



### Review Paper

## Social Protest through Pen and Platform: Re-looking the Role of C.V Kunjuraman in the Social Change in Kerala India

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### Abstract

C.V Kunjuraman (1871-1949) was a versatile genius of the erstwhile Princely state of Travancore which formed part of the present day state of Kerala. He was a renaissance leader of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Travancore, a social reformer, writer, editor, founder of the news paper Kerala Kaumudi, critic, historian, lawyer and orator. An untiring activist of SNDP Yogam, he was elected its general secretary in 1928 and 1931. Valmiki Ramayanam, a prose rendering of the great epic, was his first work to come out in print, in 1901. It won him wide acclaim prompting him to write Vyasabharatam and Panchavadi. Meanwhile, Karthikodayam brought out his prowess as a poet. It was as the founder-editor of 'Kerala Kaumudi' that C.V. evinced his insight and far sight as a journalist. Started in 1911, in Mayyanad, it had grown over the years as one of the most influential dailies in Malayalam that has raised its voice against injustice on all fronts. Kunjuraman played a very crucial role in the progressive transformation of modern Kerala into a democratic society through his continuous involvement in the popular struggles and democratic initiatives. For this transformation he used his pen and platform as two major weapons.

**Key Words:** C.V Kunjuraman, Travancore, SNDP Yogam, Sree Narayana Guru, Civic Rights Movement, Abstention Movement,

### Introduction

When Edward Bulwer-Lytton used the remark 'The pen is mightier than the sword' in his play *Richelieu; Or the Conspiracy*<sup>1</sup> written in the year 1839 or George Whetstone who expressed the same idea in *Heptameron of Civil Discourses*, they might have foresaw the possibility of the use of pen for social change like the one accomplished by C.V. Kunjuraman, a multifaceted personality who dominated the socio-political and literary- journalistic fields in modern Kerala for six decades. He was a versatile genius- a writer of vast range and depth, lawyer and an orator of repute. He was a social revolutionary who followed the path lighted by Sree Narayana Guru and Kumaran Asan. He relentlessly strove for the freedom of worship, social equality and advancement of the depressed classes of Kerala using his pen and platform. He started a crusade against the social evils and infused a spirit of rebellion in the body politic of these sections of people. He questioned superstitions of every sort in the most hilarious manner.

The period in which C.V. Kunjuraman lived in Kerala was noted for social abuses and inequalities where large majority of the people were subjected to social exploitation, humiliation and slavery by the application of rigid caste rules and popularisation of superstitions and prejudices.<sup>2</sup> No other parts in British India were the pollution laws so strictly observed than in Kerala. The low castes were not permitted to enter into the public places like post office, courts, village office etc. They were not only denied entry into the temples but also were disallowed to walk on the roads leading to the temples. In Kerala by the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century social oppression became institutionalised that its enforcement was so embedded in the everyday working of social life that it was not easily identified as oppression. Kumaran Asan the great poet of Kerala, once stated that "the cruelty and ruthlessness shown to the lower castes of Kerala, by the higher castes were comparable to the cruelty shown to the aborigines of America by the settlers from Spain." He also stated, "It would have been no wonder if the people of the lower castes decide to leave their villages and go to the forests and live like animals reversing the process described in Darwin's theory of evolution."<sup>3</sup> The traditional caste structure in Kerala was designed in such a manner that it resulted in the drastic reduction of political equality to the lower castes, which also transmitted reduction of equality in other spheres such as economic, educational, social and cultural.<sup>4</sup> In the given environment the organisations which represented the lower castes started their protest with the aim of achieving social change, which involved a transformation in social, political and economic organisation. This transformation was from the change-resistant -sacred outlook to the change-ready secular outlook. In Kerala social changes took place through contradictions. The shift of change was from structural relations to human relations or from caste hierarchical structure to inter personal relations. For achieving this, social conflict was necessary. It was in this context that persons like C.V. Kunjuraman carried the mantle of protest against the established tyranny. Even though much has been taught and discussed about the role of C.V Kunjuraman for the amelioration of the grievances of the depressed classes of modern Kerala, his conspicuous role in the literary and political field

has not been explored deeply. Hence an earnest attempt is made in this monograph the role played by C.V Kunjuraman for the progressive transformation of modern Kerala using his pen and platform.

### Early Life of C.V Kunjuraman

C.V. Kunjuraman was born in a poor family as the son of Velayudhan and Kunhichali at Mayyanad near Kollam in 1871. He had his elementary education at the L.M.S missionary school, Mayyanad and Government High School, Kollam. He studied only up to fourth form which is equivalent to the present eighth standard. But his passion for knowledge induced him to learn the classics like Mahabharata and Ramayana and in due course became an enlightened scholar enabling him to fight against the superstitions of every sort.<sup>5</sup> He started a school for the low caste Hindus at Vellamanal, Mayyanad, Kollam and became its head master. At his stint as school head master, he appeared for criminal test equivalent to law degree and came out successfully. Though he started his career as a teacher he later opted to be an advocate and joined Paravoor magistrate court as a criminal lawyer. He used his pen as the weapon to fight against the dirty customs existed in the society. He opened his journalistic career and got acquainted in the literary circles through his writings in *Sujanandini* published from Paravur owned by Paravur Kesavan Asan.<sup>6</sup> Subsequently he served as its sub editor. He was behind publishing the daily *Kerala Kaumudi* initially from Mayyanad and then from Thiruvananthapuram in 1911. It was started as a weekly newspaper and he was the proprietor-editor, printer and publisher. Its sharp and vibrant criticism and powerful language inspired the aggrieved communities of Kerala and created a favourable condition for political and social action. He also worked as editor of publications like *Malayalarajyam*, *Navajeevan*, *Kathamalka*, *Yukthivadi*, *Navasakthi*, *Bhashaposhini* and *Vivekodayam*. In addition to his credit as a prolific writer, C.V Kunjuraman also functioned as a member of the Sree Mulam Prajasabha.<sup>7</sup> Like Dr. Palpu, Kumaran Asan, Ayyakkutti, T.K.Madhavan, C.Krishnan and Sahodaran Ayyappan, he also worked under the spiritual halo of Sree Narayana Guru. In fact all of them adopted a material approach enriched by the spiritual principles of guru for the transformation of a major community of Kerala from the position of polluting community to the status of a powerful community in Kerala. All these leaders very effectively utilised Sree Narayana Guru as a principal instrument in the upliftment of Ezhava community. Guru was an indispensable link between the educated Ezhavas and the Ezhava masses. His name was thus a valuable instrument for promoting Ezhava unity.<sup>8</sup>

C.V. Kunjuraman played a pivotal role in all the social and political movements started in Travancore from 1900 till his death in 1949. His support became crucial in the Civic Rights Movement, Abstention Movement, Temple Entry Movement and the Struggle for Responsible Government- all of them were the stepping stones for the progressive transformation of Kerala society. The Civic Rights Movement was the first popular political movement started in Travancore by the aggrieved communities of the Ezhavas, Christians and Muslims for getting due share in the government service including the revenue department and for access to all public amenities and Hindu temples. Traditionally the revenue department was considered inaccessible to the non-Hindus and non caste-Hindus, for Devaswoms had been attached to that department.<sup>9</sup> Christians and Muslims were debarred from the appointment in the Revenue department on religious grounds while the Ezhavas and other low castes on caste grounds. When the movement progressed C.V. Kunjuraman submitted a memorial to the Simon Commission for communal representation of the aggrieved communities in 1928. He demanded for the Ezhavas either representation by separate electorates or reservation of an adequate number of seats in the general electorates.<sup>10</sup> He effectively used the pages of his news paper *Kerala Kaumudi*, membership in the popular assemblies and his position as the General Secretary of S.N.D.P Yogam for the cause of the aggrieved communities. Along with Ayyankali C.V. Kunjuraman also demanded the necessity of putting an end to untouchability and removing restrictions over the avarnas in the state while delivering his speech in the Sree Mulam Prajasabha in 1921.<sup>11</sup> The demand for temple entry, the right to walk through the temple roads and the abolition of untouchability were some of the major demands raised by C.V.Kunjuraman using the pen and platform.

The Princely state of Travancore in the 1930's witnessed a turbulent political agitation initiated by the aggrieved communities like the Ezhavas, Christians and Muslims for the purpose of adequate representation in the legislative bodies and public service, which produced consequences of far reaching magnitude. This agitation was in a sense, a continuation of the Civic Rights Struggle of the 1920's and the movement started by the aggrieved communities came to be called in Travancore history as Abstention Movement or Nivarthana Prakshohanam. This movement was started against the legislative reform proclaimed on 28 October 1932 as Regulation II by His Highness Sri Chitra Thirunal Maharaja.<sup>12</sup> It was alleged that the new constitutional reform was the brainchild of C.P. Ramaswamy Aiyer, the Legal and Constitutional Advisor of the Maharaja. The main feature of the reform was the constitution of a bicameral legislature- the Sree Mulam Assembly and Sree Chitra State Council.<sup>13</sup> The Assembly, the lower house which was the main legislative body consisted of 72 members of whom 62 were non-officials and 10 officials. Out of the 62 non-officials, 43 were elected by the general constituencies and 5 by special constituencies representing landlords, planters, commerce and industry. Fourteen seats were reserved for the nomination of members from the communities who were considered unable to secure adequate representation by general election. The council consisted of 37 members of whom 27 non-officials and 10 officials. Sixteen non-officials were elected from the general constituencies and 6 from special constituencies. To ensure the representation of the minorities provision was made for the nomination of 5 persons. In the lower house the franchise qualification was open to both sexes who paid a land tax of Rs. 5/- or more or income tax or municipal tax of Re.1/- or more per annum, graduates and retired military officials residing in the state. Higher qualification was stipulated to the council i.e., a land tax of Rs.25/- or more.<sup>14</sup>

The aggrieved communities of Travancore viewed the new reform as a measure to perpetuate tyranny. Among the leaders who raised the mantle of protest against the new regulation, C.V. Kunjuraman was in the forefront. An organisation known as Ezhava Political League held a meeting on 31 July 1932 at Kollam under the presidentship of C.V.Kunjuraman. In this meeting

Kunjuraman made a long and thought-provoking speech and with the support of statistical data he alleged that natural justice was denied to a fair number of communities in Travancore. He questioned the legitimacy of the word Sri Mulam Popular Assembly to the constitutional body of Travancore. He argued, "It consisted of 100 members of whom 77 elected and 23 nominated. The qualification of the voters was remittance of 50 rupees land tax. To such an assembly the most suitable name will be feudal Assembly. But it will not give me surprise because in our country we are naming blackish babies as white baby (velumban)." <sup>15</sup> He severely criticised the nomination system adopted by the government for accommodating the unrepresentative communities and alleged that there were many instances of forgeries which occurred during the process of nomination. <sup>16</sup> He demanded universal adult franchise and communal representation. To protest against the new reform a new political organisation known as All Travancore Joint Political Conference or Samyuktha Rashtriya Samiti was formed. A memorial was submitted to the Diwan by a deputation consisted of C.V. Kunjuraman, N.V. Joseph, E.V. Varghese, Valsalam Rose, Thariath Kunji Thomman, P.S. Mohammad, K.I. Kocheepan Mappilai, K.C. Eapen, K.M. Kesavan, and P.K. Kunju demanding communal representation. <sup>17</sup>

In the election held in 1933, the representatives of the aggrieved communities did not contest and boycotted from the election. Through his tactics of *divide et impera* Diwan C.P. Ramaswamy succeeded in influencing C.V. Kunjuraman and a few other leaders by offering seats in the Sree Mulam Popular Assembly. For a short interregnum C.V. Kunjuraman stood aloof from the Abstention movement. But later he realised the real nature of C.P. when his son-in-law C. Kesavan was arrested and imprisoned following the Kozhenchery speech. As a protest against this incident C.V. Kunjuraman resigned his membership from the Sree Mulam Assembly in 1935. <sup>18</sup> Once again he began actively involved in the social protest movement. When the government appointed the franchise commission for settling the issues of the aggrieved people, S.N.D.P. Yogam Board meeting held under the presidency of C.V. Kunjuraman on 25 August 1935 expressed extreme satisfaction over the new developments. As per the new franchise reform elections were conducted in April 1937. The election results vindicated the stand of the Abstentionists. All the candidates sponsored by the Joint Political Congress came out victorious.

The situation created by C.V. Kunjuraman for the Temple Entry Proclamation of Travancore on 12 November 1936 which saved Hinduism from its impending danger of destruction and put a stop to the conversion propaganda of the Christians in Travancore. <sup>19</sup> A closer analysis of the events preceding the Temple Entry Proclamation reveals many hard realities, which prompted the Maharaja to issue the proclamation. It was the net result of the conversion threat of Ezhavas, the realisation of the Dewan and the Maharaja about the ever declining numerical strength of Hindus, after effects of the victory of the alliance of three major religious communities- Ezhavas, Christians and Muslims through the Nivarthana Agitation, the divide and rule policy of Dewan C.P. Ramaswamy Iyer, popularity of Gandhian Programme of anti-untouchability and the growth of rationalist movement. In Travancore, Raman Thampi, a High Court Judge, firstly raised the demand for temple entry. When he first raised the issue he was an Advocate practising in Kollam. While delivering the presidential address in the Sree Narayana Guru Jayanthi meeting held at Kollam in 1918, Raman Thampi argued that, it was not necessary for the Ezhavas to construct new temples and should start a movement for entry in public temples. <sup>20</sup> After this exhortation, S.N.D.P. leaders began to think earnestly over the issue of temple entry demand. It was C.V. Kunjuraman who firstly wrote an article demanding temple entry for the low caste people of Kerala and handed it over to K.P. Kayyalakkal who owned the *Desabhimani* newspaper and its editor T.K. Madhavan. In the beginning they were little reluctant to publish it, thinking over its consequences, but later decided to seek legal opinion. N. Kumaran, an advocate who was also an SNDP Yogam leader gave his green signal for its publication. This was published as an editorial in *Deshabhimani*. <sup>21</sup> The editorial pointed out that except a few conservative Nambudiri Brahmins, all other communities would be positive over the demand. C.V. Kunjuraman addressed various public meetings in which he argued that the Ezhava community and the SNDP Yogam took up the issue after much discussion. <sup>22</sup> He asked the avarna Hindus to dissociate with the savarna Hindu temples until their temple entry rights were accepted. He wrote in *Kerala Kaumudi* that his exhortation produced positive effects and as a consequence the economic position of Ezhava temples increased where as it adversely affected the caste Hindu temples. <sup>23</sup> C.V. Kunjuraman also demanded temple entry in the Sree Mulam Popular Assembly in 1920. The same demand was reiterated by persons like T.K. Madhavan, Kunju Panikkar and Chavarkottu Marthandan Vaidyan. <sup>24</sup> The leader of S.N.D.P. Yogam T.K. Madhavan succeeded in convincing Gandhiji the need for temple entry in Kerala and the Congress activities created a necessary climate conducive for the Temple Entry Proclamation.

The conversion threat of the Ezhava community posed by the S.N.D.P. Yogam leaders especially C.V. Kunjuraman was a major factor that compelled Diwan C.P. to advise the Maharaja for the Temple Entry Proclamation. Ever since the emergence of S.N.D.P. Yogam that guaranteed caste solidarity to different sub-divisions of the Ezhavas, the elites of this community devised various measures and adopted various tactics for the social and political advancement of the members that the community represented. They have unequivocally declared that political freedom even if attained from the British rule would be meaningless unless it was backed by social and economic freedom. Kumaran Asan raised the same principle in his work *Oru Thiyyakkuttiyude Vicharam* in which he raised his question "For what this swaraj when men struggled with caste prejudices." For majority of people including Kumaran Asan what was important was their primary freedom-freedom to walk through the public roads, freedom to get admission in the sirkar schools, freedom of access to Government services and above all a recognition that they were also citizens. <sup>25</sup> Several low caste people of Travancore including Ezhavas converted themselves into other religions especially Christianity since they found it the easiest way to escape from caste tyranny. In Kerala since the beginning of the 19th century the protestant missionaries succeeded in gaining a good many converts, especially among the lowest ranking castes. But on the issue of religious conversion the opinions of Ezhava leaders radically differed and these differences of opinions they expressed through their publications. From the very beginning itself the official publication *Vivekodayam* adopted a moderate

stand on many issues including conversion. On the other hand publication like *Mitavadi* of C. Krishnan, *Sahodaran* of K. Ayyappan and *Kerala Kaumudi* of C.V. Kunjuraman adopted extreme radical stands.

Mitavadi C. Krishnan and Sahodaran Ayyappan strongly favoured the conversion of Ezhavas to Buddhism. They presented Buddhism as an anti-thesis to discriminatory Hinduism. They made a lot of homework to reproduce the heritage of the Ezhavas to Buddhist religion and asserted that it was because of the Ezhavas' alleged commitment to Buddhist teachings, their social status was pushed down to the lower rung of caste hierarchy by the Brahmin law givers. There were instances of conversion to Buddhism, Islam and Sikhism.

Christianity was suggested as an alternative choice for the Ezhavas to convert. The strongest upholder of this idea was C.V. Kunjuraman. Generally the Ezhavas and other low castes had a positive approach towards Christianity because they had benefited considerably by the schools run by the missionaries. They also reiterated the service rendered by the missionaries for abolishing many social abuses from the society. *Mitavadi* published an editorial in 1920 in which it claimed that majority of the existing Christians hailed from the Ezhava community.<sup>26</sup> They thought that under the prevailing Travancore conditions, where Christian population numbered almost one third and was burgeoning, mass conversion of Ezhavas to Christianity could indeed have been a threat perceived to both the government and higher castes. C.V. Kunjuraman was impatient to wait more and contacted with Rev. Moor, the Kottayam Bishop who was also a British Personnel, to sort out the methods for Ezhava conversion.<sup>27</sup> On 17 March, 1936, C.V. Kunjuraman participated in the Maramon Convention and declared that Ezhavas were going to embrace Christianity. He proclaimed that if any Ezhava leader was going to convert Christianity, he would be the first person. He wrote a pamphlet entitled *Izhavarude Matha Parivarthanam* (Conversion move of Ezhavas).<sup>28</sup>

In this pamphlet C.V. Kunjuraman asserted that Christianity was the best choice for the Ezhavas to convert. Hinduism had given to the Ezhava only miseries. He argued, "conversion move was only a normal phenomena and innumerable conversions occurred in our world. Among 35 crores of people in India 8 crore Muslims, 63 lakhs Christians, 83 lakhs Sikhs, 1 crore 28 lakhs Buddhists and 13 lakhs Jains, all were converted from Hinduism." He pointed out that Christianity was the number one religion in the world and even went to the extent of arguing the two famous messages of Sree Narayana Guru, i.e., 'One Caste, One Religion and One God to Man' and 'whatever be one's religion, that is enough, if man is good' are the justifications for conversion to Christianity. In Christianity there is only one caste, one religion and one God. So also Christianity is working for making man good where as Hinduism is trying to degrade humanity including Ezhavas to the category of Chandalas.<sup>29</sup> To make the matter more serious, various S.N.D.P. Yogam branches passed resolutions in favour of the conversion of Ezhavas and sent it to the Head Office. When the S.N.D.P. committee held at Kollam in March 1936, this issue came up for discussion and to study the problem a fifteen-member committee was constituted. A voting was conducted in the meeting to ascertain the pulse of the members on the question of conversion of Ezhavas to Christianity. Among the 30 members, 26 voted in favour of embracing Christianity. Two persons stood in favour of Islam. K.P. Kayyalackal and P.R. Narayanan adopted a neutral policy.<sup>30</sup> A referendum was conducted by the S.N.D.P to ascertain the opinion of Ezhavas of Travancore on the conversion issue. Some Ezhava leaders requested the authorities of Kottayam Anglican Church to give them permission to witness the mode of worship in the church. They were given permission and they participated in the prayer also.

The Christian missionaries and the church authorities followed favoritism towards the Ezhava community realising that the situation was very ripe for them. Many Christian propagators rushed to Travancore with huge money to influence the Ezhavas. The C.M.S. opened a special department named "Mission to Ezhavas."<sup>31</sup> C.V. Kunjuraman wrote that it was the high time for Ezhavas to accomplish the conversion. Christian publications had given wide publicity to his arguments. A huge meeting was held at Changanacherry under the leadership of Sahodaran Ayyappan for deciding the conversion issue. But the brain behind this meeting was C.V. Kunjuraman. Bishops invited Kunjuraman to their aramanas and made discussions with him.<sup>32</sup> Dewan C.P. Ramaswamy realized the impending danger of the move. Thus if the Temple Entry Proclamation was a move against conversion threat, the Proclamation was not a part of national integration, but was a Hindu integration against Christianity.

In the struggle for responsible government started in Travancore, C.V. Kunjuraman played a conspicuous role. The decision to form the Travancore State Congress was taken in the meeting held at Rashtriya hotel, Thiruvananthapuram under his presidentship in 1937. He effectively used his pen and platform for attacking the policies of C.P. Ramaswamy. When his stirring criticism reached beyond limitations, C.P. Ramaswamy Iyer turned against C.V. Kunjuraman and his publications, *Kerala Kaumudi daily* and *Kaumudi weekly*. On 17 March 1938 both these publications were banned. But the ban was later lifted as part of his divide and rule policy. Even though C.V. Kunjuraman could breathe the thin air of democracy and peoples' power with the attainment of independence of the country, he could not survive to witness the formation of the state of Kerala and the emergence of the democratic government. He passed away in 1949 at the age of 78 after a fruitful innings spanning nearly six decades in social and political arena and serving twice as the General Secretary of S.N.D.P in 1928 and 1931. But his voices and wordings were instrumental in the transformation of Kerala society and polity.

## References

1. 'The pen is mightier than the sword' is a metonymic adage coined by English author Edward Bulwer-Lytton in 1839 for his play *Richelieu; Or the Conspiracy*. Bulwer-Lytton may have coined the phrase but he was preceded by several others who expressed essentially the same idea. We can see this idea in George Whetstone who wrote *Heptameron of Civil Discourses* published in 1582 and in *Hamlet* in 1602 in which Shakespeare gave Rosencrantz the line "... many wearing rapiers are afraid of goose-quills and dare

- scarce come thither"; See also Robert Burton's *The Anatomy of Melancholy* written in 1621 in which he says, "From this it is clear how much more cruel the pen may be than the sword."
2. K.Damodaran writes, "The caste system emerged in Kerala Society as a result of the restructuring and rearrangement of the traditional occupational groups that existed in Kerala during the rule of the Chera dynasty. These occupational groups have hardly any status difference. But the Aryan Brahmin domination of the Kerala society transformed these groups into various caste groups. In this process some of the socially superior groups in the Chera empire were pushed downwards and some unknown groups occupied higher places in the socio-economic hierarchy relevant in the caste system; K. Damodaran, *Kerala Charitram* (mal.), Thiruvananthapuram, Vasanth Publications, 1961, pp.148-49; See also E.M.S. Nambudiripad, *Keralam Malayalikalude Mathrubhumi* (mal.) Kozhikodu, Desabhimani Publications, 1947, p.9; Puthiezhatu Raman Menon, *Keralathe Ariyuka* (mal.) Thrissur, Sulabha Books, 1997, p.13; For details about the castes and tribes of Travancore See Edgar Thurston, *Caste and Tribes of Southern India*, 111 Vols., New Delhi, Cosmo Publications, 1975.
  3. C.P.Sivadasan, *Sree Narayana Guru* (art.), M.Govindan (ed.), *Kumaran Asan Birth Centenary Volume*, Madras, Sameeksha, 1974, p.210; In fact, the caste system and its exploitations were applied to nearly every person in India, regardless of his religion. The Hindu converts to Islam and Christianity also suffered from this malady; *Christianikalum Jathi Vyathyasavum* (art.), Visvadeepam (Mal.) Magazine, book.1, Vol.2, Colombo, July 1929; Charan Singh, *India's Poverty and its Solutions*, quoted by Y.Antony Raj in *Social Impact of Conversion: A Comparative Sociological Study on the Christians of SC origin and SC Hindus*, Delhi, ISPCK, 2001, p.615; See also S.P. Kulkarni, *Many Faces of Untouchability* (art.), Economic and Political weekly, herein after called EPW, Vol. IX, No.29, 20 July, 1974.
  4. T.K.Ravindran, *Asan and Social Revolution in Kerala*, Thiruvananthapuram, Kerala Historical Society, 1972, p. IXXII. See also Samuel.V.Thomas, *One caste, one religion, One God: A Study of Sree Narayana Guru*, New Delhi, Sterling Publishers, p.49.
  5. For details about the early career of C.V.Kunjuraman see Hashim Rajan (ed.), *C.V. Kunjuraman: Jeevitham, Kalam, Navodhanam* (Mal.), Thiruvananthapuram, Kerala Language Institute, 2010; See also <http://www.cvkunhuraman.com>; Puthuppalli Raghavan (ed.), *C V Kunjuraman, Tirannetutta Kratikam* (Mal.), Pratibha Publications, Quilon 1971.
  6. *Sujanandhini* was one of the earliest publications started publication from Mayyanadu, Kollam owned by Paravur Kesavan Asan. Unfortunately the Sujanandhini Press was set on fire during the period of riots started in Kollam in 1905; N. Sam, *Samuhika Navodhanavum Samudayika Patrangalum* (art.), *Aruvippuram Pratishta Sadabdi Smaranika* (Mal.), Thiruvananthapuram,1988, pp.154-58.
  7. The significant literary works of C.V Kunjuraman are Ramadevanum Janakiyum, Hemaleena, Vanalola, Oru Sandesam, Oru nooru katha, Arabikkathakal, Radhamani, Ramayanam, Panchavadi, Ragaparinamam, Ente Sreekovil, Maaloothandan, Unniyarcha, Vyasa bharatham, Karthikodayam, Sreenarayanasmrithi, Durga Kshethram and K.C. Kesavapillayude Jeevacharithram. His genius as a critic was revealed through his review on the works Unnuneeli Sandesam, Mayoora Sandesam, Nalini and Prema Parinamam.
  8. Puthuppalli Raghavan (ed.) op.cit., See also Toshie Awaya, *Some Aspects of the Tiyya's caste Movements with special reference to British Malabar*, H.Kotani (ed.), *Caste System, Untouchability and the Depressed*, New Delhi, Manohar Publications, 1997, p.153; P.K.Madhavan, *T.K.Madhavante Jeeva Charitram* (Mal.), Kottayam, D.C. Books, 1986; B. Padmavathi Amma, *S.N.D.P. Yogam and Social Awakening in Kerala (1903-1947)*, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Thiruvananthapuram, University of Kerala, 1995.
  9. Devaswoms means land belonging to temples. Before 1812 AD the Sirkar had nothing to do with the management of Devaswoms. In 1812 Dewan Col. Munroe took steps for the assumption of 378 major Devaswoms and 1171 minor Devaswoms. With the assumption, the income from the properties of the former was completely merged into the Sirkar revenue and administration of the Devaswom was entrusted in the Revenue Department; Travancore Administration Report 1913-14, p.56.
  10. Representation of the Ezhavas to the Simon Commission, Memorandum of the SINDP Yogam signed by C.V. Kunjuraman dated 26 May 1928, appended in *The Travancore: The Present Political Problem*, pp.252-258.
  11. Sree Mulam Popular Assembly Proceedings, 17th Session, the 10th day, 11 March 1921; See also T.K. Ravindran, *Vaikom Satyagraha and Gandhiji*, Sree Narayana Institute for Social and Cultural Development, Thrissur, 1975; P.S.Velayudhan, *S.N.D.P. Yogacharithram* (Mal.), S.N.D.P. Yogam, Kollam, 1978; G. Rajendran, *The Ezhava Community and Kerala Politics*, The Kerala Academy of Political Sciences, Thiruvananthapuram, 1974.
  12. Regulation II of 1932 proclaimed by he Maharaja on 28 October was published in an extra ordinary issue of the gazette dated 29 October 1932 and a communiqué was also published along with the regulation; *Regulations and Proclamations of Travancore* 1105-1009 M.E, Vol.VII, pp.127-141.
  13. Travancore Administration Report 1932-33, p.16; See also P.K.K. Menon, *History of Freedom Movement in Kerala*, Vol.2, Thiruvananthapuram, Government Press, 1972; A.Sreedhara Menon, *Sir. C.P. Thiruvithamkur Charitrathil* (mal.), Kottayam, Current Books, 2003.
  14. *Ibid.*, p. 17; See also C. Narayana Pillai, *Thiruvithamkur Swathantrya Samara Charitram*(mal.), Thiruvananthapuram, P.M. Nair Harward Publication,1972; Nilkalan Perumal, *The Truth About Travancore*, Madras, R.J.Ram&Co.1939; E.M.S.Nambudiripad, *Kerala Society and Politics: An Historical Survey*, New Delhi, 1984; A.Sreedhara Menon, *Kerala and Freedom Struggle*, Kottayam, D.C.Books, 1997.
  15. Presidential speech of C.V. Kunjuraman in the All Travancore Ezhava Political League held at Kollam on 31 July 1932, Kollam, V.V. Press, 1932, pp.3-4; See also File.No.1319/1933, Bundle No.26, kerala State Archives, Nalanda, Thiruvananthapuram.
  16. *Ibid.*, p.6; See also M.S.Jayaprakash, *The History of Nivarthana Agitation*, Kollam, Gurukripa Publications, 1999; M.J.Koshy, *Constitutionalism in Travancore and Cochin*, Thiruvananthapuram, Kerala Historical Society, 1972; G. Priyadarsan (ed.), *K.C.Mamman Mappilayude Prasangangal* (mal.), Kottayam, Malayala Manorama, 2004.
  17. File.No.1126/1936, Confidential Section, KSA, Nalanda, Thiruvananthapuram; See also M.G. Kesavan, *Sree Narayana Guruvinte Darsanavum Viswa Manavikathayum* (mal.), Kottayam, Current Books, 2000, pp.113-14; See also Dick Kooiman, *Communalism and Indian Princely States: Travancore, Baroda and Hyderabad in the 1930's*, New Delhi, Manohar Publishers, 2002.

18. File No.1031/1935, Bundle.no.30, Confidential Section, KSA, Nalanda, Thiruvananthapuram; See also Mathrubhumi, 17 June 1935; P.C. Koruthu (ed.), *Diary of the Year 1111 M.E (1935-36)*, Thiruvilla, Publishing Company of Kerala, 1937; N. Thankappan, *Kesavan Nivarthana Prasthanavum* (art.), Vivekodayam, Book.3, Vol.3, September, 1969; N.K.Kutti Raman, *Samudaya Samvaranam* (art.), G.Priyadarsan (ed.), *SNDP Yogam Platinum Jubilee Smaraka Grantham* (mal.), Kollam, 1978; P.J.Thomas, *Nayanmarum Christianikalum*(art.), Malayala Manorama Investiture Special, Kottayam, Malayala Manorama, 1931; M.M.Varkey, *Manoramayum Mamman Mappilayum Nivarthanavum: Ara Nuttandu Kalathe Chila Smaranakal*(art.), Mangalodayam(mal.), March, 1964; A. Sreedhara Menon, *Concise Political History of Modern Kerala*, Madras, S. Viswanathan Publication, 1987; R.Prakasham, *C.Kesavan* (mal.), Thiruvananthapuram, Publication Department, Government of Kerala, 2002; Joseph Kunju Padiyara, *Nivarthana Charitram*(mal.), Thiruvananthapuram, Sreerama Vilasom Press, 1933; K.K. Kusuman, *The Abstention Movement*, Thiruvananthapuram, Kerala Historical Society, 1976; C.Kesavan, *Jeevitha Samaram* (mal.), Thiruvananthapuram, Current Books, 1999; Louise Ouwerkerk, *No Elephants for the Maharaja: Social and Political Change in Travancore 1921-1947*, New Delhi, Manohar Publications, 1994.
19. The Census Report of 1941 stated that the Proclamation arrested the forces of disintegration in Hindu Society and must have had its effect both in reducing the number of converts to other religions and in encouraging several of those who had already left Hinduism to come back to the fold; Census of India 1941, Vol. XXV, Travancore, Part I, Report, Thiruvananthapuram, Government Press, 1942, p.129.
20. P.S. Velayudhan, op.sit., pp.204-205; See also Kazhakkuttam Thyagarajan, *Kshetrapravesana Prakshohanam*(art.), S.N.D.P. Yogam Platinum Jubilee Volume (mal.), Kollam, 1978, p.287; N.K. Jose, *Kshetrapravesana Vilambaram:Oru Patanam* (mal.), Vaikom, Hobby publications, 1986, pp.7-8; N. Kumaran, *S.N.D.P.Yogam: Some Reminiscences* (art.), S.N.D.P. Yogam Platinum Jubilee Souvenir (mal.), p.57; Usha Muraleedharan, *SNDP Yogam and Kerala Politics (1903-1947)*, Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, Thiruvananthapuram, University of Kerala, 1979.
21. Desabhimani 1 Dhanu 1093 M.E; The full text of this editorial was reproduced in Vivekodayam Special Issue January 1967; See also Vivekodayam, Book 8, 5&6, May, June 1974; Hashim Rajan, op.cit., pp.220-222.
22. Speech made by C.V. Kunjuraman in a meeting held at Thiruvananthapuram for demanding temple entry rights to the avarnas in 1921, quoted in Sahodaran, Book 3, No.10, Kumbham 1096 M.E.
23. Kerala Kaumudi, 8 November 1920 and 25 November 1920; See also G. Priyadarsan, *S.N.D.P.Yogam and T.K. Madhavan* (art.), S.N.D.P.Yogam Platinum Jubilee, Kollam, p.150
24. SMPA Proceedings, 16th session, 3 March 1920; Report of the Temple Entry Enquiry Committee, 1934, p.47; See also P.K. Madhavan, *T.K. Madhavante Jeeva Charitram*(mal.), Kottayam, D.C.Books, 1986, pp. 112-113.
25. C.R.Kesava Vaidyan, *Sree Narayana Guruvum Kumaranasanum* (mal.) Kottayam, Current books, 1993, p.41; See also Dharmatheerthaji Maharaj, *The Menace of Hindu Imperialism*, Lahore, Hindu Missionary Society, 1941, pp.206-207; J.W. Gladstone, *Protestant Christianity and People's Movement in Kerala*, Thiruvananthapuram, Seminary Publications, 1984, pp.1-5; M.S.A. Rao, *Social Movements and Social Transformations*, Delhi, Macmillan, 1979, pp.44-45; Robert L. Hardgrave Jr, *The Nadars of Tamil Nadu: The Political Culture of a Community in Change*, Bombay, Oxford University Press, 1969; Toshie Awaya, *Some Aspects of the Tiyya's Caste Movement with Special reference to British Malabar*(art.), H. Kotani (ed.) *Caste System, Untouchability and the Depressed*, New Delhi, Manohar Publications, 1997, pp.156-157.
26. The editorial pointed out, "Some people believe that it is impossible for majority of Ezhavas to become Christians. But this is a false notion. In actual position more than half of the Christians of both Travancore and Cochin hailed from Ezhava community... During the Portuguese and Dutch times many Ezhavas embraced Christianity. Later appeared the missionaries and their main victims were no other than Ezhavas. For this sorry state of affairs not the missionaries but the Princely rulers of these two kingdoms were mainly responsible. As per a missionary calculation of 1916, among the 90000 Christians of Thirunelveli district 60000 were Nadars and 30000 were Panchamas..." Mitavadi, Book 8, Vol. 6, July 1920.
27. M.C. Joseph, *Kshetra Pravesanam* (art.), Vivekodayam (mal.), book 2, Vol. 9, September 1968, p.105.
28. A full text of this pamphlet was reproduced in Vivekodayam. See Vivekodayam, Book 9, Vol. 7, 8, July, August 1975.
29. T.G. Stuart Smith, *The Ezhava Movement in Travancore* (art.), East West Review, Vol.II, No.4, October 1936, p.337.
30. Mathrubhumi, 9 March, 1936, p.16.
31. J.W.Gladstone, op.cit., p.358.
32. N.K. Jose, *Kshetrapravesana Vilambaram:Oru Patanam* (mal.), Hobby publications, Vaikom, 1986, p. 107.