping on 31st August, the Chief Justice ordered that he should be sent to the Hospital for treatment. He was thus sent to the Government Hospital, Trivandrum, where his leg was X-rayed and put under plaster. It still continues in plaster, and it is now feared that he shall have to undergo an operation to set right his ankle. The case of Shri Muthukannu Palayyan is another telling example of police ravages inside lock-ups. He was released on bail about the middle of October, and while coming home he complained of acute pain in the abdomen. He was immediately rushed to the hospital. But medical aid was late and he died within 24 hours of his admission, leaving behind a young widow and a child.

There is no knowing so far as to the exact number of cases reported by the police. For over three months no final charge-sheet was laid in any case. From the available records furnished lately, 416 persons are accused in 9 cases. This number includes 9 members of the Assembly, 2 Municipal Chairmen, 19 Presidents and 39 members of Village Panchyats, 13 Advocates, 3 Law-Apprentices and 3

Teachers. It is over three months and a half since August 11, and still it is reported that more cases are being fabricated. Strangely a faked body is also sitting on enquiry over the police shooting on August 11. To match well the purpose of this enquiry, the police are further armed with an "Open List" to go about the villages and summon witnesses under threat of this frightful weapon. Evidently persons found not agreeable to the behests of the police are brought within this list. In Courts, police officers openly indulge in false representations, and the Courts are reticent even where there is irrefutable proof of such perjury. The big stick of the police has gained ascendancy over the Rule of Law, and the Tamil people are under continual threat and fear of being hauled up by the police.

Travancore has not witnessed a darker regime in the last 200 years of its history, and the following are a few belated camera testimonials which were possible only during the visit of Shri S. Karayalar, President of the Tamil Nad Congress Committee, Madras, to the police plagued villages in South Travancore on 29th August, the earlier attempts at photographing having been sedulously thwarted by the police

New Delhi
15th November '54

A. Abdul Razak, M.P. (Rajya Sabha)
A. Nesamony, M.P. (Lok Sabha)

57. IIAUGUST 1954 AND AFTER (1954)

A. Nesamony, M.P.
The President
Indian National Congress
New Delhi

Nagercoil
August 26, 1954

Sir,

Representations have been made to you by various bodies and individuals regarding the situation in Travancore Tamil Nad since August 11, 1954. I submit this statement to clarify the incidents that took place on that date and subsequently and what led to these incidents.

1. Sri. Pattom Thanu Pillay is an enemy of the Travancore Tamil Nad Congress: During the course of the election in 1948 he caused the shooting at Mangad and Keezhkulam and two valuable lives were lost. About sixty cases were started by the police under his instruction. When he headed the first ministry and until his downfall he followed a policy of discrimination with the avowed object of destroying the Travancore Tamil Nad Congress (T.T.N.C.) The proceedings of the Legislative Assembly of that time and the various representations made by us bear this out.

It was widely talked about that Sri. Pattom Thanu Pillay is to head a ministry as soon as the last elections were over. He through his friends

approached the President of the T.T.N.C. and offered the Speakership of the local Assembly. But, **we who had fought all political parties in the State did not wish to be allied to any party or be under obligation to any party which would underline our independent existence as an opposition group.** So, the offer was turned down. This infuriated him. Subsequently in the elections to the various standing committees, the Council of State and the Devaswom Board the T.T.N.C. had to adopt a course opposed to his wishes and his party candidates suffered reverses one after the other. These infuriated him further and he assumed a hostile attitude and made up his mind to take vengeance on us.

2. Representation to the Ministers for the execution of Irrigation Projects : When the Minister for Finance presented his first budget we found that the construction of the Neyyar Left Bank Channel included in the First Five Year Plan was given up during the Plan period. Various other irrigation and drinking water supply schemes which were included in successive budgets but were not executed mostly because they benefitted the Travancore Tamil Nad were omitted in the budget. So the fourteen members of the T.T.N.C. Parliamentary Party presented a memorandum requesting the ministers to reconsider the budget proposal so as to include certain schemes and to execute those schemes included in the budget without allowing any amount to lapse failing which we stated that we would be compelled to adopt other methods. A copy of this representation was sent to all the Ministers concerned in New Delhi. The Secretary of the party wrote to the Chief Minister to fix a day so that we might wait on him and discuss the matter with him. He was not courteous enough to fix a day. **He turned a deaf ear to our requests and we understand that he laughed at our requests and stated that he would not be persuaded by threats.**

3. Persecution of Tamils in Deviculam : Since the presentation of the Memorandum by the T.T.N.C. to the Boundary Commission urging the merger of the Taluks of Deviculam and Peermade along with other Tamil taluks with the Madras State, the Tamils in these taluks are being harassed by the police at the instance of interested parties. The local branch of the T.T.N.C. informed us that security proceedings have been started against about 400 persons including women and that most of them are being tortured by the local police. Labour leaders were arrested, fettered and paraded through the streets of Munnar in pouring rain. One Sri. Kupuswamy was so belaboured that his ear drum is ruptured and he had become an invalid. Hearing this, four representatives of the T.T.N.C. including three members of the local Legislative Assembly went over to Deviculam, investigated the situation there and made a representation to the Chief Minister that the police atrocities should cease and that a transfer of the local Sub-Inspector of Police would ease the situation. He refused to look into the matter and the situation there was deteriorating. So, several urgent representations were made and they too were not attended to.

4. Defiance of Prohibitory order in Deviculam : Since the Government did not pay any heed to our representations, the T.T.N.C. declared the observance of June 30th as **Deviculam Day** in Travancore Tamil Nad. It was observed peacefully everywhere by holding public meetings and passing resolutions condemning the police atrocities and the Government. But, I had planned a visit to Deviculam on July 4 and so the observance of that day was postponed to that date. Before I reached Deviculam on July 3rd, the police succeeded in getting an order under Section 144 Cr. P.C. promulgated to prevent me from contacting our local leaders and addressing public meetings. I thought that I should not be a coward and I felt it my duty to disobey that illegal order. So, a notice was served on the local Magistrate intimating him that Sri Chidambaranthan, (Ex.Minister), Sri. A.A.Razak, Member, Council of States, and I would disobey the order and we did so, on July 4th. We were arrested, convicted and sentenced to six weeks imprisonment. This was followed by batches of satyagrahies mostly led by members of the local Assembly, Presidents of Panchayats and other responsible leaders, disobeying the prohibitory order.

5. Launching of peaceful Satyagraha : Following our imprisonment, the T.T.N.C. decided upon launching peaceful Satyagraha to express our dissatisfaction with the present ministry and to demonstrate that all our fundamental rights are in jeopardy in this State and that nothing would save us except an immediate merger with the Madras State. This was carried on from July 9th to August 11th, most peacefully and batches of Satyagrahies courted imprisonment. There had been no untoward incident.

6. A concerted plan to discredit the T.T.N.C. and to crush it down with violence : The T.T.N.C. declared August 11th to be observed as **Deliverance Day** throughout Travancore Tamil Nad. The Chief Minister in his reply to an adjournment motion on July 12th in the local Legislative Assembly stated that **he would beat down the T.T.N.C. agitation**. On August 8th he addressed a public meeting in the Pazhavangadi Maidan in Trivandrum when he threatened the Tamils in Trivandrum and asked them whether they too are leaving the State with those in Tamil Nad. At the same time he threatened to ruthlessly put down the T.T.N.C. agitation with an iron hand on the pretext of granting security to Malayalees. **He engineered an anti - T.T.N.C. movement of his own caste men**. This was followed by provocative articles in the Malayalam press at the instance of the Public Relations Officer. On the night of August 9th all those who were in the jails disobeying the prohibitory order were ordered to be released even though some of us had only three days more to complete the term. This included six members of the local Assembly and two members of the Parliament. **We were thus released, in furtherance of a concerted plan by government of creating incidents and book us all imputing criminal acts on the Deliverance Day.**

7. The Deliverance Day : The day was observed peacefully throughout Tamil Nad. No incident happened till 1.30 p.m. except wanton lathi charges on peaceful

processions at Nagercoil and Marthandam. Complete hartal was observed. There was massing of police force in all centres. But nothing happened to provoke the police to action.

8. The incidents as they happened at Marthandam : A peaceful procession of students was wantonly lathi - charged by the police and two students on the pretext of pelting stones were severely beaten and taken into the police van. The students dispersed and lay on the road about half a mile away in front of the school demanding the release of the students. If only the two students were released, nothing would have happened at Marthandam.

A peaceful procession of the T.T.N.C. was taken out along the main roads. A batch of volunteers picketed the Sub-Registrar's Office and no police man was there. The procession then moved on to the Magistrate's Court with the volunteers for picketting. The police who had mustered strong in the court compound rushed through two gates at different places and wantonly charged the processionists without giving any warning to disperse. Confusion prevailed and a few were beaten up with lathis and carried away. Hundreds were injured.

By this time the situation in front of the school worsened by the action of the Headmaster of the local Government High School who called in the police. The police indulged in indiscriminate lathi charge on passers - by and the students. Hundreds were injured and they were carried away in police vans and brutally tortured. Then began a reign of terror. Police were let loose. One telegraph post and eight telephone posts within a distance of three miles were pulled down. Obstructions were alleged to have been placed on the main road. But it is significant that nobody was caught red handed in the act even though fully loaded police vans with armed police were running up and down the road. This was a situation created by the police and their hirelings. Then began the chase and the shooting at random on the pretext of pelting with stones. In isolated places, one by one people were shot down while running for their lives, the number died and wounded far exceeds those mentioned in the press notes. People have fled for their lives and until they return after normal conditions, the number of dead, wounded cannot be assessed.

9. The incident at Puthukaday : Early on the morning of August 11 the Sub-Registrar's Office close by Puthukaday, there was demonstration in front of the Sub-Registrar's Office. The procession dispersed. The Sub-Registrar is alleged to have requisitioned police help from Marthandam even though a police out post was closeby. In the evening a peaceful meeting was held in a compoud at Puthukaday presided over by Sri. C. Gopalakrishnan, Advocate. The armed police appeared there, pushed him and his companion Mathiazhagan into a police van and tortured them. With no warning the police opened fire. The police chased the people shooting indiscriminately at various places. The casualties were very heavy Nobody knows how many were killed and how many were wounded.

Rumours are afloat that two lorry loads of dead and wounded were carried away to Trivandrum. The damage to the Post Office and the police outpost are subsequent events made up by the police and their hirelings to justify the shooting. For a while the people were fleeing for their lives and men of a particular community chased them and severely manhandled them.

10. Terrorism Prevails : The wounded when carried to the hospital were snatched away and their helpers arrested and tortured. Five wounded persons were removed to the hospital and they are all now figuring as accused. So, several of the wounded died for want of proper medical relief. From the afternoon of August 11 terrorism prevails. There is no safety of person and property. Police informers and our political enemies have seized this opportunity of supplying lists of T.T.N.C. workers and sympathisers to the police. **Armed police with these lists seize all those whom they could find on the road, in market places, in the fields, in villages and vehicles. If they are in the list they are beaten and taken into the van if not they are given a sound thrashing and driven off. Fields lie without being harvested. Nobody is safe to follow his own avocation. Sanctity of homes have been violated and the modesty of women outraged. It is now a Police Raj. Inhuman cruelties are perpetuated in the name of law and order. Sri Kunjan Nadar, M.L.A. was arrested at midnight by forcibly breaking open his house. Then what about others?**

11. The Black Holes : Every police lockup is awfully crowded. There is not even sitting spaces in some lockups. **Organised violence and torture is the order of the day in these lockups. The skies are rent with their screams at night - a living death in the cell. The spectre of death is before their eyes. There is no account of those arrested, and locked up in jails.** Several are alleged to have been removed to hospitals. But where to find them is the question.

12. Medical relief : The urgent matter for consideration is the check up of all those locked in police lockups by a competent medical officer of repute and to render medical aid to all those who have been tortured by the police. It is quite evident that no Magistrate would even dare to grant bail to any until the evidence of torture is obliterated. It is a humane problem that requires immediate attention. Physicians are requisitioned stealthily to treat the wounded in the lockups to obliterate evidence of torture.

13. Sham Justice : Nothing need be said of the early records in each case. Competent courts would adjudge on their relative value. **The Chief Minister had been to places where shooting took place and whole heartedly supported the action of the police in public.** Then he directed the district collector to hold an enquiry about the shooting. Witnesses were summoned and in the death stillness of a court surrounded by hundreds of armed police the court held its sittings. Who would dare to give evidence speaking the truth and nothing but the truth. It was only a mockery of justice. Now, no minister is tired of haranguing that the shooting

was justified and what justice can be obtained and from whom is the question.

Finally Sir, **We are witnessing today the worst forms of communalism making strident march in Tamil nad. Sri. Pattom Thanu Pillay is a Malayalee and he cannot brook the sight of a Tamilian crossing his path. He is a Nair who thirsts for the blood of the Nadar his opponent. He has drunk enough of it, not once but twice. Could not this orgy of man hunting and man slaughter be put an end to?**

Yours faithfully
Sd-

A. Nesamony's Personal File

58. 11 AUGUST 1954 AND AFTER (1954)

STATEMENT ISSUED BY A. NESAMONY ON THE SITUATION
CREATED BY THE GOVERNMENT ON 11 AUGUST 1954

(In addition to the 13 paras found in Nesamony's Letter to the President, Indian National Congress dt. 26 Aug. 1954 (App. 57) the STATEMENT contained 4 more paras (14, 15, 16 & 17) and a conclusion. The additional paras . . .)

14. Cases launched : We are not in a position even today to give the number of cases that have been taken up from every police station since August 11th. From the information available we are led to think that atleast 14 cases have been taken up and the accused in them are innumerable. As usual the police say **2000 others or 150 others or the others** in all their reports. Thus they are casting a very wide net and nobody in Tamil Nad is sure whether he is an accused or not. All the names of those who are in the lockups are not available. But, in the mean time interested parties and police are having a good harvest.

15. Asylum in the Madras State : People have fled and have taken refuge in the Madras State and elsewhere. The police are attempting to haul them up and they have met with failure. This has led to the outburst of the Chief Minister at Ernakulam making a wild allegation that **the Chief Minister of Madras and Sri. Subramoniam would have invaded Tamil Nad if there was no Central Government.** Thus the attitude of the Chief Minister of this State is made up.

16. An enforced non-cooperation : Every Panchayat member, Panchayat President, Municipal Councillor and Municipal Chairman is either arrested or is wanted. So panchayats and Municipalities have ceased to function. How long they would continue as such is a question. Thus all local self governing institutions are at a stand still. Shops are closed. Market places are deserted and normal life in all areas is rendered impossible owing to the activities of police.

17. An impartial judicial enquiry : The T.T.N.C. demands an enquiry by a tribunal consisting of two non-officials of repute in the public life of India presided over by an eminent judge of the status at least of a High Court Judge from outside Travancore - Cochin. **We are prepared to lend evidence before such a tribunal and substantiate every allegation that has been made in this statement.** The tribunal should have wide powers not only to investigate the firing but also police excesses and tortures and into the conduct of all officers connected with the incidents on August 11 and subsequently.

Finally the T.T.N.C. appeals to every citizen in Travancore Tamil Nad to be calm and never retaliate violence with violence. Violence would defeat our objective and we would play into the hands of our enemies. To those who lost their lives we bow in silence and offer our heart felt condolences to the bereaved families. To those mothers and sisters whose dear ones are languishing behind prison bars we extend our sympathy. We assure you that eminent counsels are engaged to defend them and to prove their innocence. To those who are suffering from police tortures and to those who are rendered destitute we have been able to afford some relief. But that is not adequate and organised relief is shortly forthcoming . We have passed through blood and fire. We have aroused the conscience of all right thinking people throughout India irrespective of party allegiance. Our friends from the Madras State visited us and comforted us and to them we are much indebted. We have marched nearer to our goal. Through this suffering, let us renew our faith in our objective.

Nagercoil
30th August 1954

A. Nesamony

59. 11 AUGUST 1954 AND AFTER (1954)

A. Nesamony, M.P.
Leader,
Travancore Tamil Nad Congress Parliamentary Party

194, Constitution House
NewDelhi
17th No. '54

To
The Prime Minister of India
New Delhi

Sir,

I am submitting here with a photograph of Shri. S. Chellappan who has been tortured by the police in the police lock-up at Kuzhithurai in Travancore - Cochin. He was arrested on August 11 while leading a procession, and was taken to the police lock-up. There he was mercilessly beaten with lathis, butt-ends of rifles, and finally the right leg was fractured. A writ application was moved on his behalf along with others before the High Court of Travancore- Cochin, and when he appeared before the court limping, the Chief Justice ordered that he should be sent to the hospital for treatment. There his leg was X'rayed and was put under

plaster on 12-9-54, a month after his arrest. About the middle of October he was released. His leg still continues to be under plaster and doctors are of opinion that his leg should be under plaster for six weeks more. It is feared that he shall have to undergo an operation to set right his ankle.

One Muthukannu Palayyan, who was bailed out towards the end of October complained of pain in the abdomen due to torture in the police lock-up at Thuckalay. He was taken to the hospital and died within twenty-four hours of his admission, leaving behind a young widow and a child.

These are but two instances of the many who have suffered similar torture and are languishing behind prison bars. Final charge-sheets have not been filed in all cases, and above 500 persons are yet to be arrested. They would all have surrendered but for this torture in the police lock-ups.

I therefore appeal to you to safeguard the lives of those who happen to enter the lock-ups.

I shall have to leave Delhi by the end of this week and so I would be grateful if you would kindly grant me an interview at your earliest convenience to explain matters further.

Yours faithfully,
A. Nesamony's Personal File

60. INFORMATION & CHARGES (1954)

The Indian Express

20-11-1954

T.C. Police Firing Enquiry Report before December

Trivandrum, November 18

Mr. Justice Sankaran, who is enquiring into the police firing in South Travancore, said on the conclusion of the enquiry today that he expected to submit his report before December 1.

Mr. M. Govinda Pillai, counsel for the police, concluding his arguments today, told the commission

Mr. Govinda Pillai said the **Tamil Congress leader, Mr. Nesamony, M.P. should be the first to be arraigned before the court for the unruly activities on August 11**

The Dinamalar

22-9-1954

The Chief Justice and the Chief Minister confer

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The Chief Justice and the Chief Minister confer

Trivandrum, November 21

It is understood that Shri. K. T. Koshy, Chief Justice of the Travancore -

any Government charged with the responsibility of protecting the lives, honour and property of its citizens.”

Sri Thanu Pillai was addressing a meeting at Kuzhithurai after a four-hour fact-finding tour of the disturbed areas.

In the rioting that broke out following the “Deliverene Day” observance by members of the T.T.N.C. last Wednesday, the Police had to open fire in two places, which resulted in four persons being killed.

Addressing the district and local officers, the Chief Minister said “a serious challenge has been directed against the forces of law and order”. It was his duty, and the duty of the Government to assure the fullest protection to all citizens. There should be no undue rigour and there should be no needless leniency, he counselled them.

The Mail, Dated 28-11-1954

Lohia’s Demand for T-C Cabinet’s Resignation Fails Nagpur, November 27
Thanu Pillai’s Plea

Sri. Pattom Thanu Pillai, Chief Minister of Travancore - Cochin and Sri. J.P. Narain spoke against the amendment Sri. Thanu Pillai asked the delegates not to mix up the issue of police-firing with the demand for the resignation of the Ministry. In demanding the resignation of the Ministry, he said, other matters had to be considered namely, the Ministry’s honour, its reputation and ultimately the honour and reputation of the party itself.

“It involves my honour personally, and this I ask you to consider”, he told the convention, and asked what had the Ministry done that it should resign.

**Inquiry finding on T.T.N.C. agitation in S. Travancore
Police Firing Justified**

Trivandrum, Dec. 13

Mr. Justice K. Sankaran, Special Commissioner who inquired into the Police firing, on August 11, in South Travancore, in his report, says, “the inquiry has established, beyond doubt the complicity of the Travancore - Cochin Communist Party in the agitation”, and the collusion of groups and parties functioning from outside the State (such as the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam and Tamil Arasu Kazhagam) in the organised propaganda of linguistic race hatred, and the attempt to paralyse the Government.”

An official summary of the report, released to the Press today, stated that “the Police have been acting justly and properly and within the limits of their lawful authority, and that they succeeded in maintaining law and order, and peace, by resorting to the use of force justified by the situation.

The report adds:

“On the evidence, it has been established that the accusations made against the Police in respect of the steps taken by them in dealing with the dangerous situation that had developed in South Travancore on Aug. 11, are baseless.

Firing Justified

“The right of private defence is available to every citizen. Members of the Police Force are also citizens of the State and it cannot be said that the right of private defence of their own person against imminent danger is not available to them. Thus as a means of securing the lives of the members of the Police party placed in imminent danger, the firing at the three places in South Travancore could be justified.”

According to official figures, 7 persons died, and 8 others sustained injuries, as a result of the Police firing on Aug. 11-Deliverance Day observed by the Travancore Tamil Nad Congress. A Circle Inspector, a Sub-Inspector, a Head Constable and 11 Police Constables were also injured by stones thrown by mobs at different places on that day.

“Calamities that may follow from mass agitation and demonstrations could be averted, and the lives of many of the citizens of the country saved, if the leaders of the political parties made it a point to resort only to constitutional and democratic ways to achieve their ideals and to desist from advocating and encourage lawlessness.

Defiance of laws

“Mass agitation and demonstrations, as was the case in the South Travancore area, were bound to culminate in lawlessness, hooliganism and rioting and thus driving the authorities concerned to resort to extreme measures.

“The responsibility of the calamities, and unfortunate consequences that may follow from such measures, could not be laid at the door of the authorities, but should be owned by those who indulged in systematically encouraging people to defy and violate all laws, and to overthrow the Government of the day by violent means.”

Giving a background of the situation that culminated in the incidents of Aug. 11, the report further says : “The T.T.N.C. and their followers and sympathisers, had been carrying on a persistent and systematic campaign against the State Government, and the Police force in South Travancore. The “Deliverance Day” which had originally been fixed for Aug. 9 was purposely adjourned to Aug. 11 to synchronise with the general strike announced by a section of the

employees of the State Transport Department. It is obvious that the idea was that the confusion and lawlessness sought to be created, should be at the maximum possible level.”

The inquiry which commenced in October last ended on Nov. 16, and the report was forwarded to the State Government on Nov. 27.

61. T.T.N.C. TO SUPPORT CONGRESS (1954)

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU
PRIME MINISTER
NEW DELHI

WELCOME DECISION TRAVANCORE COCHIN PRADESH CONGRESS
WITHDRAWING SUPPORT PATTOM MINISTRY TRAVANCORE TAMILNAD
CONGRESS OFFERS SUPPORT FOR FORMATION CONGRESS MINISTRY.

NESAMONY
NAGERCOIL

A. Nesamony, M.P.
Leader T.T.N.C., Lok Sabha

Nagercoil
13th Dec., 1954

To

Shri. Jawharlal Nehru
Prime Minister of India, New Delhi

Sir,

I confirm my telegram WELCOME DECISION TRAVANCORE COCHIN PRADESH CONGRESS WITHDRAWING SUPPORT PATTOM MINISTRY TRAVANCORE TAMIL NAD CONGRESS OFFERS SUPPORT FOR FORMATION CONGRESS MINISTRY despatched today. The Travancore Tamil Nad Congress will heartily co-operate with the Travancore - Cochin Pradesh Congress Paliamentary Party unconditionally if the Congress would form a ministry, It should not be misunderstood that we are welcoming this decision of the Congress as we are in a tight corner because of th unjust acts of Shri. Pattom's regime. It is the genuine desire of the people of this State that Shri Pattom and his ministry should quit office. They are tired of them.

Corruption, nepotism, communalism and interference of the executive with the judiciary have been so unbearable that leading citizens of all castes and creeds met at Changanacherry and sounded a note of warning to the present ministry. But **Shri Pattom could not be advised and brushed aside all criticism as actuated by communal considerations.** The local dailies have published articles of his acts of high-handedness and have demanded his resignation. So, this decision of the Congress voices forth only a popular demand.

Above all these, he has unequivocally declared that the Congress would not thrive in this state if he were to continue in office. To this end the P.S.P. is fomenting trouble among the labourers. We have been continuously agitating for affiliation with the Madras Tamil Nad Congress. So, whatever may be our differences of opinion with the Travancore - Cochin Pradesh Congress, we will not allow that institution to be destroyed in this country by self-seeking, power-grabbing Pattoms. So it is right that this Ministry which sets at naught all democratic conventions and principles should quit office.

In the matter of the stability of a Congress Ministry, there need not be any fear. In a house of 118, with one in the chair and Shri. T.S. Ramaswamy (P.S.P.) having quitted the party demanding the resignation of Pattom Ministry and Shri. Chattanathan (Independent) whose election has been set aside by an Election Tribunal and the order of the Tribunal being now stayed by the Supreme Court and who could be counted on for support and with other possibilities because of the support we offer, I am sure that a Congress Ministry is bound to succeed.

Shri. Pattom's ministry will now announce reforms which would involve very heavy financial commitments as parting gifts. This must be guarded against and he should be asked to resign immediately.

Assuring you once more of our continued support,

Yours Sincerely
A. Nasamony's Personal File

62. GOVERNMENT COUNTER PETITION (1954)

APPENDIX - N IN THE HIGH COURT OF TRAVANCORE - COCHIN TRIVANDRUM

Or. M. Ps. Nos. 235 to 244 of 1954
COUNTERAFFIDAVIT FOR THE STATE

1. P. Gopalan son of Padmanabhan, Hindu Ezhava, aged 50, Assistant Superintendent of Police, Nagercoil Sub-Division of the Trivandrum District, residing at Ramavarnapuram, do hereby solemnly affirm and state as follows:

1. I am the Assistant Superintendent of Police, Nagercoil Sub-Division of the Trivandrum District, and the Investigating Officer in the batch of cases out of which the above petitions have arisen. The incidents which led up to the charges laid, against the petitioners and others happened within my jurisdiction. I know the details of the occurrences and I believe that I am competent to swear in this affidavit on behalf of the State.

2. This affidavit has been filed in answer to the averments in all the above applications for bail and it is prayed that this may kindly be so treated.

3. I deny all the averments in the afore-said applications for bail save those that are herein expressly admitted.

4. Petitioners in Or. M. Ps. 235 to 241 are the accused Nos. 1,2,3,9,155,156 and 152 respectively in P.E. 9/54 of the Kuzhithura Stationary 1st Class Magistrate Court. Petitioners in Cr. M. Ps 242 and 243 are accused Nos. 1 and 2 respectively in P.E. 10/54 of the same Court. They are the same accused Nos. 1 and 156 in P.E. 9/54. Petitioner in Cr. M.P. 244/54 is accused No. 1 in C.C. 61/54 of the Padmanabhapuram Sub Divisional Magistrate Court. They all stand charged for commission of offences of a very grave and serious character.

5. The main incidents of the day may be briefly summarised thus:

On 11th August 1954, from early morning till dusk, within a range of about 250 sq. miles of the Travancore - Cochin State Territory, a section of the inhabitants of the locality of whom the Petitioners are the ring-leaders calling themselves as members of an organisation designated the Travancore Tamil Nad Congress (T.T.N.C) in the name of celebrating a day which they called the *Deliverance Day* pursuant to a common design and acting in concert having engaged in a conspiracy and in furtherance of their common object of paralysing and prostrating the Govt. established by law, rose up in rebellion and forming into several groups of unlawful assemblies, congregated themselves and openly declared the territories in which they inhabit as one without any recognised Government, marched in jathas 200 to 2000 to 10000 strong armed with dangerous weapons, met in several places, the leaders delivering inflammatory speeches and inciting the mob to violence; trespassing and obstructing the work in Courts and other Public Offices in open defiance of law and constituted authority, forcibly closed all the shops and other business places causing hurt to them to deter them from their duty, at Court Houses and public and private Institutions causing heavy damage; trespassed into the Sub Registry Office, Post Office and Police Out Post, damaged the tiles by throwing stones, smashed all their doors and windows, the furniture and valuable records therein were thrown into the fire and burnt them down to ashes; carried away the weapons in the Out Post; obstructed traffic by stopping State Transport and other private buses, throwing stones at them and the passengers thereby scaring and injuring them and pushing them down into the gutters; burning down the cushions and curtains, removing and destroying other fittings and causing thereby loss to the State Transport Department to the value of about Rs. 20,000/- robbed the Conductors of the State Transport buses of their cash collections of the day, disrupted Telephone and Telegraph communication to South Travancore by cutting down wires and uprooting posts and thereby causing damage to the extent of about Rs. 8,000/- to the Telegraph Department; obstructed the movement of the Police party and their vehicles by erecting barricades of wires cut and forcibly removed from the Electric Supply Office nearby and placing logs of wood, branches of trees and big granite stones, thereby preventing their escape and attempting to murder

them; which acts of violence of the rioters when became uncontrollable even in spite of lathi charges in several places the Police were compelled to open fire in three places in self-defence and to preserve life and property, the security of the State and the maintenance of law and order, after giving the rebellious and tumultuous crowd sufficient warning. This was all the result of a conspiracy hatched and in pursuance of a common design and a consorted plan to overawe and overthrow the State-Government by criminal force. A situation thus arose which compelled the State to choose between yielding to force and exposing them and the public, the Public Institutions and property to a very serious danger, or re-establishing law and order and the Security of the State by resorting to the use of the minimum force necessary for the purpose.

6. The petitioners are the leaders amongst the conspirators. They are the moving spirit and the master-minds. The occurrence described above, in short forms the subject matter of the charges laid against the accused on whose behalf the petitions for bail are presented and several others yet to be apprehended. The incidents are so closely connected by continuity of purpose and progressive action towards a single object.

7. The F.I. Rs. the interim charges and the final charges laid contain a clear disclosure of the offences committed by the petitioners. It is submitted that there are reasonable grounds to believe that the petitioners are guilty of the offences with which they are charged.

8. The accused petitioners have committed all the offences charged against them. Their alleged innocence is false. It is impossible to put an innocent interpretation of their actions and to hold that they were engaged between 6-7-54 and 11-8-54 in peaceful, legitimate political propaganda. The Charge Sheets give sufficient indication that the prosecution will be able to produce sufficient evidence in support of the charges against the accused petitioners. The incidents are all the result of a common design and concerted action to over-throw by force the State - Government, of which the petitioners are **the moving spirit and the master-minds.**

9. As the investigation has disclosed a clear case of conspiracy between the accused to overawe and over-throw the State Government by force punishable under Section 121 A of I.P.C. sanction was obtained and the final charge with a complaint, charge-sheeting the accused under Section 121 A was also laid. The allegation that the final charge is purposely and maliciously delayed to prolong the period of incarceration is baseless and is refuted. Some little delay was unavoidable, regard being had to the seriousness of the crime, the thoroughness of the investigation and elaborate evidence to be let in the case. The petitioners now stand charged for an offence punishable under section 121 A of I.P.C. and the Court had taken cognisance of it.

10. For some time past the petitioners and a few others who are the ring leaders of an organisation called the Travancore Tamil Nad Congress styled the T.T.N.C. had embarked upon an attempt to merge the so called Tamil region of the Travancore - Cochin territory with the State of Madras. Consequent upon the arrest and conviction of three of their leaders on 4-7-54 for breaking the ban in Devikulam, the T.T.N.C. and their leaders met in a special meeting convened in 6-7-54, conspired and agreed to a violent programme of action to overthrow the existing State Government established by law and the destruction of the State control over the region which they claimed as Tamil Nad, to attain their object.

11. The means by which the petitioners and their fellow-conspirators attempted to compass their aims was to unite into one organisation the extremist elements, communists, terrorists and Labour Unions. This organisation was to be utilised for the purpose of promoting a revolution by winning over the masses, the peasants and workers by promising economic betterment, by engineering strikes, picketing Public Institutions, both State and Central and obstructing work therein, inciting people to violence by breaking all the laws of the land as if no Government existed and to non-payment of tax and organising students to boycott Schools and come out to create confusion and lawlessness in the land and if possible riots and the like.

12. With this aim in view the petitioners and their fellow conspirators got in touch with Panchayats, Municipal Councils and Educational Institutions in the area, sought comradeship between conspirators and the Communists, the Dravida Munnetra Kazhacom, Tamilarasu Kazhacom etc., and acting in conjunction endeavoured to prepare the way for the violent overthrow. **An Office was opened at Panagudi in Thirunelveli District for propaganda work, enlistment of volunteers and collections of funds to finance their campaign.** It is clear that the period of conspiracy was between 6-6-54 and 11-8-54

13. The intention of the petitioners and their associates was to overthrow the State Government by violent means. With this object in view the petitioners and their associates endeavoured to arrange conferences, held innumerable meetings delivering inciting and inflammatory speeches. Notices, pamphlets and leaflets containing false and malicious statements against the existing Government were profusely printed and circulated among the masses, inciting them to violence and lawlessness. Burning publicly Government Stamps and Gazettes, trespassing into Government Forest lands and cutting and removing trees were frequently resorted to. By holding out hopes of better economic conditions and creating hatred and contempt against the existing Government by false and malicious statements and speeches, the petitioners and their associates arranged to enlist the support of a section of workers and peasants and by means of personal canvas, seditious literature and propaganda they endeavoured to inflame the illiterate masses against the existing regime and by

linking up the Communist elements and extremists they intended to bring about the violent overthrow of the State Government.

14. Thus by preparing the field the petitioner in Cr.M.P. 235/54 who is designated the Dictator, in conjunction with his fellow conspirators resolved and gave the command to celebrate 9th Aug. 1954 as *The Deliverance Day* of Tamil Nad. To synchronise with the date of the intended State Transport Strike sponsored by communists, the date was postponed by the order of the Dictator to the 11th of Aug. 54. Throughout the 10th the petitioners who are the ring leaders of the conspiracy were out in the field holding meetings in several places circulating pamphlets and leaflets and exhorting the masses and the young students to celebrate the Deliverance Day in a fitting manner by actual demonstrations. They were exhorted to break all the laws of the land as if no Government existed, picket and obstruct all work in public institutions, enforce hartal removing by force all that stood in the way. The productions by way of speeches, pamphlets and leaflets referred to in the charge clearly betray the calibre of the petitioners. **They are characteristic of so much of the out-pourings of the so called revolutionary intelligtia.** Certainly they suggest that the petitioners entertained the chimerical visions of a free honey flowing Tamil Nad in a day by resorting to force with A1 in P.E. 9/54 as their Dictator and the next his lieutenant, though one may be tempted to describe their activities as puerile.

15. The day followed and on the 11th August '54 from day break it was seen that the petitioners in conjunction with the avowed enemies of the Government established by law engaged in stirring up rebellion throughout the so called Tamil regions of the Travancore-Cochin Territory. Petitioners were the moving spirits and the master-minds of the incidents. "Al Kunjan Nadar, petitioner in Cr. M.P. 235/54 who was the Dictator instigated, inspired and instructed the other accused to do the several acts of violence and also was actually present at Thoduvatti junction to direct some of the operations like cutting and uprooting telephone and telegraph posts, creating road blocks, molesting the police etc., with instruction not to allow the Police to escape. A2 Thanulinga Nadar Petitioner in Cr. M.P. 236/54 took a leading part in the disturbance of the day presiding over the Gandhi Maidan meeting by delivering an inflammatory speech inciting the mob to break the law and leading the jatha who started with 16 volunteers garlanded to cause obstructions to Court work on the pretext of picketing freely indulging to violence, upto the Kuzhithura bus stand . A3, William, petitioner in Cr. M.P. 237/54 was also bodily present at Gandhi Maidan meeting presided over by A2. He too spoke at the meeting and delivered a similar inflammatory violence-provoking speech and led the jatha indulging in violence from its start to the Magistrate's Court. There was a lathi charge. The mob temporarily withdrew. He then led the jatha via Vettumony junction up to his residence and its precincts. It was from his compound and precincts that the mob indulged in stone-throwing the police , their vehicles and the Transport buses and passengers. In the firing

incident one of the crowd was hit from his compound and fell dead with a big granite stone in his hand. A9, O. Nallathambi Nadar, petitioner in Cr. M.P. 238/54 was yet another who led the jatha from Gandhi Maidan. He was one of those who stoned the Police from the Court premises. He was a member of the action committee which ordered and directed the movements of the day and that he was one of those who took part in the conspiracy to paralyse and overawe the Government. He was one of the leaders who were responsible for the unhappy incidents. He was arrested at the spot by the Sub-Inspector of Police. To say that the aforesaid accused are innocent of the crime is a naked lie. They are the arch-conspirators who planned and carried out all the acts.

16. Petitioner in Cr. M.P. 239/54 S.T. Mosses is the 155th accused in P.E. 9/54 of the Kuzhithura Magistrate's Court and the 1st accused in C.C. 61/54 of Sub Divisional Magistrate's Court, Padmanabhapuram. He is a prominent worker of the T.T.N.C. and a member of the action committee. He led a jatha of about 500 armed with sticks and stones shouting revolutionary slogans, compelling shops to be closed and pelting the police with stones and attacking and causing damage to one shop-owner who refused to close his shop, some of them picketing the Sub Registry Office and others Sub Magistrate's Court. He too addressed the gathering an inflammatory speech inciting them to violence. He too is an arch-conspirator and is responsible for the occurrence of the day. To say that he is innocent of the crime is a naked lie.

17. Petitioner in Cr. M.P. 540/54 Gopalakrishnan is the 156th accused in P.E. 9/54 of the Kuzhithura Magistrate's Court. He is the moving spirit and the master mind amongst the conspirators. He is a member of the action committee. He presided over the meeting held near the Police Out post at Puthukadai. The gathering numbered about 10000. He delivered an inflammatory violence - provoking speech which actually had the desired effect immediately. The mob attacked the Police Out Post & the Post Office under his guidance & inspiration, smashed to smithers the doors and windows, carried away the weapons, the chairs, tables and other articles were all broken, the valuable records seized and all put into the fire and burnt down in open. The mob became so violent and uncontrollable that the Police as a last resort had to open fire. He was arrested on the spot. **If innocence has to be presumed from action of this type there can be no crime under the Penal Code.** It is submitted that he must have regard to the mundane matter-of-fact provisions of the Indian Penal Code and doctrines of his political philosophy cannot override them.

18. Petitioner in Cr. M.P. 241/54 M.D. Anantharaman is the 152nd accused in P.E. 9/54 of the Kuzhithura Magistrate's Court. He is an arch - conspirator and a T.T.N.C. Committee member. He took an active part in the secret meeting on 6-7-54 held in A1's residence where the conspiracy to overthrow the Government by force was hatched. He is a member of the nine-men action committee formed under the 2nd Dictator A1 Kunjan Nadar. He was the moving spirit in guiding and

instructing the conspirators. He is responsible for the several acts of violence committed on the day. He stands on the same footing as the other petitioners are, may be bit more blame-worthy being the Municipal Chairman and an influential person of the locality.

19. Cr. M.Ps. 242, 243 and 244/54 are petitions presented by Kunjan Nadar, Gopalakrishnan and Mosses respectively the first two being accused 1 and 2 in P.E. 10/54 and the 3rd being 1st accused in C.C. 61/54 also. The acts of the day are so closely connected together as to form part of the same transaction being the outcome of a common design and a concerted plan. They are guilty of the offences charged against them.

20. The several meetings held, the inflammatory speeches delivered, wide distribution of pamphlets and leaflets containing false and malicious statements, burning publicly Government Stamps and Gazettes on platforms all referred to in the charge are conclusive evidence of existent conspiracy. They disclose conspiracy already commenced and entered into. If any corroboration of the prosecution case were necessary it is to be found in abundance even in the publications of *Dina Malar* an anti-Government Tamil Daily in wide circulation and an active supporter of the Tamil Nad agitation, but where publication as it now does require to be kept within bounds.

21. The petitioners are seen to have alleged that they are advocates, M.L. As, and Municipal Chairmen and that their arrest and detention in the lock-up are illegal & that their incarceration is vindictive. The legality of their arrest and detention had been considered and up-held by this Honourable Court in the *Habias Corpus* proceedings. The law makes no difference between men of position and of low means. If at all their actions have to be viewed as more heinous they being men of position and education. They seem to proceed on the assumption that their speeches, pamphlets and leaflets disclose no ground for holding more than that they desired to free their so called *Tamil Nad* from the yoke of *Travancore - Cochin Malayalee Government*. The short answer to it is that if they have a just cause, that which may be achieved by ordered advance and constitutional means in the course of time may not be snatched by immediate resort to violence. Had the petitioners who are the arch-conspirators been left unchecked in their indulgence in acts of violence, the State had reasonable grounds to believe, that appalling and disastrous consequences would have followed. It is apprehended that riots, armed rebellion and whole-scale destruction of life and property would have been the dire result.

22. It is submitted that the above applicants for bail are men of influence in the locality and the leaders of an insurrectionary movement. **They are the moving spirits and the master-minds of the movement. They are the arch-criminals and the ring leaders of the whole occurrence.** It is therefore apprehended that if enlarged on bail they will influence and intimidate the witnesses for the

prosecution and also will cause obstruction to the apprehension of the large number of absconding accused.

23. It is submitted that in view of the activities indulged in by the applicants and the serious charges laid against them, it is apprehended that the applicants, if released on bail are likely to abscond and thereby evade the trial.

24. It is asserted that the State has strong prima facie grounds to believe and are convinced of the likelihood of the offences being repeated if the accused are let at large. Events that have happened recently raise a reasonable apprehension of a repetition of the offences. They are:

(i) The Malayalam Primary School at Kodumkulam near Marthandam, was set fire to on 1-9-54. This is the subject matter of Crime No. 103/54 of the Vilavancode Police Station. Dharmalingom Nadar who is an absconding accused in P.E. 9/54 has assaulted some Malayali at Kodumkulam on 5-9-54. This is the subject matter of Crime No. 106/54 of the above Police Station.

(ii) A place of worship belonging to the Malayalees at Kollencode was set fire to on 12-9-54. This is the subject matter of Crime No. 108/54 of the Vilavancode Police Station.

(iii) Press reports have already appeared forecasting a revival by the T.T.N.C. of their revolutionary campaign if the allegedly repressive measures of Govt. do not cease. In such circumstances the State apprehends that if these accused are let at large, the movement will be revived and the offences repeated.

25. The allegations about life in the lockup are false, misleading and most mischievous. They are provided with all amenities that the Jail rules would permit. They are given nice food and clothing. It is true that each prisoner cannot be provided with a single room. The halls in which they are locked up are sufficiently spacious and convenient-call of nature has to be answered in pots in the night which is inevitable in the circumstances. During day time they are taken out to answer the calls of nature and for meals. The pots are cleaned very often. The halls are kept clean and quite sanitary. The petitioners have not as yet made any such complaints to the proper authorities. The complaints now raised are all figments of imagination and baseless. However they are quite irrelevant for the purpose and cannot form grounds for granting or refusing bail.

26. The averments that the health of the applicants have been impaired as a result of the incarceration is untrue. The applicants are well looked after and they are keeping good health. In fact they have put in more weight in their life in the lock up.

27. It is true that A3, Williams, Petitioner in Cr. M.P. 237/54 is used to have occasional attacks of asthma. He is well attended to by Doctors and proper

treatment is given when such attack comes. Very recently he wanted some better treatment and as desired by him he is now sent to the Medical College Hospital, Trivandrum for treatment. It is suspected that the desire thus expressed is a ruse for presenting his application for bail as he did not succeed in his prior application to this Honourable Court on the same ground. He is a person who went to Devikulam leading a jatha to defy the ban all the way from Marthandom to Devikulam.

28. Complaints of sickness by A1 and A 152 in P.E. 9/54 are baseless. There is the jail doctor to attend to ordinary complaints. All are well looked after.

29. Allegation of want of sanction for a charge under S. 120 B.I.P.C. is unsustainable. No sanction is required for a charge of criminal conspiracy to commit cognizable offences punishable with imprisonment of more than two years. The petitioners are charge-sheeted for committing such cognizable offences. It is incorrect to say that the Magistrate has no jurisdiction to take cognizance of the offences charged against the petitioners. The investigation has clearly disclosed an offence under S. 121 A. Sanction was obtained and the petitioners along with the other accused are charge-sheeted for an offence punishable under Section 121 A. and the Magistrate has taken cognizance of it.

30. The allegation that some accused in the various cases have been let on bail by the Police and the Magistrate are not true. It is true that some are let on bail by this Honourable Court and the Sessions Court assigning reasons for the same. The petitioners now before Honourable Court stand entirely on a different footing. They are the ring leaders of the conspiracy and primarily responsible for the whole occurrence and who do not deserve any indulgence at the hands of this Hon. Court.

31. It is submitted that the learned Sessions Judge has expressed herself in unequivocal terms at the very outset that under the circumstances of the case she considered it not proper to release the petitioners who are the ring leaders of the conspiracy on bail. The Trial Court has exercised its judicial discretion in the matter and it appears all the circumstances of the case were taken note of by the Court while it made an order refusing bail and it is submitted that it is a weighty ground for this Honourable Court not to interfere in the exercise of discretion by the Lower Court.

32. In the circumstances stated above and in the interests of the Security of the State, life and property and the maintenance of law and order it is only just and proper that the petitioners be not set at liberty and the petitions be dismissed.

33. It is prayed that this affidavit may be treated as affidavit for the State in all other Criminal M.P.S. also.

The facts stated above are true to the best of my knowledge and belief and borne out by the records in the case.

On this the 3rd day of November 1954

Deponent

63. T.T.N.C. IN SUPREME COURT (1955)

IN THE SUPREME COURT OF INDIA, NEW DELHI
(Original Criminal Jurisdiction)

Application under section 527 of the Code of Criminal Procedure for transfer of P.E. No. 9 of 1954 from the court of the Stationary First Class Magistrate, Kuzhithurai, in the State of Travancore-Cochin to any court in the State of Madras.

Shri. A. Kunjan Nadar, B.A., B.L. Advocate, Member, Travancore-Cochin Legislative Assembly, Ramavarmapuram, Nagercoil now confined in the police lock-up at Vilavancode Police Station.

Petitioner, First Accused

Versus

The State of Travancore-Cochin represented by the Chief Secretary to Government, Trivandrum

Respondent, Complainant

To

The Honourable Shri. Mehr Chand Mahajan, Chief Justice of India and his companion Judges of the Supreme Court.

1. That a case under Sections 121-A, 148, 149, 332, 395, 307, 426, 427, 451, 380, 447, 435, 114 and 34 of the Indian Penal Code, Section 31(1) (a) and (5) read with Section 2 (xvii) (c) (f) (l) (o) and (1) of Act V of 1950 of the Travancore-Cochin State and Section 25 of Act XIII of 1885 against the petitioner and 162 others is pending in the court of the Stationary First Class Magistrate at Kuzhithurai in the State of Travancore Cochin as P.E. 9 of 1954.

2. That the petitioner is an advocate of the High Court of Travancore-Cochin and is a sitting member of the Travancore-Cochin Legislative Assembly.

3. That the petitioner is a member of the Travancore Tamil Nad Congress (T.T.N.C), an organisation recognised as a political party by the Election Commission of India and to which an exclusive symbol has been allotted. It has twelve members in the State Legislative Assembly and a member each in the Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha. It is a political organisation established in South

Travancore and has for its main object the merger of the predominantly Tamil areas in the Travancore-Cochin State with the adjoining Tamil State of Madras, by peaceful and constitutional methods. The petitioner is a strong adherent of non-violence as a political creed and practical method of action. With the growth of the urge of the citizens of India for the redistribution of the States in India on a linguistic basis and the demand of the Malayalam speaking public of Travancore - Cochin and Malabar for the formation of an Aikya Kerala Province (a linguistic Malayalam State), the T.T.N.C. urged the merger of nine taluks in the Travancore - Cochin State which are predominantly Tamil with the adjoining State of Madras. The Taluks are Agasteeswaram, Thovala, Kalkulam, Vilavancode, Neyyattinkara, Shencottah, Chittor, Devicolam and Peermade.

4. That the present Chief Minister of Travancore Cochin, Shri Pattom A. Thanu Pillai headed the first Travancore State Congress ministry in Travancore in 1948 and at his instance this movement was sought to be ruthlessly put down. Several false criminal cases implicating hundreds of innocent Tamils in these areas were started. The police resorted to firing on unarmed people and shot dead two persons. The State Congress was routed in the elections that followed and many who opposed the T.T.N.C. candidates in the general elections in the Tamil areas lost even their deposits. Eventually most of these cases were withdrawn as false and the rest were thrown out by courts. The T.T.N.C. fought the last three general elections on the issue of the merger of the Tamil areas in Travancore - Cochin with the adjoining State of Madras and captured almost all seats in the State Legislative Assembly and the Parliament.

5. The leading citizens from the Tamil areas gave evidence before the States Re-organisation Commission supporting the demand of the T.T.N.C. for merger. The T.T.N.C. submitted a memorandum to the States Re-organization Commission putting forth its claim for the merger of the nine taluks of the Travancore-Cochin state which are predominatly Tamil with the adjoining Madras State. This claim was opposed by Shri Pattom A. Thanu Pillai Chief Minister of the State in a statement to the States Re-organisation Commission and on the floor of the Stae Legislative Assembly. This is corroborated by the copy of the proceedings of the Travancore-Cochin Legislative Assembly official report Vol. IX No.1 pages 7 to 10 filed herewith as Appendix A.

6. That Shri. Pattom A. Thanu Pillai became Chief Minister a second time in March 1954. With the intention of scotching the popular movement carried on by the T.T.N.C. a reign of terror was let loose in the two Tamil taluks of Devicolam and Peermade by the State Government. Several hundreds of Tamil labourers, men and women, were taken into police custody, brutally manhandled and several false cases were foisted on them, thus rendering the life, liberty and property of the Tamils in those taluks unsafe. Four members of the Travancore-Cochin Legislative Assembly who are also members of the T.T.N.C. toured the said two taluks and after studying the situation, submitted a memorandum to the Chief

Minister of the State complaining against the police excesses in those taluks and prayed for taking suitable steps to stop it and to assure the people that proper protection would be given to them from the ravages of the police. The Chief Minister turned a deaf ear to this and subsequent representations made to him. So, the T.T.N.C. proposed to observe 30th June 1954 as *Devicolam Day* in all parts of the taluks of Devicolam and Peermade and the partisan attitude of the State Government. The day was observed in all parts of the Tamil Taluks by taking out peaceful processions and holding peaceful public meetings. The 4th of July 1954 was fixed to be observed as *Devicolam Day* in Devicolam. The police managed to secure a prohibitory order under Section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code, preventing all meetings, demonstrations and processions in Devicolam Taluk. The ban was defied by successive batches of satyagrahis peacefully till the 29th of July 1954 at Munnar, the head quarters of the Devicolam Taluk. In other parts of the Tamil areas, peaceful processions, public meetings and satyagrahas before public offices were conducted by the T.T.N.C. in a peaceful and non-violent manner from the 9th July 1954.

7. That with a view to focus public attention on the repressive and discriminatory policy pursued by the State Government against the Tamils and as a mark of protest against the police excesses the T.T.N.C. proposed the observance in a peaceful non-violent manner of a *Deliverance Day* on the 11th August 1954, by holding public meetings, taking out processions, observing hartal and offering satyagraha before public offices, in all parts of the Tamil areas in the State. The same was organised for that day in a regular and consitutional manner. With the intention of scotching the movement by all means in their power, the present Council of Ministers headed by Shri. Pattom A. Thanu Pillai belonging to the Praja Socialist Party of eighteen members in a House of one hundred, and eighteen, who are avowed opponents of the objective of the T.T.N.C. let loose through out the Tamil areas of the State a reign of terror. The police freely indulged in acts of lawlessness, incendiarism and looting. A copy of the photograph, taken by Shri. L.S. Karayalar, President Tamil Nad Congress Madras, of the tea shop of Shri. K.R. Savarimuthu Nadar, Puthukada looted by the police on August 11, 1954 is herewith filed as Appendix B. The police in several places wantonly beat peaceful processionists with lathis, and opened fire in various places.

8. That armed platoons of Reserve Police were designed for duty in the Tamil areas on the day and are quartered there still. **The police fired several rounds in various places and admittedly seven persons were killed and a large number injured and disabled.** A large number of leading citizens in the area were taken into police custody, assaulted brutally, detained without being produced before any Magistrate for several days and turned out of police stations subsequently with marks of violence on their person, and are despairing of their lives. Copies of photographs of batches of such persons are herewith filed as

Appendix C and D. The incidents of the day are sought to be justified by alleged stone throwing by a few among the crowd causing abrasions to three or four policemen. Obstruction to traffic and mischief to some government property are also alleged as justifying causes that led to the shooting by the police on unarmed persons.

9. That it was never the intention of the T.T.N.C. to indulge in acts of violence or cause destruction to public property. The truth of the matter is that certain mischief and damages were purposely caused by the police and agent provocateurs of the State Government to justify the action of the police and to achieve their end of killing the popular movement. Thus, the incidents that were caused to be effected in various places by the State Government have now been shifted on to the T.T.N.C. members and the public and a large number of false cases have been started against several hundreds in various courts. Several leaders and members of the T.T.N.C. and others were arrested, beaten and kept in the police lock-ups and subjected to inhuman torture. Even boys of tender age attending schools were arrested, brutally beaten and kept in police lock-ups for close on two months. The petitioner is kept in the Vilavancode police lock-up since 12th August 1954.

10. That to the information available to the petitioner over a dozen prosecutions have been initiated by the police against over 500 Tamils under sections of the Indian Penal Code and other enactments. P.E. 9 of 1954 ; P.E. 10 of 1954; C.C. 821 of 1954; c.C. 782 of 1954 and C.C. 824 of 1954 are among the cases pending on the file of the court of the Stationary First Class Magistrate, Kuzhithurai. C.C. 60 of 1954 now numbered as P.E. 5 of 1954 C.C. 61 of 1954 now numbered as P.E. 4 of 1954; C.C. 62 of 1954 now numbered as P.E. 6 of 1954 and C.C. 63 of 1954 now numbered as P.E. 7 of 1954 are among the cases pending on the file of the Sub-Divisional Magistrate, Padmanabhapuram. There are several cases pending on the file of the Court of the Stationary First Class Magistrate, Kottar and on the file of the court of the Stationary Second Class Magistrate, Eraniel. Many more cases may see the light of day at the pleasure of the police. The trials have not started in any of these cases.

11. That even today armed platoons of reserve police are freely moving about the Tamil areas in the State, insulting and manhandling those said to be associating with the T.T.N.C. and a large number, nearly three thousand persons have taken refuge in the Madras State since 11th August 1954. Applications for bail and other reliefs moved before courts were rejected. And now for over four months, the petitioner and seventy others are confined in the police lock-ups under miserable conditions. Several members of the State Legislative Assembly, a member of Parliament, graduate teachers, presidents and councillors of municipalities , presidents and members of Panchayats and several students of tender age, in short every leading citizen of the Tamil area are among the accused in the several cases and hardly one half of the number of those implicated have

so far been apprehended. the petitioner believes fully that the Chief Minister of the State, Shri. Pattom A. Thanu Pillai and his colleagues who are avowed opponents of the objectives of the T.T.N.C. are directly responsible for the initiation of the several criminal cases and they are abetting and sponsoring the police atrocities in the Tamil area. The chief Minister turned down the demand of several leading citizens and the general public from all over India to appoint an impartial Commission, composed of eminent persons from outside the State to enquire into the police firing on 11th August 1954 and the police atrocities thereafter. **The conscience of the Praja Socialist Party to which Shri Pattom A. Thanu Pillai is now attached was shocked at the police firing in these areas and at their insistence, the State Government announced the appointment of a commission of Enquiry** composed of single member - The Hon. Shri. Justice K. Sankaran of the Travancore-Cochin High Court to enquire into the action of the police in having resorted to firing on 11th August 1954 in South Travancore by Notification No. 43 of 25th September 1954, published in the Gazettee Extraordinary of the Government of Travancore - Cochin under Act LX of 1952.

12. That the T.T.N.C. protested against the constitution of a one-man commission. They demanded an enquiry by leading persons drawn from outside the State of Travancore - Cochin, withdrawal of the Police Platoons, the filing of final reports of the police in all cases thus closing up the open list with which the police were threatening the people as safeguards of a dispassionate and independent approach to the several events and subsequent police atrocities. These were not granted and so **the T.T.N.C. did not take part in the so-called enquiry.**

13. That the constitution and initiation of proceedings before the Commission of Enquiry on matters directly involved in the cases pending trial before the several courts is a violation of the fundamental right of the petitioner and other accused, of equality before the law and equal protection of the laws guaranteed under Article 14 of the Constitution of India.

14. That the Commission had been examining persons who are to appear as prosecution witnesses in the several cases and also others a few of whom may have to appear as defence witnesses. The Commission has also taken the extraordinary step of citing and examining on oath the accused in the several cases and subjecting them to the cross examination by the Special State Prosecutor, who really appeared for the police force and was attempting to establish grounds to justify the shooting by the police. In fact one of the accused was asked during his examination before the Commission as to the part played by him during the firing and also questions so as to implicate his co-accused. This is a direct violation of Article 20 (3) of the Constitution of India and Section 342(4) of the code of Criminal Procedure. It is also clear that because the accused have to state their case in answer to the questions of the Commission they have to disclose their defence, which will certainly help the police to trim the case for the

prosecution in such a way as to discredit the defence. It is perverting the provisions of the Code of Criminal Procedure to ask the accused their case before the prosecution had stated its case by the examination of its own witnesses and is opposed to natural justice. This procedure violates Article 21 of the Constitution of India. The safeguards mentioned in sections 161 and 162 of the code of Criminal procedure have been rendered nugatory by allowing such evidence to be tendered in the enquiry to the grave prejudice of the petitioner and other accused.

15. That the objective of the T.T.N.C. to get the Tamil areas in the State merged with Madras State is not only legitimate but is absolutely constitutional. The T.T.N.C. with this object in view has been working as a **political organisation within this State for the past nine years**. The present intensification of the movement since 9th July 1954 was necessitated by the present Council of Ministers towards the Tamils in the State. There was no untoward incident till 11th August 1954 through the meetings; processions and the satyagraha before public offices were organised and carried on by the T.T.N.C. for about a month before that date. It was only on 11th August 1954, the police wantonly beat with lathis and butt ends of rifles peaceful processionists in several places and shot dead many persons in pursuance of a preconceived plan.

16. That the petitioner apprehends that all these are really due to the fact that the Malayalee Government as such and the Malayalee Officers and others are bent upon breaking up the spirit of the Tamils who join in the movement and also disorganising them and stamping out the movement altogether.

17. That these circumstances and in the atmosphere now prevailing in the State and in view of the attitude of the present Council of Ministers as evidenced by their public utterances about their uncompromising opposition to the objective of the T.T.N.C. the petitioner believes that it would be impossible for the petitioner and other accused to get fair trial and justice at the hands of the magistracy, police or courts who may have to deal with the cases in this State.

18. That it is humbly submitted that it is expedient for the ends of justice that the case should be transferred to a court in the State of Madras or in some other State.

19. That the following are the grounds of transfer of the case :

- (i) The Magistracy in Travancore - Cochin is still under the Executive.
- (ii) The present Ministers in the State are interested partisans and avowed political enemies of the accused and the party to which they belong.
- (iii) The vindictive attitude of the present ministry in condoning police excesses and the torture in the police lock-ups, the incarceration of respectable persons in police lock-ups without even providing for the minimum physical

needs and their open declaration justifying the shooting by the police and the killing of several persons and **the appointment of Shri. Justice K. Sankaran a member of the tarwad of the District Superintendent of Police, who was responsible for the shooting as Enquiry Commissioner are exceptional circumstances.**

(iv) This attitude of the State is also reflected in the several proceedings in the court and before the enquiry commission through the State prosecutors.

(v) The Magistrates who had to try the cases have filed affidavits in proceedings before the High Court and given evidence before the District Magistrate and the Enquiry Commissioner on hearsay materials and condemned the political activities of the party to which the petitioner belongs.

(vi) A sedulous propaganda is being carried on by the Government and its officers both executive and judiciary that the Malayalam speaking public in the Tamil areas in the State are in danger of extermination at the hands of the Tamils, though there had been absolutely no incident of any sort to justify such wild and sweeping allegations. Mr. N. Kumaran Achan, State Special Prosecutor during his arguments had been exhorting and intimating before the Nagercoil Session Court and the High Court that the fight of the T.T.N.C. is against the Malayalees in the Tamil areas and that had not the police acted in good time that day, *no Malayalees's life in the Tamil areas would have been spared.* **This view put forth by a Malayalee Prosecutor assisted by superior Malayalee police officer before Malayalee judges tend to gravely prejudice the chances of the petitioner for a fair trial and justice in this State.**

(vii) The incidents which form the subject matter of the charges have roused great public excitement.

(viii) Armed platoons of reserve police are still quartered in the Tamil areas and a reign of terror is let loose resulting in the migration of nearly 3000 persons to the adjoining Madras State and terrorising the remaining Tamil population in the area.

(ix) Marks of violence with lathis, butt ends of rifles and wooden hammers are still visible on the persons of under - trials and on the few who have been released on bail. Samuel Chellappan 10th accused in P.E. 9 of 1954 was subjected to such inhuman torture on successive days from the 11th to 14th August that his right leg was fractured. The Chief Justice of Travancore - Cochin High Court who heard the application for a writ of Habeas Corpus on his behalf on August 31 saw the said Chellappan in Court limping and gave oral directions that he should be sent to the hospital in Trivandrum for X-raying and treatment. There his leg was put under plaster and it still continues to be under plaster and he is unable to walk. The said Chellappan due to the fracture could not be brought to the High Court on the day when orders were pronounced. Yet the Chief Justice observed

in his order that *Allegations made in the affidavit about police torture have no foundation on facts, they are all figments of some imaginative or inventive brain . So is the case in all the companion petitions.* The photograph of Samuel Chellappan with his leg in plaster is filed as evidence along with this petition as Appendix E.

(x) During the arguments on the writ applications Advocate Shri. T.N. Subramonia Iyer submitted before the High Court that the prisoners then before court would be willing to make statements in court concerning the torture which they are subjected to, provided the Court would give them protection and not send them back to police custody. In spite of this offer made the Chief Justice observed in his order that *The prisoner was before us in court for three full days. Though the petitioner's affidavit shows that the prisoner was never produced before the Magistrate after his arrest and that he was reported to have been man-handled the prisoner did not seek to file an affidavit of his own supporting his wife's affidavit.* Though it was strenuously urged and argued at length by the petitioner's advocate that the fundamental right of the prisoner to be produced within twentyfour hours of his arrest before the nearest Magistrate at Kottar was violated, the Chief Justice did not advert to this aspect of the case in his judgement.

(xi) The inordinate delay of eighteen days in pronouncing orders on petitions for Habeas Corpus by the High Court of the State and the refusal of leave to appeal to the Supreme Court thereon, persistent refusal of bail to several accused by all the courts in the State and the observations made by the High Court in its order dated 10th November 1954 on the Criminal Miscellaneous Petitions 235 to 244 of 1954 effectively condemning the accused and their activities, and the systematic arrest by the police of every person who has taken any interest in the defence of the accused, the most glaring of which is the arrest on 18th November 1954 of the printer who had the Writ of Prohibition to this Honourable Court printed have created a bonafide belief in the accused that they can have no justice if they are tried in any court in the State of Travancore-Cochin. The Chairman of the Nagercoil Municipality Shri. M.D. Anantharaman, an advocate and a member of the State Legislative Assembly was not among those persons included in the first information report in the case. He was arrested on 5th October 1954 soon after the Municipal Council under his presidentship passed a resolution protesting against the police excesses in the Tamil area. Shri. Christopher, the Vice-President of the Nagercoil Municipality seconded a motion in the Council protesting against police excesses and moved a resolution condemning the arrest of the Chairman on November 6, 1954. he too has been included as an accused in P.E. 4 of 1954 of the Sub Divisional Magistrate's Court, Padmanabhapuram. Shri A. Nesamony, member of Lok Sabha who has been although active in our defence was attacked by the State special prosecutor before the Enquiry Commission during his arguments openly declared that, **Mr. Nesamony, M.P. should be the first to be arraigned before the court for the**

unruly activities on August 11. Summary of the arguments of the State Special Prosecutor before the Commission of Enquiry reported in the Indian Express is herewith filed as Appendix - F. Shri. A. Nesamony has since been falsely implicated in a case by the Kottar Police. On September 14, 1954 Advocate Shri. S.T. Moses who went to get the vakalath and bail application signed by his brother-in-law a graduate teacher then in custody, with the prior sanction of the Magistrate was locked up in jail and was himself implicated in P.E. 4 of 1954 of the Padmanabhapuram Sub-Devisional Magistrate's Court as an accused. Shri. B.C. Muthiah who was appearing in the cases pending before the Sub-Divisional Magistrate, Padmanabhapuram was also included as an accused in P.E. 4 of 1954 in the final report of the police.

(xii) Newspapers have published the report of an interview between the Chief Justice and another judge who heard the writ petitions and passed orders with the Chief Minister of the State at his office in the Secretariat on the day following the judgement. The report in *Dinamalar* is filed as Appendix - G. The Government announced the appointment of Sri. M.U. Issac, Advocate, Ernakulam, son-in-law of the said Chief Justice in the State Government Gazette dated 26-10-1954 at page 1362 as the High Court Government pleader on a pay of Rupees five hundred per mensem. The appointment is made in the vacancy created by the appointment of Shri. N. Kumaran Achan as the Special Public Prosecutor to prosecute the accused in the several cases initiated against the Tamils.

(xiii) No first informaton report was filed before 16-8-1954 and those reports laid on that day seem to have been subsequently tampered with. The offences for which the petitioner was stated to be arrested in the communication to the Speaker of the State Legislatvie Assembly differ from those mentioned in the First Information Report in the Case. A copy of the communication circulated by the Speaker is herewith filed as Appendix - H.

(xiv) Certified copies of the F.I.R. in P.E. 9 and 10 of the Court of the First Class Magistrate, Kuzhithurai applied for on 13-8-1954 was supplied on 20-8-1954. Certified copies of the interim charges alleged to have been filed on 26-8-1954 were granted to us only on 9-10-1954 even though urgent copies were applied for on 26-8-1954 itself. Though on 16-8-1954 the investigating officer filed a report that investigation has disclosed offences under sections 121, 121 A and 122 of the I.P.C. along with the interim charge no complaint was filed and the interim charge did not include those offences. When petitioner's bail application was moved in the High Court on 5-11-1954 it was brought to the notice of the High Court during the course of the argument that no final report has been filed in this case. But reference was made to an affidavit filed by the A.S.P. Nagercoil who is the investigating officer in the case that final report has been filed on 3-11-1954. But the court was told that on enquiry it was stated by the Kuzhithurai Magistrate on the evening of 4-11-1954 that no final report was filed in court till then. Thereupon the copy of the alleged final report with the police was directed

to be handed over to petitioner's lawyer and it was shown to the court and that copy did not bear any date and did not show that the final report was laid in the court on 3-11-1954. I understand no final report was filed on 3-11-1954. The all-embracing saction allowed by the State Government for the inclusion of Section 121 A of the I.P.C. in the several cases and the inclusion of the same in the final report would show the prejudicial attitude of the State Government.

(xv) There is confirmed prejudice against me and the other accused and the T.T.N.C. in the minds of the officers concerned both Judicial and Executive. The applications for bail on behalf of 98 accused in these cases were moved initially before the Sessions court of Nagercoil, the court which is to try the cases on October 4, 1954. The applications were heard in that court full day on October 8, 1954 and at the instance of the Government prosecutor to that court it was adjourned two days hence for the prosecutor's reply. On that day, on a preliminary point raised by the Special Prosecutor that the motion ought to have been made to the Magistrates at the first instance, the whole body of 98 applications were rejected. Thereupon the High Court was moved for bail. The High Court upheld preliminary objection but granted bail for nine accused who are students.

(xvi) The demand for the merger of the predominantly Tamil areas in Travancore-Cochin with Madras State is one against which the Government of Travancore-Cochin have unconcealed and raging opposition and so have all the officers in the Government who are either directly or indirectly connected with the trial of these cases. The first class Magistrate, Kuzhithurai who was in office then in that court and the Sub-Divisional Magistrate, Padmanabhapuram are witnesses in this case and have given evidence before the Commission of Enquiry. They are incompetent to try this case and yet the Sub-Divisional Magistrate, Padmanabhapuram is hearing these cases even now. The police officers who are witnesses in the cases are investigating the case and they are the people who either caused the firing or ordered the firing. The investigating officers have filed affidavits suggesting the conclusions to be arrived at by courts. The affidavits are couched in vituperative language exhibiting their partisan attitude and contradictory statements are made in them. The true copies of the five affidavits filed by the investigating police officers before the Sessions Court, Nagercoil and the High Court served on the petitioner's advocate are herewith filed as appendix - J,K,L,M and N.

(xvii) The open declarations of the Ministers in public speeches and in press interviews condemning the agitation of the T.T.N.C. and the demand made by it before the States Reorganisation Commission and foisting the blame on the accused for the incidents of 11th August 1954 when the matter is subjudice have caused serious prejudice rendering a fair trial in the courts of this State impossible, Newspaper reports of such speeches and press interviews are filed herewith as Appendix - O,P,Q and R.

(xviii) The successful prosecution of these cases is a personal and a party matter for the Chief Minister of this State and this is abundantly proved by his exhortations to the special convention of Praja Socialist Party at Nagpur on November 27, 1954. The relevant report of the exhortation which appeared in the *Madras Mail* is filed herewith as Appendix - S.

(xix) The State has no resources by way of jails or sub-jails for accommodating under-trial prisoners. The petitioner and other accused are kept in the police lock-up at Vilavancode in a room 18 feet by 9 feet having little ventilation, along with others, including convicted prisoners ranging from 12 to 22. The lock-up is infested with vermin and the inmates have to answer the calls of nature in a pot kept there and which they are compelled to clean every morning. The stench emanating from this pot is suffocating and undermines the health of the inmates. In spite of the miserable conditions in the prison brought to the notice of the Magistrate, he has said that *they are well off in jails*.

(xx) The applications and affidavits by this petitioner for a Writ of Prohibition prepared and got ready for restraining the Commission of Enquiry, intended to be filed before this Honourable Court were given for printing with the M.S.M. Press at Nagercoil on 14th November, 1954 and the same was printed by the said press and delivered to the petitioner's advocate on the evening of 16th November 1954. The police obtained scent of the printing of the said petitions and affidavits and caused the arrest of the Proprietor of the said Press on 18th November 1954. The petitions and affidavits were submitted to the Stationary First Class Magistrate, Kuzhithurai on the morning of 17th November 1954 for the petitioner's affirmation and attestation. The Magistrate held up these papers on some pretext or other and finally returned the papers affirmed and attested only on the afternoon of 19th November 1954. In the meantime, the Commission of Enquiry, which originally announced that 134 witnesses would be examined before it, abruptly closed its taking evidence with the examination of 111 witnesses only and concluded its sittings on November 20, 1954 and it was reported to have stated that its report would be submitted before December 1, 1954. But all of a sudden when the special convention of the Praja Socialist Party at Nagpur decided on 27th November that the Ministry of Shri. Pattom A. Thannu Pillai need not resign, the Commission submitted its report on 28th November 1954. This synchronisation is ominous and shows the extent of the influence of the Executive over the judiciary in this State. The delay caused in getting the petitions and affidavits signed was apparently with a purpose as subsequent events indicate.

(xxi) The findings now given by the Enquiry Commission composed of a Judge of the State High Court, justifying the actions of the police in having resorted to fring on 11th August 1954 in South Travancore, which is an integral part of the police charge would render the trial of this case by courts in this State

ineffectual and a mere formality. The summary of the findings of the Enquiry Commission as reported in *The Mail* is herewith filed as Appendix - T.

It is therefore prayed that the said case may be ordered to be transferred from the court of the Stationary First Class Magistrate, Kuzhithurai in the State of Travancore-Cochin to any court in the State of Madras or in some other State

Date Petitioner

Affidavit in support of the petition, Notice of Motion Memo of Appearance, Vakalatnama of advocate on record are herewith filed.

Advocate on Record

A. Nesamony's Personal File

64. IN THE HIGH COURT OF MYSORE (1955)

(Tuesday, the 1st day of February 1955)

Present

The Hon'ble Sri. P. Medapa, Chief Justice

and

The Hon'ble Justice Sri K.N. Padmanabiah.

Criminal petitions Nos. 15 to 22 of 1955

In Cr. P. No. 2 of 55 :

A. Kunjan Nadar . . . 1st Accused in P.E.I/55. Petitioner

In Cr. petn. No. 16/55 :

P. Thanulingam Nadar 2nd Accused in P.E.I/55. Petitioner

In Cr. petn. No. 17 of 55 :

M. William . . . 3rd Accused in P.E.I/55. Petitioner

In Cr. petn. No. 18 of 55 :

D. Anantharaman 152nd Accused in P.E.I/55. Petitioner

In Cr. petn. No. 19 of 55 :

N.A. Noormohammed 162nd Accused in P.E.I/55. Petitioner

In Cr. petn. No. 20 of 55 :

A. Kunjan Nadar . . . 1st Accused in P.E.2/55. Petitioner

In Cr. petn. No. 21 of 55 :

T.T. Daniel . . . 57th Accused in P.E.3/55. Petitioner

In Cr. petn. No. 22 of 55 :

Alexander Manuel Simon 82nd Accused in P.E.3/55. Petitioner

(By Sri E. V. Mathew for the above Petitioners)

Vs.

The State of Travancore - Cochin. . . . Respondent.

Criminal petition filed consequent on the transfer of P.E. Nos. 1, 2 and 3 of 1955 on the file of the Special First Class Magistrate, Thuckalay, by the Supreme Court of India to such Magistrate's Court or Courts in Bangalore, in the State of Mysore as the High Court may direct praying that for the reason stated in the affidavit accompanying the petition, the petitioners may be enlarged on bail. These petitions coming on for orders this day, the Court made the following :

ORDER

The petitioners in these petitions are granted interim bail on condition that each of them executes a surety bond in his own name for a sum of Rupees 2,000/- (Two Thousand) and also furnishes security for a like sum to the satisfaction of the Registrar, High court of Mysore, Bangalore.

Notice will issue to the Advocate - General, Travancore-Cochin. The petitions will be posted early for hearing .

(Transcript)

Sd/ - R.P. Vasudeo
Registrar

65. S.R. COMMISSION REPORT (1955)

CHAPTER II
Madras

288. Having explained our views on the basic pattern of the component units of the Indian Union, we now proceed with the task of making our recommendations regarding the reorganisation of particular States on the basis of the principles which, we have already indicated, should govern the solution of

the problem. We take up first the States in the South where the demand for the redistribution of state territories is of long standing.

289. The separation of Andhra from the composite Madras State has met the most insistent of the demands and has virtually solved the problem for a major area of this region. The residuary Madras State has been left as a fairly compact unit; this State is linguistically homogeneous except mainly for two districts, namely, Malabar and South Kanara, in a distant and outlying corner, which are not Tamil-speaking. So the problem of Madras does not present any serious difficulty.

290. The main claim advanced on behalf of Madras is for the addition of the Tamil-speaking areas of Travancore-Cochin. This claim rests mainly on linguistic considerations and grounds of geographical contiguity and relates to nine taluks, namely, Thovala, Agastheeswaram, Kalkulam, Vilavancode and Neyyatinkara in Trivandrum district, Devikulam and Peermede in Kottayam District, Shenkotta in Quilon District and Chittur in Trichur district.

291. In our scheme of reorganisation, we have adopted the district as the basic unit for making territorial readjustments. This is because we feel that districts have developed an organic and administrative unity and an economic life of their own and any adjustments below the district level, therefore, should normally be avoided. If any such adjustments are considered necessary, they should be made only by mutual agreement. We have departed from this rule only when, for ensuring geographical contiguity or for some other important administrative or economic considerations, detachment of part of a district has become imperative.

292. The demand for Tamil-speaking taluks has a history behind it and has assumed a form that prejudices the political and administrative stability of this area. We have, therefore, considered it necessary, in the special circumstances of this case, to examine the Tamil claims to these taluks and to make recommendations about their future.

293. As a result of the re-sorting of census slips of the Tamil-speaking taluks of the Travancore-Cochin State, the percentages of people with different mother-tongues in the nine taluks claimed by the Madras Government are now available. These figures show that in *the four southern taluks, namely, Agastheeswaram, Thovala, Kalkulam and Vilavancode, situated in what is known as Nanjil Nad, the percentage of Tamil-speaking people is above 79. The wishes of the people of this area have been clearly expressed and there is no particular reason why these wishes should not be respected.*

294. *The Shenkotta Taluk is partly an enclave in Tirunelveli District of Madras State and the percentage of Tamil-speaking people in this taluk is about 93, Physically and geographically it belongs to Tirunelveli District in which it should now merge.*

295. The *Devikulam and Peermede* taluks stand on a somewhat different footing. These are hilly areas which, for various economic and other reasons, are of great importance to the State of Travancore-Cochin. The percentage of Tamil-speaking people in the Devikulam and Peermede taluks is 72 and 44 respectively. It has, however, been stated before us that this fairly large Tamil population of these two taluks is accounted for, in part, by a floating corps of labourers employed by plantations in this area. Recent figures for the Peermede and Devikulam taluks show that the Tamil migrant population constitutes 30 percent and 46 percent., leaving behind 14 percent and about 26 percent as the non-floating Tamil-speaking population in the two taluks respectively.

296. Considering their area, which is about twelve percent, of the whole area of Travancore-Cochin State, Devikulam and Peermede taluks have a comparatively meagre population and with the progress of development should be able to relieve some of the burden on the heavily congested littoral areas of the State. The economic importance of this locality will be discussed later, but it may be appropriate to mention here some of the natural advantages of this area, containing the high range of the Anamalais and some of the highest peaks south of the Himalayas. It is the source of the most important river of the State, the Periyar, as also of other rivers. Apart from the question of impounding the headwaters of the rivers, it is necessary to adopt measures to afford protection to the rice fields in the valley bottoms, and to promote the special economy of the high range relating to forests, plantations and hydro-electricity; these cannot effectively be undertaken if the State is deprived of this area.

297. The Tamil side of the case is that, although much of the population of Devikulam and Peermede may have been originally migrant, it now constitutes a majority and that in the 1954 elections, the *Travancore Tamil Nad Congress* won both the seats to the Assembly from this area. It is important, however, to note that the Travancore Tamil Nad Congress itself recognise the special interests of the Travancore-Cochin Government in this area and is prepared to exclude from the areas sought to be transferred to Tamil Nad, the Pallivasal Pakuthy of the Devikulam Taluk, where the hydro-electric works are located and the Peruvanthandu Pakuthy of Peermede Taluk, which includes the township of Mundakayam and the rubber estate.

298. This concedes, in effect, a part of the claim of the Government of Travancore-Cochin to these two taluks. As we have observed earlier, *we do not regard the linguistic principle as the sole criterion for territorial readjustments, particularly in the areas where the majority commanded by a language group is only marginal*. It may also be recalled that, on the basis of the evidence tendered before it, the Dar Commission had come to the conclusion that it would not be proper to describe any area as unilingual unless the majority of one language spoken in that area was atleast 70 percent and that any area below that should be considered as bilingual or multilingual as the case may be. We are

generally in agreement with this view, but in our opinion, the mere fact that a certain languages group has a substantial majority in a certain area should not be the sole deciding factor.

299. *Neyyattinkara is a predominantly Malayalam-speaking Taluk (86 percent). As regards Chittur, it was claimed that the Tamil-speaking population was 95 percent; the re-sorting, on the other hand, has shown that the Malayalam percentage of the taluk is 59.8.* There seems to be no particular reason for separating these taluks. A portion of Chittur is now an enclave in Madras State, but if a Kerala State is constituted on the lines indicated in the next Chapter, this can be conveniently attached to Malabar which will form part of Kerala.

300. The non-Tamil areas of Madras are the two districts of Malabar and South Kanara and the Kannada-speaking areas on the borders of Mysore, specially the Kollegal Taluk of Coimbatore District. The Madras Government has not raised any objection to the separation of the two districts; as far as the Kollegal Taluk is concerned, Madras had agreed earlier to its transfer to the prospective Karnataka State, but subsequently, on reconsideration, has proposed that only a northern portion, which is contiguous to the existing Mysore State, should be transferred. We have considered very carefully the arguments in favour of breaking up this taluk, but find on the whole that they are unconvincing. The entire taluk, according to our proposals, will cease to be part of Madras.

Madras State thus constituted will have a population of about 30 millions, covering an area of about 50,170 sq. miles a compact and integrated territory and will form one of the important units of the Indian Union with a history of stable administration. Neither its administration nor *its plans of economic development will be affected.*

**Government of India, States Reorganisation Commission Report
New Delhi, 1955 Chapter II pp. 81-84**

66. NESAMONY IN PARLIAMENT (1955)

**Lok Sabha Debates on the Report of the States Reorganisation Commission
December 1955**

Mr. Deputy Speaker : I think Malabar means Kerala

Shri. A.M. Thomas : The entire area from Kasarcode to Cape Comorin West of the Western Ghats should form part of Kerala and if any portion from that area is taken out it will be a mutilated Kerala and not a Kerala which was the cherished dream of the people inhabiting the western side of the Western Ghats.

Shri. Nesamony : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, . . .

Mr. Deputy Speaker : I am disposing of two persons one on either side of a State with respect to the different State. I think Vishalandhra to some extent has been done. Mr. Heda headed all the Members from Hyderabad.

Shri. T.B. Vittal Rao : No. Sir . . .

Mr. Deputy Speaker : The position is this. The Speaker wanted to know the names of those persons one for and one against. The first round will be over and there are the second, third and fourth rounds. We will have many rounds.

Shri . Nesamony : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I thank you for giving me this opportunity to make this maiden speech.

Mr. Deputy Speaker : The Hon-Member wanted to be a maiden all along.

Shr. Nesamony : Mine is the sole voice that speaks for the Tamilians of the Travancore - Cochin State. I am the only representative of the Travancore Tamil Nadu Congress which is referred to in page - 83 of the Report of the Commission. The declared objective of the Travancore Tamil Nadu Congress is the merger of the nine predominantly Tamil Taluks of Travancore-Cochin with the Madras State. Those Taluks are Thovala, Agasteeswaram, Kalkulam, Vilavancode, Neyyattinkara, Devikulam, Peermade, Shencottah and also Chittoor. Of these nine taluks, the commission has recommended the merger of five taluks, Thovala, Agasteeswaram, Kalkulam, Vilavancode and Shencottah. The claim now remains for the remaining 4 taluks.

Before I proceed with our claim to the remaining four taluks. I would just like to reply to Shri. Thomas who has raised certain points. I would like to dispose of them as quickly as possible because they do not deserve much consideration. (Interruption)

Shri Nesamony : You must compare the Travancore - Cochin Territory with the adjoining Trinaveli District. If he had travelled through Aramboli, he would find for himself that there is a vast territory about 30 miles broad from Cape Comorin to Aramboli which is not obstructed by any mountain.

Then he may say the High Court is in Travancore - Cochin. We do not live upon litigation. When Pattom Thanu Pillai wanted to drive us out of the State and let loose a reign of terror, it was the Supreme Court of India that gave us protection. It was the High Court of Mysore that granted us our liberty. So, I would say that wherever we may have the High Court of Travancore, it is of no avail to us. We had to come to the Supreme Court half a dozen times so that it is absolutely immaterial to us where the Travancore-Cochin High Court is, whether it is in Nagercoil in my own village or whether it is in Ernakulam or whether it is in Kailash. It is absolutely of no use to us.

The reference is to surplus district. From the documents and evidence before the Reorganisation Commission it has come to the conclusion that it is not a surplus district as it is claimed by Shri. Thomas out of ignorance. We pointed out to the Commission that on a population basis we have got 6 cents of paddy land per head which would not be sufficient to keep an individual going on for a year. That has been accepted by the Commission and they say Nanjanad which is said to be the granary of Travancore-Cochin does not show that it is a surplus area.

Then the next is mineral sands. It belongs to the Centre. It is true that we have got deposits of thorium, monozite, zircon, and other sands—an inexhaustible source but it is not exploited simply because of the difficulty of finding labour for those people in these factories at Chavara.

Thovala has to be given up and our candidates failed—that was an argument that was put forward before the States Reorganisation Commission. Shri. T.S. Ramaswami was the representative of the P.S.P. at that time. When Shri. Jaya Prakash Narayan and Shri. Asoka Mehta came down there they said that it must be merged in Madras. Quotations from his speech and election manifesto were produced before the Commission in which he said that this place must go to Madras and it was on that basis that he stood for election and he supported the merger of that taluk with Madras. When this question came up again in the recent debates of the Travancore-Cochin Assembly, We demanded that these nine taluks of Travancore-Cochin State should merge in Tamil Nad. It was he who first moved the no-confidence motion on the Pattam Thanu Pillai Ministry though he belonged to the P.S.P. at that time, because they did not keep up the promise and it was the no-confidence motion moved by him, that brought down Pattom's Ministry.

Mr. Deputy Speaker : Now there is a change of government there and all will be well.

Shri. A. Nesamony : No, sir. I will come to that later. My friend Shri. Thomas, is not in the know of things so far as these problems are concerned. So far as shooting is concerned, what is it that we did? All that we wanted was that the people in Devikulam must be protected against the repression of the police, against the atrocities by the police. We went on a deputation to Shri. Pattom Thanu Pillai when he was Chief Minister - Not I but representative members of my party, who are members of the legislature.

They went to Devikulam and Peermade and made a study on the spot and then saw the Chief Minister. But he scorned and said, *Are you coming to dictate me?* All we wanted was the transfer of a sub-inspector, who was causing havoc there. Then we declared the *Devikulam Day* on June 30, 1954, to bring popular opinion to bear upon the Government to reverse its policy of repression. The Government did not yield. On the 4th July, the day was observed in Devikulam

and responsible members of my organisation including myself and a member of the Council of States and an ex-Minister went to Devikulam to speak to our people to see that a calm atmosphere was brought about there. We felt that it was our duty not to act like cowards and run away. We disobeyed that illegal and most arbitrary order, and in the statement issued we said that it was an illegal and arbitrary order and it was our duty to disobey it. I was very glad that people followed us, members of the municipality, members of the legislatures, presidents of panchayats, business men and leading citizens all over to accept that challenge that we set, namely that this repression must cease. **He let loose all his engines of oppression on us. The very fountains of justice were polluted, the whole executive, which is absolutely manned by Malayalees, the Police, the Magistracy and the Judiciary were corrupt.**

Shri. A. Thomas : Is it proper for the Hon-Member to mention that the whole judiciary there is corrupt?

Shri. Nesamony : I say that half a dozen cases were taken to the Supreme Court of India against the decision of Travancore-Cochin High Court.

Mr. Deputy Speaker : It is rather difficult. Generally no aspersions ought to be cast on judges of any High Court. These people are now building an argument that they do not have any confidence in the Travancore -Cochin High Court and that is one of the grounds for them to get separated. The judges are all honourable, but language seems to weigh not with these judges but generally in the abstract, judges from that area may be different from the judges from Tamil Nadu area. Is that what the Hon-Member means?

Shri Nesamony : Yes. Sir, The Supreme Court wanted the Advocate General to have the case transferred and tried at Tirunelveli. But he stated that the State of Travancore will not get justice at the hands of Madras as there is tension in Tirunelveli between Malayalees and Tamilians there. The case was finally transferred from Madras to Mysore, from where we got our liberty and our freedom.

Shri. C.K. Nair : Not because the judges are corrupt but because the feelings were running high.

Shri Nesamony : That is why I say it is corrupt. Having disposed of that matter, I come to Peermade - Devikulam. People speak of mountains and rivers : People speak of colonisation; but **the human problem is not taken account of anywhere.** As I observed, it is because of repressive policy followed by Pattam Thanu Pillai's Government that we disobeyed its order and went to jail. 434 persons including 20 women, were arrested because security proceedings were started against them. You should go and see those 20 women who spent their days in the lock-up with men, 60 miles away from Devikulam - Mooattupuzha and other

places. You should interview these women to know how they were treated. Any man of common sense and decency will revolt against it. That is highly revolting - 434 men and 20 women. When these people were arrested and kept in lock-up, we tried our level best to bring pressure upon the government to stop it.

An Hon Member : How did you do?

Shri Nesamony : There is the Kerala I.N.T.U.C. and there is the Tamil Nad I.N.T.U.C. The South Indian Planters Workers Union is affiliated to the Madras I.N.T.U.C. The High Range Workers Union supported by the Government and the Kottayam District Congress Committee was functioning there. The present Hon. Minister for Labour, when he was President of INTUC cancelled the affiliation of the Kerala High Range Workers Union from the INTUC. It was supported by the interested capitalists of Kottayam and the local capitalists to break the soildarity of workers. Inspite of the order of the President of the INTUC, this High Range Workers Union crops up like a mushroom now and then.

Mr. Deputy - Speaker : May I know if the House is willing to sit for another half an hour?

Several Hon. Members : No

Mr. Deputy Speaker : How long will the Hon. Member take?

Shri Nesamony : Such time as the Chair is pleased to grant me, But I would like to have my full say. Probably I am the only person to speak on this from Travancore-Cochin.

Mr. Deputy Speaker : Then he may continue tommorow Thursday 15th December, 1955. (The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven O'Clock on Thursday, the 15th December 1955)

Mr. Speaker : The House will now proceed with futher consideration of the motion moved yesterday that the Report of the States Reorganisation be taken into consideration.

Shri. Nesamony was on his legs yesterday. I might remind the Hon. Member that he has already taken 15 minutes. He may cut short his remarks. Otherwise it is difficult to accommodate the large number of members who want to express their views in this House.

Shri. A. Nesamony : I represented to the Deputy - Speaker yesterday that the point of view which I am voicing would be voiced by me alone from Travancore-Cochin and that I should be given sufficient time to explain my point of view. I will crave the indulgence of the Chair also to give me an extension of time, if necessary, if the Chair is pleased to do so.

Mr. Speaker : I believe Hon. Members from every State wish to lay before the house as fully as possible their view points. But that will not be possible with in the time at our disposal. Therefore he may just be short. He need not drop any of the points but he may cut short his remarks or the arguments.

Shri. A. Nesamony : I was submitting yesterday that the problem of Devikulam and Peermade is a human problem, and nobody has addressed himself to the solution of that problem. I gave instances of repression by the police. I gave the instance of the starting of the High Range Worker's Union, even though the president of INTUC cancelled its affiliation to the INTUC. I say that this organisation will crop up like mushrooms at every election to break the solidarity of the South India Plantation Worker's Union which vindicated the stand of the T.T.N.C. and its objective.

In the two Taluks of Devikulam and Peermade, there is only one High School. That was started by the Kannan Devan Hill Products Co., and it is managed by them. There are about 300 boys belonging to the Scheduled Castes and hill tribes who enjoyed all fee concessions upto May 1954. From this year those concessions are denied to those boys. These boys will have to discontinue their studies if these concessions are denied to them. It is a matter of serious import to the 63,000 and odd Scheduled Caste people who inhabit that area because it concerns their next generation. In spite of all the efforts that this government is making to ameliorate their condition, the Travancore Cochin Government is not prepared to help them, the next generation of the Scheduled Castes. Instances can be multiplied even upto the present moment.

(Sardar Hukum Singh in the Chair)

From reports that we are getting-both from the papers and otherwise the policy of repression and discrimination continues throughout Devikulam and Peermade. I am not going to multiply instances because the time at my disposal is very short. but the will of the people of Devikulam and Peermade, as successive elections have demonstrated, is that the area must merge with the Madras State.

During question hour in the Madras Legislative Assembly, Shri. C. Subramanyam, Finance Minister, Madras Government, stated that the Madras Government had submitted a memorandum to the States Reorganisation Commission demanding the merger of the 9 predominantly Tamil Taluks including Devikulam, Peermade with the Madras State. Shri. Pattom Thanu Pillai, who was then the Chief Minister of Travancore Cochin stated at Ernakulam at a public meeting that **if there were no Central Government - the Government of India - Shri. Kamaraj Nadar and Shri. Subramaniyam would have invaded Travancore-Cochin.** That was the attitude that was taken up by the Travancore-Cochin Government when the Madras State made a demand that these predominantly Tamil areas merge with Madras.

Now what is this demand? It is now interpreted to be a monstrous demand, opposed to all facts and history. I would just like to mention that this area did not form part of Travancore-Cochin Legislative Assembly was quoted by Shri. A.M. Thomas, had said that Shri. T.K. Velu Pillai, who wrote the State Manual has stated that the Raja of Punjar was the descendant of Pandyan Kings . . .

Shri. Kottukappally : (Meenachil) The Raja of Punjar is a Travancorean.

Shri Nesamony : This is according to the Travancore State Manual. The historian of the Travancore-Cochin State says that the Raja of Punjar was the descendant of the Pandyan Kings and that he used to sign as *Meenakshi Sundaram*. It is in evidence that tax was being collected by the Raja of Punjar through petty Chieftains called Manadirs, and receipts had been used under the seal of *Madurai Meenakshi Thunai*. So this area had been under the sway of the Naiks of Madras under the Pandyan Kings, and it had never been a Territory of Travancore till 1889. The precursors of the modern KDHP - Kannan Devan Hill Product Company - when they first entered into an agreement, executed the agreement with the Raja of Punjar. That was in 1879. The Secretary of State for India when he executed the agreement on behalf of the Periyar Lake Project executed it in favour of the Maharaja of Travancore. When the agreement was renewed and the lease was extended in 1889, it was executed in favour of the Maharaja of Travancore. So it is clear that during that period 1879-1889 this change took place. It is said that the Maharaja of Travancore got it on a lease from the Raja of Punjar. **Whatever that may be till 1935 there was absolutely no access from the Travancore area to this area of Devikulam and Peermade.** It is borne out by the Census Report of 1951, that this area is approachable from the Madurai District through the passes of Thevaram, Kudalur, Kumli, Bodinayakkanur, Kambam and Shivagiri. These are the passes through which trade flowed. That is admitted. As it formed part of Madras State, these people came and settled there and have now their habitation there.

The Commission has stated that the population there is migrating, that it is a floating population. I say it is not stated as to who stated that view point before the Commission. It is not stated how they got the figures whereas in the case of other matters they have indicated that such and such State or such and such organisations have stated a certain view point. We are led to believe that interested capitalists who make themselves rich by the labour of this population, and the anti Tamil Praja-Socialist Government, which was then in power in Travancore-Cochin might have submitted these things to the Commission. They say that this will relieve congestion in the littoral area. The area of the Kerala State has now been increased. It is 14,080 sq. miles. The area of Travancore-Cochin is 9,154 sq. miles and more than 5,000 sq.miles of territory is being added to this area. There is no room for colonisation of Devikulam and Peermade. In the northern portion of Devikulam is the Anjanad.

This Anjanad consists of the Villages of Maraiyur, Kizhanthur, Kottakomber, Vattavada, Kanthalur and Nachivayal consisting of 112 sq. miles, and the KDHP Company 215 sq. miles, the Cardamon area 215 sq. miles, the Game Sanctuary 305 sq. miles and the tea gardens 97sq. miles and the Periyar lake has water-spread area of 13 sq. miles, the Catchment area being 305 sq. miles and that constitutes the Game sanctuary as well. It is a very small area of forests and the grass land that remains and so the argument that the people living in the littoral area will be relieved of congestion is absolutely unfounded. On the other hand, the P.S.P. Government started a colonisation scheme in Maraiyur in Anjanad with the evident intention of ousting the Tamil population from there. The same government started a colonisation in the cardamom area with the intention of ousting the Tamil people there-at Kallar - so that all these things have been done with the idea of ousting the Tamilians and that has been made clear on the floor of the Legislative Assembly by the then Chief Minister, when he said, "If that programme of the P.S.P. Government had been pushed through Shri. Kamaraj Nadar would not have claimed these for Madras". That was the attitude of the Praja Socialist Government then in power. It did not stop with that. In the debate on the States Reorganisation Commission's Report in the Travancore-Cochin Legislative Assembly, Shri. Pattom Thanu Pillai had said that the labourers from Madurai must be stopped, not now, but for ever, because the Malayalees and the people from Travancore-Cochin must secure work there. That is the attitude that prompted them to demand the Devikulam and Peemad Taluks.

Now, I would just refer to what made these protagonists of Aikya Kerala to start this movement for Aikya Kerala. Our Hon. friend Shri. Kelappan, as President of the Kerala Provincial Congress Committee and the Aikya Kerala Committee presented a memorandum or an explanatory note on the answers to the questionnaire of the Linguistic Provinces Commission. I will refer to a certain passage which will show the animosity that dominated the Keralites at that time against the Tamilians.

The multi-lingual miscellany called the Madras Province will have to be liquidated. It is a mere accident of British Indian History. It was never meant as an area for Parliamentary Self Government. Its recent history must teach us the lesson that Parliamentary autonomy ill suits its incongruous being. The competition among the linguistic groups transcends all party alignments and endangers its efficiency and usefulness. A Tamilian majority cannot continue for all time to be the arbiter of the destinies of the people of Kerala.

It is that spirit that dominates the colonisation scheme, that dominates the request that was made that Peermade and Devikulam must go to the Kerala State. It is said that Kerala would not be a viable State, if Devikulam and Peermade are taken away. It will be a deficit state or economically backward. In the Five Year Plan that is now proposed for Travancore-Cochin State the revenue surplus for the coming five years is estimated at Rs. 14.7 crore. I say that the anticipated deficit or the statement that it will not be viable is absolutely unfounded. It is said

by the Commission that the Travancore Tamil Nadu Congress granted that the two pakuthis-especially this area - are absolutely necessary for the economic well-being of this place. May I be permitted just to quote a line or a few sentences from the memorandum which we submitted to the States Reorganisation Commission which has now turned out to be an argument against us?

The Assembly Constituency of Devikulam comprises the whole of Devikulam Taluk except Pallivasal Pakuthy where the Hydro-Electric Works are located. It comprises also the whole of Peermade Taluk except Peruvanthanam Pakuthy which includes the township of Mundakayam and the rubber estates owned by Syrian Christians mostly. The Travancore Tamil Nadu Congress has no objection to exclude these two Pakuthis from the area that is now sought to be merged with the Madras State for purpose of a settlement.

This passage is now being taken hold of by the States Reorganisation Commission and that is being used as an argument against us to say that we have more or less granted that this area is absolutely necessary for the economic development of the proposed Kerala State. I submit that it is twisting of the facts that we have put forward before the Commission. This area is absolutely necessary for the development of the projects of the Madras State.

As I submitted, the Periyar Dam has 13sq. miles of water spread area plus a catchment area of 305 sq. miles. It becomes an absolute necessity for Madras because it pays a royalty for the waters that have been impounded at the Periyar lake to irrigate 190 thousand acres of paddy land in the Madurai District. The Government of Madras wanted to start a Hydro-electric project in the Periyar headworks near Peryakulam but the Praja Socialist Government in charge at that time would not give them sanction unless they paid another royalty for the Periyar Hydro-electric Scheme to be laid at Peryakulam. There are two other Schemes which are to be included in the Second Five Year Plan of the Madras Government the Alady Dam, Upper Periyar Project at an estimated cost Rs. 7.75 crore and the Pambaiyar Scheme at an estimated cost of Rs. 14.5 crore and the Periyar Hydro-electric project for which the foundation stone has been laid is estimated to cost Rs. 7.98 crore. There is yet another project, the Parambikulam Upper Alayar project or to make a survey and for the site to put up a dam within the Madras territory itself. I find on the other hand the Travancore-Cochin Government has absolutely no scheme included in the Second Five Year Plan for the development of the waters of any of the streams that are flowing down from this area. Therefore, **it is an actual necessity for the Madras State and I submit that these two taluks should be merged with the Madras State.**

There are two other taluks which I have mentioned, the Chittoor taluk which is an enclave within Coimbatore District in the Madras State. Claim is made for this taluk on behalf of the villages which border the Coimbatore District; and it is now being proposed to be part of Kerala.

So far as Neyyatinkara is concerned, there is one Assembly constituency where our candidate has been elected and he represents us. We have constituted Panchayats in various villages. We challenged the correctness of the 1951 Census figures. We tried to educate our people to make proper enumeration when our leaders were arrested and a case was launched under the Police Act. That is the way Government has been dealing with that area and I therefore submit that these taluks should be merged with the Madras State.

Finally, it is the human problem in this area that we want to be considered in this matter. You go and ask the tea bushes of the Devikulam Taluk and they will tell you how they were planted by the tender fingers of the Tamilians fed by the bones and ashes of their ancestors, nurtured by the blood of the Tamilians and watered by the sweat of their brow. They would say that this is Tamil Nad. So far as the Sourthern Taluks are concerned, my friend, Shri. Thomas, was saying that Thovala did not return a Travancore Tamil Nad Congress member but the fact is that the candidate set up by the Travancore Tamil Nad Congress from the Nagercoil Constituency which includes Thovala, was returned as a member to Lok Sabha with a thumping majority and I can say that my friend has not a candidate to put up for that area as against the Tamil Nad Congress Candidate. So it is a human problem and I request the House to take note of it and take a decision consonant with the true facts of the case.

Shri. A. Thomas : Wanted to tell the Tamil people that they have got the benefits of a High Court, better facilities for Education etc.

We want Kerala and when Kerala will be formed, the Tamil-speaking areas will have the right to go to Madras.

67. NESAMONY IN PARLIAMENT (1956)

Lok Sabha Debates on the Report of the States Reorganisation Commission July 1956

Shri. Nesamony : The Joint Committee have done a very good job in redrawing the map of India, but my complaint is that they have not adopted the same principles in the settlement of the boundaries for the various States. Particularly, I should like to say a few words about the Shencottah Taluk. This is the taluk which is proposed to be transferred from Travancore-Cochin to Madras.

It was unfortunate that no Member of that area was included in the Joint Committee which settled the fate of the Tamil Taluks of Travancore-Cochin and consequently our case was decided ex-parte. The agreements of the Travancore-Cochin State and the Madras State were made over our heads without our knowledge without consulting us, and most of the things became a fait accompli at the time when the Bill was put before this House by the Joint Committee. The Madras Government, probably because of the conflicting opinions about the

Dakshina Pradesh and because they lost heart after the communique of the government announced on the 16th January that the taluks of Devikulam and Peermade were denied to them, were indifferent and said *Yes* to every thing that was proposed to them. In para 294 of their report, the S.R.C. have said, *The Shencottah taluk is partly an enclave in Trinelvei district of Madras State and the percentage of Tamil-speaking people in this taluk is about 93. Physically and geographically it belongs to Tirunelvei District in which it should now merge.*

I underline the words *Physically and geographically it belongs to Tirunelvei district*. On the 16th January, when the government issued a communique denying the rights of Devikulam and Peermade to be merged with the Madurai district and that of the portion of the Shencottah Taluk with the Tirunelvei district, the whole of Tamil Nadu protested irrespective of party affiliation. That was characterised as foolish on the floor of the House. But, the fact remains that it was an insult to the Tamils and that we suffer because the principles varied with territory and territory and with region and region. The words used in the communique issued on the 16th January were *The Western - most portion of the Shencottah taluk lying on the west of the Western Ghats*. But subsequently when the Bill was introduced here, that wording was changed and they said *Puliyare Hill Pakuthy*. When this Bill went before the Joint Committee, probably, there were none in that Committee who knew the geography of that place. They said well, delete *excluding Puliyara Pakuthy*. They deleted this on the 2nd July. It is stated on the page 4 of the Report of the Joint Committee that the Travancore-Cochin Government has, on the 1st July, transferred a territory along the watershed line and added it on to an adjoining taluk. The Travancore-Cochin Government has sabotaged the deliberations of the Joint Committee. **The Madras Government agreed to it.** I do not know at whose instance it was done. Some person might have had a brain wave and in his ingenuity he discovered that it was along the water shed line, an imaginary line. I am thankful that they did not think of longitudes and latitudes. Where is this imaginary line? It is a range of hills. Where is this line, nobody knows. What are the portions that have been transferred, nobody knows, except that the communique says that a portion of this taluk has been added on to the adjoining taluk. On the 2nd of July, the Committee sat for deliberation. This action whether of the Travancore-Cochin Government or the Central Government, is a breach of privilege of this House. When the Joint Committee was seized of the question, there has been this readjustment of territory between the Travancore-Cochin Government and the Madras Government. I may even say that it is a contempt of this High Court or Parliament, whoever may be guilty. Note that I move that action must be taken, they should be merged with the Madras State. The S.R.C. gave their verdict physically and geographically they formed part of Tirunelvei District. Where is the watershed line? The railway line from Shencottah to Trivandrum pierces through this area. There are gaps. Where is the watershed line? It is not an

impenetrable forest where people cannot go. It can be approached through a number of roads. Most of the approaches are from Shencottah and not from the Travancore side. What is the watershed here? They say watershed line. There is one river, a tributary of another river, which has its origin in one of the hills. It is the Achankoil River. That forms the boundary between Shencottah Taluk and Quilon Taluk. That is now considered to be the watershed line. Just for the sake of these two hill streams, to bring in the principle of watershed line is absolutely unwarranted, is most inequitable and unjust. This is the thing that must be rectified. I believe the Home Ministry would consider this matter seriously. We are all aggrieved by this. The economic life of Shencottah is bound up with these hills. Their green manure is got from here, their grazing grounds are here, their implements of husbandry are made from here and their fuel is gathered from these forests. They are denied all these privileges. They are told, you must go leaving the land. I submit this is most inequitable. This decision calls for reconsideration.

At the instance of the Central Government, the two governments have agreed that there must be a division along the watershed line. I ask in all humility, when Peermade and Devikulam have been denied to us, why not the principle of the watershed line be adopted there. If straightening the boundaries be the determining factor, why not give us Peermade and Devikulam taking into consideration, the straightening of the borders of Madurai and Coimbatore Districts? If it is a matter of economic development, why not the Periyar Basin which is a Game Sanctuary be given to the Madras State? The Central Government is aware of the scramble that is going on regarding Parambikulam. The catchment area is in the Madras State and only one of the several dams is going to be constructed in Travancore-Cochin State. All parties, the communists, the R.S.P., the K.S.P. and P.S.P. are up against the Madras Government. They say that they would not allow us to even go through the territory to survey the area. That is the attitude of Travancore-Cochin. Yet set aside all principles, the Joint Committee says so far as Shencottah is concerned, it is along the watershed line and if it is Devikulam and Peermade, it cannot be given and it must go to Travancore-Cochin State. I fail to see the wisdom of the decision.

There is another great injustice done to us in clause 4. I refer to the power given to the State Government to create districts. In the matter of Coorg, in the matter of Ajmere it is said that it shall be constituted into separate districts. In the case of the four taluks which comprise nearly 800 square miles of territory and 8.5 lakhs of people they are added on to Tirunelveli which is already a big district. **Nobody cared to find out whether these four taluks could form one unit of administration from the point of view of law and order, communications, medical aid etc.** Nobody looked into the matter because they are not in the possession of the facts. Still, this is a discrimination between one State and another, as is evident at every page of this report. If you stick to a principle, that principle must be accepted and applied to all the States and there should be no discrimination.

I endorse every word of what Shri. Frank Anthony said so far as the minorities are concerned. As our area is being proposed to be integrated with Madras according to the present distribution of States, a large majority of the Tamils have been left in the Travancore-Cochin State. It would be about 10 lakhs.

Shri. Achutan : What about the Malayalees in the four taluks?

Shri. Nesamony : I am coming to that; do not be in hurry. We will safeguard you. **The same things that we claim must be given to all Malayalees.** It is our bitter experience that the Malayalee government which was there did not give us freedom to educate our children in our mother tongue. Consequently, the people whose mother tongue has been Tamil have been turned into Malayalees. We fought against it. I may tell you that during the last four years the schools where Malayalam was taught are now becoming Tamil schools. There was a time when everybody was compelled to learn Malayalam because no provision was made for Tamil. When provision is made every one will take to his mother tongue, so that adequate provision has to be made in the Bill itself as Shri Frank Anthony has said. Do not leave it to the local Governor or the Zonal Council. **There must be a provision in the Bill itself to guarantee the rights of the minorities so far as their education and culture are concerned.**

I have appraised the Home Ministry also of a lacuna in the States Reorganisation Bill in respect of the advocates of the southern areas which are being integrated with Tirunelveli District and I have proposed an amendment to that clause. I believe that it will receive the proper attention of the Home Minister.

68. NESAMONY IN PARLIAMENT (1965)

Railway Budget - General Discussion on 8 March 1965

Mr. Speaker : We will take up general discussion of the Railway Budget. We have got 6 hours and 55 minutes more.

Shri Nesamony (Nagercoil) : Mr. Speaker, I am thankful to the Railway Minister for the speed with which the Pamban Bridge which had been washed away by the tidal waves had been restored and reconstructed. We had our misgivings whether in such a short period of time this could be done. Our engineers are to be congratulated for their good job in reconstructing this bridge and restoring communications to Rameswaram.

On reading through the budget speech of the Railway Minister, I find that he had referred to the new lines which will be constructed in the future, one of them being from Tinnevely to Kanyakumari and Trivandrum. It has been included in the Fourth Plan. The surveys are over, project reports are being finalised. The execution of this line is conditional upon two things : resources available in the Fourth Plan and the priority allotted to the execution of this work.

I am at a loss to know why they mention the priority of the execution of this line. **The State Governments of Kerala and Madras have urged upon the Central Government to have the line executed as early as possible. Several times representations had been made on the floor of the House that this line runs through a backward area and it is very necessary for the progress of that area.** Industries are not being started because industrialists say it is not possible to start any industry here because there are no means of communications. On the other hand, Government says that priority could be granted only if there was industrial development. We are moving in a vicious circle. **Apart from the State Governments all the local bodies and the municipalities in this area have urged upon the Government the necessity of executing this line as early as possible.** There are two monozite factories in this area. They produce ilmenite and monozite and other mineral sands. **The ilmenite produced in this area is exported to foreign countries.** The cost of production and transport is such that we were not able to compete successfully. With the foreign firms dealing with this commodity. It is particularly necessary for this dollar earning commodity to be produced and exported abroad that there are easy means of communication. The factory there is being expanded to meet the growing demands of the foreign market. So, to earn the much-wanted foreign exchange, **it is necessary that those commodities are exported easily and this line is constructed quickly.**

Moreover, **the forest produce in this area - rubber and tea - is taken to the Cochin port for subsequently being sold in the foreign countries.** This transport difficulty stands in the way of this produce bringing in good return to the respective markets. Again, the rich rubber-latex drums are being taken from here to Bombay. So, **the trade suffers owing to the lack of easy means of communication and it is necessary, therefore, that this line is executed as quickly as possible.** We are rather disappointed that it is not included in this year's budget, but atleast, as early as possible in the Fourth Plan, I believe the Railway Minister would find its way to have this line executed.

One word about the alignment of this line. Various people have been putting forward proposals that the line from Valliyur should be taken via Kanya Kumari to Nagercoil, the headquarters of the district. Others have put forward the plea that it must go from Valliyur straight to Aramboly through Panagudi. The latter line follows the trunk road and eliminates the road - rail competition when the line is constructed, whereas the other **line which is proposed, from Valliyur to Kanyakumari, is circuitous and goes through areas which are not thickly populated.** So, **it would not serve a good purpose if it is taken as a circuitous route to Kanyakumari; it must go straight from Valliyur to Nagercoil.** When the project report is being finalised, this matter should engage the Railway Ministry at this juncture, as to which is the proper line through which the line must be laid. If you want to eliminate the road-rail competition it must be laid along the trunk road, because **Tirunelveli could be reached from Nagercoil in two hours. But if**

it is through Kanyakumari, it would take not less than three hours. And so, there will be a tremendous competition from road traffic and if that has to be eliminated, the shorter route must be taken.

One word about reservation of tickets at out-agencies. There is an out-agency at Nagercoil, 50 miles away from the nearest railway station. The number of passengers that book their tickets in the out-agency at Nagercoil is generally vary large. But the number of tickets that are reserved in that out-agency is very limited. It is not in any way comparable with the demand that is made by passengers for the reservation of tickets. They have to go to Tirunelveli, 50 miles off, if they are to book their tickets. The number allowed to the out-agency is small. So, **I request the Railway Ministry to look into this matter and enlarge the number of tickets that could be reserved at Nagercoil** in proportion to the passengers who took their tickets there, so that the difficulties of the passengers might be minimised.

It is not only in the out-agencies that we feel the difficulty of reserving the tickets, but at junctions and in cities also, where there are provisions for the reservation of tickets, we find it rather difficult to get seats reserved at the proper time and in a regular manner. We do not know what method is adopted by the people in charge of this department dealing with the reservation we are told that in the matter of reservation **there is a black market in certain centres**; in some other places, **the travel agencies book tickets in bulk and cancel them subsequently, thus causing difficulties to the passengers.** These are matters which should be looked into so that the ordinary passengers may not feel any difficulty in the matter of booking their tickets.

Mr. Speaker : The bell is being rung. - Now, there is no quorum. Yes , Shri Nesamony. (13.06)

Shri Nesamony : Finally, it is gratifying to note that the railway catering has much improved generally speaking. But **I would request the Ministry to look into the quality of the food that is being served.** The quality has to be improved and give satisfaction to the passengers who are accustomed to dine in these restaurant cars or in the refreshment rooms.

Thank you.

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