

Working Paper No. 190

SOCIO-ECONOMIC FACTORS IN EDUCATIONAL
ATTENDANCE
THE CASE OF NINETEENTH CENTURY TRAVANCORE

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Introduction

Kerala, the southern most state of the Indian Union, is widely noted for its high level of literacy. In 1981, with a general literacy rate of 69.17 percent, and male and female literacy rates of 74.03 percent and 64.48 percent respectively, Kerala's position was not only far ahead of the general Indian literacy rate - which was only 36.17 percent^{1/} - but was also ahead of most other developing countries. What makes the Kerala case more interesting is the fact that such high levels of literacy was achieved with a rather low level of per capita income, of around Rs. 1312 in 1980-81, which was lower than the average Indian per capita Income of Rs. 1571^{2/}.

This generates interest in exploring, not only the details of the content, organization, and management of the education system that facilitated this achievement; but also about the socio-economic and political factors which contributed to the shaping of that education system over the years. In this paper we offer tentatively, certain insights into the latter set of factors which had a role in the evolution of Kerala's educational system; with reference to the southern districts which until 1948 formed part of the erstwhile princely state of Travancore.

Kerala's preeminence in the matter of literacy in India, is not of recent origin. At the turn of the century, Cochin and Travancore - two princely states which now form part of Kerala - held the first and second positions in the order of literacy among states and provinces in India.^{3/} (See Tables I and II). The advantage of a comparatively higher literacy level with which Cochin and Travancore entered the Twentieth century, is a point worth explaining, in this context.

and Illiterate among Men and Women, 111

(Percentages in Brackets)

	both sexes	Males	Females
Literate	364,810 (12.36)	319,977 (21.47)	44,833 (3.07)
Illiterate	2,587,347 (87.64)	1,170,188 (78.53)	1,417,159 (96.93)
Total	2,952,157	1,490,165	1,461,992

(Source: Nagul Aiyar: (1906) Vol.II, Ch.VII, p.32).

Table II: Literacy Rates in Travancore and Other States/Provinces of India - 1901

Province/State	Literate persons per 1000 popn.	Literate Men per 1000 male popn.	Literate Women per 1000 female popn.
Cochin	133	324	45
Travancore	124	215	31
Baroda	88	163	8
Bombay	63	119	9
Bengal	70	116	9
Mysore		104	5
Berar	51	93	8
Assam	45	85	3
Punjab	36	67	4
Rajputana		64	3
United Provinces		62	2
Central India		57	2
Hyderabad		55	3
Central Provinces	28	55	3
Kashmir		54	2
Ajmer-Merwara		38	1
Coastal	67		9
All India	24		1
		98	7

(Source: i. Census (1903A) Ch.VII, Tables XIII and IX, Sub-Ta.X, p.218.

ii. Census (1903B) Vol.I.A, Tables, Table VIII, p.114.

iii. Gazetteer (1907) Vol.IV, Ch.XIII, pp.415-16).

The District of Malabar, which is the third constituent unit of the composite State of Kerala, did not have a comparable level of literacy but still had a clear edge over most other districts of the Southern Presidency of Madras. ^{4/} This intra-regional difference between South (Travancore and Cochin) and North (Malabar) Kerala, increased in the first half of Twentieth century. ^{5/} Therefore, in explanations regarding the high literacy levels in Kerala, it is the South which merits special attention. Of the two States which formed its part, Travancore, the larger region is chosen for analysis here.

Table III : Number of Schools and Students, Distributed according to Different Types of Management, Travancore 1902

Management	Number of schools	Percentage of schools	Number of students	Percentage of Students in each category
Government	429	11.6	45,334	24.8
Private Aided	941	25.5	51,383	27.0
Private Unaided	2,313	62.9	87,422	47.4
Total	3,683	100.0	1,84,139	100.0

(Source: R.A.T. (1902), Ch.VII, p.60, pa.279)

Nature of Schools : Some evidence

The achievements of Travancore and Cochin in the Nineteenth century were attributed inter-alia to enlightened State policy which allowed significant public investment in education, not only by way of starting a number of government schools but also by offering liberal grants-in-aid to private schools. Drawing upon the grants as well as with own funds, various Christian Churches and groups, as well as other private agencies set up several schools in Southern Kerala in the second half of the Nineteenth century.

Together these public and private schools accounted for an impressive network of formal educational institutions by the end of Nineteenth century. In 1901 there were 3683 educational institutions in Travancore, providing 1 school per 792 persons and 1.9 square mile area, and 119 schools per Taluk of the State, on an average. Earlier investigations have brought out the effort that has been invested by government, private agencies, and traditional agencies in setting up these schools.

Management pattern of the school system in Travancore consisted of government schools, private schools aided by government, and also unaided private schools. As Table III demonstrates, of these the unaided private schools dominated both in terms of the number of schools as well as of students. Next in terms of size was the private aided schools, followed by the government schools.

Such distribution of schools according to management, raises some interesting points about the demand. There seems to have been a steady demand for education to support so many schools. We will analyse the growth of schools in each of these three categories, both from the point of the agencies providing schools as well as from the point of view of the demand for schools that was emerging in Travancore.

In Nineteenth century fundamental changes were occurring in the Travancorean economy and society. Its land relations were reformed in such a way as to give proprietary rights to an important segment of former tenants. Like in rest of India, Travancore also had expansion of trade in spices and hill produces, along with new plantation companies appearing on the scene. Moreover, the administrative system in the State underwent some major changes, primarily expanding towards a British-style secretarial system. Apart from the fact that new communities have become landowners,

using the proprietary rights now granted to them, and operating in the land market, there arose, a number of job opportunities in the government and in private trade and plantation companies, attracting young people from these landowning communities. Moreover, there was an increase in the need for general literacy skills in computing, and recording land documents in the commercialised economy. This relationship between the socio-economic transition and educational development to be studied in this paper.

If we were to go back to the educational statistics of Travancore at the end of Nineteenth century, quite significantly, primary schools and vernacular schools had a clear predominance. By 1900-01, 95.2 percent of schools were primary schools and 83.7 percent of students were primary school students.^{10/} In the neighbouring Madras Presidency by the end of Nineteenth century, primary schools constituted only 76 percent of schools and primary school students formed only 57.3 percent of the total student population.^{11/}

Instructions in the vernacular had such preeminence in nineteenth century Travancore that the Travancore Census Report-1901, noted that "it is refreshing to observe that the Vernaculars are holding their ground on this side of the Ghats, better than elsewhere."^{12/} In 1901, English schools in Travancore numbered only 112 or 3 percent of the total number of schools; while the number of vernacular schools stood at 3560, constituting 96.7 percent of the total number of schools.^{13/} With regard to the share of students, vernacular schools had 91.9 percent and the English schools, only 7.8 percent.^{14/}

This pattern of distribution of schools was also helpful in promoting mass literacy. Primary schools and vernacular education do help the spread of literacy more than secondary schools and education in English. In fact this is a factor often held up in favour of Travancore as against other parts of India.^{15/}

The question remains as to whether this pattern was the result of any definite policy formulation. If it was the result of a deliberate policy, then the process of its implementation is to be explained. We know that at least from the days of the Wood's Despatch,^{16/} emphasis on primary education and vernacular education was contained in the policy statements of British India also. Yet, in effect Travancore seems to have achieved more in these lines, than British India. Travancore's success in this regard depended on compulsions guiding the establishment of primary schools and vernacular schools. The demand for education in Travancore in Nineteenth century, as we presently explain, was mostly for primary and vernacular education.

The demand created by the commercialized agricultural economy in Travancore, was for basic literary skills such as the abilities to read, write and doing basic arithmetical exercises. Such skills are mainly provided in primary schools. Similarly, bulk of the demand for personnel that came from government was for persons educated in Malayalam. This was due to the fact that Travancore State was mainly interested in people to man the lower and middle level jobs in government for which knowledge of Malayalam was enough as the language in use was vernacular. On the other hand British Indian government, even when they were looking for people to man the lower level jobs, must have wanted them to be proficient in English, as the English language was widely used in Imperial administration.^{17/} The difference between Imperial and a provincial administration, in their requirements for trained personnel has to be looked at in this context.

Apart from these factors, schools in Travancore were 'used' much more. The fact that there were schools in practically all the major village or nearby towns would have made it possible for students from

neighbouring areas to attend school without difficulty.^{18/} This was particularly so, because of the close proximity between villages and towns in Kerala. But in most other Indian provinces, schools in Taluk and District headquarters could not have been made use of by students other than from the town itself; because of the distances involved.^{19/}

This paper essentially attempts to answer two basic questions. The first one is regarding the socio-economic factors which created enough demand for education in Travancore, and which prompted government and private agencies to increase the number of schools under their management. The second question addresses more specifically to the nature of the demand for education as it was felt in the latter years of Nineteenth century. In trying to answer the second question; we offer, tentative conclusions about how primary and vernacular education came to predominate in Travancorean school net work.

We present the arguments in two parts; the first part being essentially a review of developments in Nineteenth century and the second part offering certain explanations.

PART I

Traditional Education

To understand literacy development in the Nineteenth century, one has to analyse the literary traditions which existed here before that. Kerala like other parts of India, had a traditional educational system; which had both primary and higher educational facilities. Within the tradition in India different systems of teaching and learning were followed.^{20/}

Higher education, especially in the Vedas was essentially an exclusive preserve of the higher castes, particularly the Brahmins, in medieval Kerala Society.^{21/} Institutions for higher learning were mainly of two types - Vedapatasalais and Sabhamatts, both - most often - receiving support from the royalty in the form of land grants and other gifts.^{23/} Besides these, there were other institutions for popular education, which brought basic educational facilities within the reach of castes and communities other than the Brahmins. Best known among such institutions were the Palliludams or Kudipallikudams. Nurtured essentially by local initiative, primary schools bearing this name were common in Kerala and Tamilnadu till very recently and are extant in some forms even today.^{24/} As it has been pointed out elsewhere, "the fact that these schools have survived nearly a century of competition with the organized grant-receiving schools and that many parents send their children to both types of schools is an indication of the roots they had in tradition".^{25/}

These primary schools have their origins traced to the very early Buddhist and Jain influences in Kerala. Both Buddhist and Jain monks were concerned about popular education and their Pallis or non-Vedic religious centres became centres of popular education as well.^{26/} While the Buddhist and Jain influence in South India is generally accepted; how much of it would have rubbed off on Kerala as we know it now, becomes a matter of speculation. One could assume that in the trading centres and "towns" which came up in Kerala's rather primitive economic conditions of early Christian era, the Buddhist and Jain traditions of education must have made their presence felt. Out of these examples must have; a tradition of Kudipallikudams evolved in latter day Kerala.

In the schools which evolved out of this tradition and which were taught by teachers variously known as Asans, Ezhuthachens and Vadhyars,

elementary knowledge in reading, writing and arithmetic was imparted, besides a smattering of astrology sufficient to enable simple calculations required for domestic ritual and for determining the timings for agricultural operations. In some cases this was followed by rudimentary instructions in medicine, ethics, literature and music.^{27/} These schools were conducted in verandhas of buildings, public places, tree shades or in the houses of teachers themselves.^{28/} It is fairly evident that such schools did not receive much support from the royalty or governments of the times but were maintained mainly by resources from within the village itself.

Usually the Asan of the village school was a self appointed pedagogue from a family of traditional teachers, who received some petty emoluments, mostly in kind - besides special gifts on auspicious days and at harvest time from parents of his or her students. Fra Bartholomea, says that each student paid two annas as Dakshina every two months; which some students paid in paddy. He also mentions that in some schools payment for the teachers came from temple administrations or local landlords.^{29/} The general situation in South India was such that some schools were attached to temple or were maintained by Zamindars, rich traders and such other persons; even though in most South Indian villages, the school teacher was one of the 'Village Twelve', those functionaries maintained from village surpluses.^{30/} It seems that in Kerala too, in case of Kudipallikudam, something similar to other parts of South India must have prevailed.^{31/} In the rare case of a Kudipallikudam having boarding facilities, endowments used to be instituted by local landlords for meeting the expenses of food, clothes and learning materials.^{32/} As far as State support is concerned, at least in Cochin there seems to be no evidence to suggest that the government aided or maintained schools prior to the administration of Colonel Munro in early Nineteenth century.^{33/}

The exclusive right to education - which in later centuries was retained the monopoly of Brahmins in theory - seems to have got diluted over the centuries. By the Sixteenth, Seventeenth and Eighteenth centuries, education came within the reach of almost all the socially and economically privileged sections of society.^{34/} It is significant that Thunjath Ramanujan Azhuthachen, the 'father of Malayalam literature' was not a Brahmin, but a Nair from the sub-caste of Azhuthachens.^{35/} Around this period non-Brahmins also started composing Sanskrit works of their own and in the process created a synthesis between Sanskrit, Tamil and other local dialects, to form the base for the evolution of a national Malayalam literature.

If we are to take the Sixteenth, Seventeenth and Eighteenth centuries, when non-Brahmin groups also acquired higher literary skills; and see how much literacy have spread in Kerala, we come across an estimate made by Kathleen Gough for early Eighteenth century. Her studied guess is that at least more than half the men and at least quarter of the women might have been proficient in Malayalam in the early Eighteenth Century in Kerala.^{36/} The reasons she points out for the high literacy are;^{37/} (a) Kerala's high agricultural productivity connected with its heavy rainfall, which permitted at least a quarter of the population to be set apart as literate specialists, (b) the growth of overseas commerce, and then of land sales, cash rents and mortgages, and cash wages for soldiers and urban artisans which fostered the use of simple literacy for accounting and legal documents (c) the fact that Nairs and other matrilineal castes gave their women a higher status in many respects than was customary in patrilineal India, which led to most of them learning to read, and, (d) early European settlers educating the lower castes who might otherwise have remained totally illiterate.

The Sixteenth to Eighteenth centuries, were a period of growth of literacy in Kerala. Yet, to put the spread of literacy as high as more than 50 per cent for males and 25 per cent for women seems exaggerated. In traditional Kerala, only 2 per cent of the population - the Namputhis - were ever earmarked as literate specialists.^{38/} Even if we add the clerks, writers, astrologers etc. engaged by the Rajas and chieftains from other castes, particularly the Nairs who numbered at the most around 19 per cent of the population ^{39/} - we do not reach the "quarter of the population" she claims to have been set apart as literate specialists. To assume that all Nair males would have been proficient in Malayalam; is also in our opinion, exaggerated. Considering the differentiation amongst various layers of the over-all Nair caste, one should account for a significant segment who did not have anything to do with administration or accounting. Even after considerable growth in schools in Travancore, as late as 1891, Nairs showed only 37.58 per cent literacy, for males.^{40/} This would apply for their females as well; though it is true that this matrilineal caste allowed their women comparatively more freedom. As far as the ability to read is concerned; we cannot expect more than a small segment of Nair women having acquired that skill, which in the 1891 census figure of 5.72 per cent literate, seems to be reflected.^{41/}

The period under consideration did see spread of overseas commerce; particularly in pepper and other spices. Connected with this trade there must have arose a group of literate people. Yet once again, we feel that their numbers could not have been much high. Moreover, among the traders, especially those who dealt with Europeans, the number of "non-indigenous" groups like Chetties, Jews, Konkanies, and Gujarathies should also be accounted for. The teaching of lower caste persons by Europeans is also a point requiring further investigation. Before the arrival of the London

Mission Service (IMS) and the ~~Church~~ Mission Service Society (CMS) in early Nineteenth century; European involvement in any sort of mass literacy work do not seem to have taken place. The Dutch never took literacy and education in Kerala seriously.^{42/} The Portugese, who operated mainly among the Syrian Christians and the fishermen of the coast did not seem to have really contributed to the spread of literacy; as we would presently describe.

On the whole we feel that the literacy level in this region, with the strong injunctions against learning of lower castes, should have been low in early Eighteenth century. Though no specific statistics are available, it can be surmised that among the Brahmins literacy levels must have been high. Whether the same could be said of all Nairs is doubtful except that some of them must have acquired whatever education that was available in the Kalaries. The situation of Christians and Muslims, in spite of having some trading groups among them who must have had literacy, were also, we feel, closer to the situation of Nairs than that of Brahmins. Most of the ordinary Christians and Muslims, must have remained illiterate. The case of Ezhanavas were quite likely, except for those among them who practised Ayurveda and astrology, even worse.^{43/} The aggreistic slave castes of Fulayas and Cherumans are concerned, there is no reason to believe that there was any significant spread of literacy among them.^{44/}

If the position of literacy and education in Kerala region as a whole was low in early Eighteenth century, what could have happened to the situation during the course of the century in Travancore? Once again we have to make guesses; for want of any concrete evidences.

For the traditional system of education, supported mainly by local initiative to thrive, peace and security are primary prerequisites. In Travancore in the second half of the Eighteenth century there was an extended period of peace under Rame Varma 'Dharma' Raja (1758-1798).^{45/} But, in the first half there was civil war followed by wars of annexation under Martanda Varma.^{46/} For want of any concrete evidences, it makes it difficult for us to pass judgement about the progress of education under such circumstances.

The political centralization^{47/} of almost half of Kerala under the new State of Travancore, by Martanda Varma, could have created the necessary conditions for educational as well as other types of development. But, immediately in the Eighteenth century we do not have any evidence of such developments taking place.^{48/}

The introduction of land tax - unknown in Kerala before that^{49/} was a factor which could have adversely affected the traditional educational system. But even after its introduction the incidence of taxation remains to be so low as not to warrant any massive out flow of surpluses from the village,^{50/} at the expense of educational efforts in the village.

The expansion of pepper trade and the increase in pepper price^{51/} could have added an impetus to educational development at least in areas and among communities which engaged in pepper trade. But considering the fact that there was a pepper monopoly introduced by the State,^{52/} one wonders how much of the benefit of such trade expansion must have really percolated down to the people.^{53/}

On the whole, there is hardly any basis for judging on the state of education and literacy in Eighteenth century Travancore. Yet, we may presume, that from the rather low level of literacy that seems to have

existed in Kerala in early eighteenth century, there was not much progress during the century.

Literary Status at the beginning of Nineteenth Century

Regarding this situation in Travancore, the number of educational institutions found in the State, at the beginning of Nineteenth century is quite low. The available information for the period concerned consists of the number of "Public Institutions for Education" found on the survey of Ward and Conner, between July 1816 and the end of 1820.^{54/} As Tables IV and V shows there were 204 institutions for education in Travancore and 70 in neighbouring Cochin.^{55/} With a distribution of one school per 3434 of population in Travancore and 3186 of population in Cochin; both the figures compare unfavourably with Malabar which had a school per 1194 of population in 1822. Similarly in terms of area also Travancore with a school per 25.49 sq.mile and Cochin for 19.45 sq.mile, lagged behind Malabar.

Table IV : Number of Educational Institutions in Travancore, 1816-1820

Name of Districts	No. of Public Institutions for Education	Total Population	Area (Square miles)	Population per Square mile
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Thovaully Thovaully	11	16,675	120 $\frac{1}{2}$	138.9
Agisteeswaram Agisteeswaram	15 6	51,612	97 $\frac{1}{2}$	531.4
Culkolam Culkolam	55 24	43,271	284 $\frac{1}{2}$	153.2
Vellarencode	3	30,012	145 $\frac{1}{2}$	206.9
Neyattancurray	20	40,237	213 $\frac{1}{2}$	188.9
Trivandrum Trivandrum	11 18	43,584	99 $\frac{1}{2}$	440.2

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Neddoarencaud	9	17,857	339 $\frac{1}{2}$	52.5
Sherienkeel	4	31,935	109	292.9
Coulum or Quilon	5	49,462	153 $\frac{1}{2}$	323.2
Kotarakurray	2			
Kotarakurray	1	28,784	634 $\frac{1}{2}$	45.3
Shenoottah, above the Ghat	14	13,639	64 $\frac{1}{2}$	213.1
Kunatoor	3	18,974	184 $\frac{1}{2}$	103.1
Manvillykurray	2			
Manvillykurray	1	47,079	364 $\frac{1}{2}$	129.3
Toruwulla	2	21,065	134 $\frac{1}{2}$	169.8
Karunagappally	3	42,774	89	480.6
Kartigapally	-	46,317	70	661.6
Umbellapalay	14	50,733	121 $\frac{1}{2}$	419.2
Sharetullay	9	37,013	129 $\frac{1}{2}$	886.9
Chunganacherry	2	23,156	260 $\frac{1}{2}$	89.0
Kotiam	3	24,363	147	165.7
Meenachil	2	15,986	126 $\frac{1}{2}$	126.8
Thodhuwully	2	8,562	534 $\frac{1}{2}$	16.0
Yaithumanur	2	29,726	140 $\frac{1}{2}$	212.3
Vyekum	3	20,353	88 $\frac{1}{2}$	228.6
Perawum	2	14,959	116	128.9
Muattupully	2	19,009	399	48.1
Perrumbauloor or Kunnathunad	2	21,931	163 $\frac{1}{2}$	133.7
Aulungad	2	27,278	208 $\frac{1}{2}$	131.1
Purraoor	3	18,376	47 $\frac{1}{2}$	390.9
<u>Yeddawasa or Pette Station</u>				
Autungal	3	10,382	34	305.3

Contd.....

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Punalam		16,382 (7)	42 $\frac{1}{2}$	274.5
Vedapilly		18,083	57 $\frac{1}{2}$	317.2
Poonlatu		671	185 $\frac{1}{2}$	3.6
Changanassery		795	57	11.1
TOTAL		36,507	6,730 $\frac{1}{2}$	131.7

(Source: Ward and Conner: (1898) "Danzajida Table of Travancore, or particulars connected with its Statistics" on p.45-47, and "Population Table of Travancore and other particulars connected with its Statistics" on p.128-129).

Table V: Number of Educational Institutions in Cochin, 1816-1821

Name of District	Public Institutions for Education	Total Population	Area in Sq. Miles	Amount of Population to the Sq. mile
Cochee or Cochin	9	43,456	42.1	791.5
Trichoowapayoor	10	23,939	259.1	145.0
Mukundapuram	5	18,648	75.3	245.3
Thullapilly	5	20,026	114.0	192.5
Kunneeampur	3	36,715	81.0	462.0
Yainankal	4	15,103	60.0	251.0
Chaylayekurray	4	28,141	167.1	166.8
Chittoor	25	14,196	235.0	42.0
Coda chayree	1	16,312	342.3	54.7
Kodungalloor	1	7,022	18.1	391.1
TOTAL	70	223,003	1,361.2	163.0

(Source: Ward and Conner (1824): "Danzajida Table of Cochin or particulars connected with its Statistics", on p.49, and "Population Table of Cochin or particulars connected with its Statistics" on p.5)

For Malabar we are fortunate to get more information on educational patterns from a survey of indigenous schools which covered the district in 1822. This showed that there were 759 schools besides a College for

Table VI: Caste-wise distribution of Students in indigenous Schools of Malabar District - 1822

Caste	Number of Students	
	Male	Female
Brahmins	2,230	5
Valayan	84	15
Suiran	3,697	707
Other Castes	2,756	343
Muslims	3,196	1,122
Total	11,963	2,192
GRAND TOTAL	14,155	
POPULATION OF MALABAR	9,07,575	

(Source: P.N.Chopra et al: (1979) Vol.III, Ch.XV, p.223)

Vedic learning, supported by the Zamorin of Calicut.^{56/} As shown in table VI, there were 14,155 students studying in these schools, besides the 75 - all Brahmins - attending the college. If we take that one-ninth^{57/} of the population of 9,07,575 in Malabar were of school going age then, one out of every 7 children of school going age was attending school in Malabar at that time. From this table we can surmise that Brahmin females were getting education at home; while the higher number of Muslim females might have come from Madrassas - traditional Muslim schools.

The initiator of the survey, Sir Thomas Munro, himself felt that the survey underestimated the actual proportions of the indigenous system, since it did not cover those children who were taught at home by private

Table VIII Licensing of the indigenous school-system Madras
Presidency - 1832

Number of Schools	12,320
Number of students	3,00,117
Population of school going age (7-10)	14,27,000
Total population	1,28,50,521
Distribution of schools	1 per 1000 pop.
Proportion of students to the pop. under school going age	1 out of 8

(Source: J.P.Naik and S.Nurullah: (1974) Ch.1.p.4)

tutors or relatives. Enquiries in Madras city alone found 26,903 students more than five times the number taught in schools - undergoing instruction in their homes.^{58/} Though in the districts, the number of children receiving instructions at home could not have been as high as it was in Madras,^{59/} still there must have been a considerable number of such students all over the Presidency. On this basis Munro felt that the proportion of boys receiving education in the indigenous system was closer to one-third of the boys of school going age, than one-fourth as it was found in the survey (See Table VII)

Similarly the actual proportions of the indigenous system in Madras and also in Malabar might have been greater than what was revealed in the survey. What is to be found out is the effort that went into increasing the number of schools in Travancore, over Nineteenth century, to an extent, as to overtake Malabar as well as other regions in India.

Government and Education in the First half of the Nineteenth
Century

That in early Nineteenth century, the traditional educational system was facing problems in Travancore is evident from the fact that in 1817, the then Rani of Travancore received complaints of educational neglect in the northern part of the state, as villagers were finding it difficult to pay schoolmasters. In response to the situation, a remarkable Royal Rescript was issued in that year^{60/} which - quite legitimately - has received acclaim in the educational history of the State. The fact that such a memorandum should come up from the people at that time is certainly remarkable, and the government's response to the memorandum, may be taken as the starting point for 'modern' educational development in Travancore. Travancore's record of educational development, in the first half of the Nineteenth century is rather weak, as compared to the second half. Yet this was the period in which 'modern' educational system - regulated and supervised - did take shape. From the part of the government, now under the tutelage of the British, we have the memorandum mentioned earlier and the Royal Rescript of 1817 accepting the responsibility of assisting village schools. This indeed was a departure from traditional policy, by which Royal or governmental support for education was primarily for centres of higher learning and not for primary schools.^{61/} The Rescript addressed to Venkata Rao, Dewan Peishkar of Quilon, resolved that ^{62/} "the state should defray the whole cost of education of its people, in order that there might be no backwardness in the spread of enlightenment among them; that by diffusion of education, they might become better subjects and public servants, and that the reputation of the State might be advanced thereby". Each school was to have two teachers paid from the Treasury, one well versed in Malayalam and Astronomy, and the other in Tamil and

Arithmetic. Each teacher was to receive a monthly salary of fifty fanams (a little over 7 rupees). The Tahsildars and Sanpratis (Taluk accountants) were strictly enjoined to visit the schools in their jurisdiction once a fortnight and submit reports of their inspections direct to the Muzur.^{63/}

This shift in policy, of supporting primary education, is certainly worthwhile to analyse. Though the Rescript was issued under the name of the then Rani of Travancore - a young girl of seventeen - it could not have been without the consent of Colonel Munro, who was British Resident (1810-1819) and Dewan (1811-1814).^{64/} The language of the Rescript indicates a belief in the value of education in making the people of Travancore "better subjects and public servants". Moreover, governmental assistance is to be accompanied by regular inspection, by revenue officials. In fact educational efforts assisted by the government and supervised by governmental authorities at the primary level may be taken as the beginning of 'modern' educational system in Travancore.

One of the major factors behind this shift of policy was the need for educated persons to run the 'modern' administrative system that was developing in the State. Munro, had found the existing administrative system in Travancore inadequate for implementing his scheme for 'modernization' of the State. Therefore he reorganized it, with a central secretariat as its pivot, in the lines of British administrative practices.^{65/} Among Munro's reforms, some of the important measures were - apart from laying the foundations of a secretariate system - introduction of a well defined system of administrative divisions, regular gradation of officers and separation of military and judicial powers from revenue officers.^{66/} The judicial system was also overhauled, stopping trial by ordeal and introducing in its place well laid out regulations for the guidance of the

courts. Zilla Courts were set up along with a court of appeal in the capital. The government also took over 348 major and 1171 minor temples, administration of which with its vast properties, was entrusted to the revenue officers.^{67/}

Munro was on the lookout for qualified persons to man the extended administrative system. For the highest levels and for sensitive jobs people were brought from outside the State, with experience of working under the British. For middle level jobs as well as lower level jobs, persons were recruited locally. It is pertinent to note in this context that in 1818 in Cochin, the government established 33 vernacular schools, at the instance of Munro who was Resident in that State also, with the "ayowed" object of training up young men for State Service as writers and accountants".^{68/} The Travancore Rescript also aimed through diffusion of education, to make people of Travancore, "better subjects and public servants". In other words, the interest in education shown by Munro was to a great extent related to his desire for trained people for the administration.

The Rescript also stipulated regular official supervision of the village schools, and the submitting of inspection reports to the central secretariat. This indicates an attempt at regulating and systematising the otherwise 'non-formal' traditional schools. We do not know how seriously and consistently such a policy was followed. Neither do we know whether the sentiments expressed in the Rescript regarding "defraying the whole cost of education" were actually realised; nor about how far the indigenous school system was brought under the perview of governmental assistance.

Since the demand emanating from the requirements of the reformed administrative system could not have been met adequately by those trained in traditional curricula of the indigenous schools, it is likely that there

was a marginal shift away from indigenous schools to those few ✓ missionary schools which had cropped up in different parts of Travancore in early Nineteenth century. This is evident from the experience of Cochin. The vernacular schools started by Cochin Government in 1818, were replicas of the indigenous schools. There was no change in "the manner and matter of instruction", and therefore could not "realize the expectation of their founder" ^{69/} - that of training young men for civil service - and were abolished in 1832. It is reasonable to presume that without any change in the traditional curricula these schools failed to attract those who were aspiring for positions in the modern civil service. On the other hand, the missionary schools had a curricula more suited to training for civil service, which might have attracted some students. ^{70/} Yet to assume that the missionary schools attracted too many youngsters from higher castes aspiring for civil service is also improbable.

With or without government help indigenous schools must have survived in the first half of the century. The gradual shift away from indigenous schools, or the practise of sending children to indigenous schools as well as government or missionary schools, became in vogue only by the second half of the century. This is reflected in the estimate in 1864-65, that "the pupils under instruction in all the private schools in the country" to be not much less than 40,000. ^{71/} Similarly the Administration Report for 1866-67 said that the state "abounds with" indigenous schools and that no parent need send his children outside their own village to get primary education. ^{72/}

Travancore government itself started a few schools in this period. But on the whole, government activity in the field of education in the first half of the century was limited, as table VIII shows. All that the

government did was the opening of a few English schools in Trivandrum and other important towns of the State in 1830s. The Raja's school at Trivandrum was started in 1834,^{73/} originally as a private school receiving grant and later in 1837 converted to a government school. In 1817 permission was granted for starting some government schools,^{74/} followed in 1819 by another Nittu specifically mentioning the founding of a school at Chengannur.^{75/} In 1817 itself another Nittu issued to Dewan Peishkar Venkita Rao, sanctioning the appointment of teachers and of starting public schools in Mavelikara, Karthikapalli, Tiruvalla and Kottarakara is also found.^{76/} In 1818 another Nittu was addressed to Venkita Rao sanctioning the appointment of some scholars to compile text books in Malayalam.^{77/} In 1819, there was also a Nittu arranging for governmental assistance to a few students for education.^{78/} Among the other schools started by government one at Chirayinkil was established around 1836.^{79/} Otherwise, government policy in this period was restricted to occasional encouragement to private institutions; mainly missionary schools. There is evidence of government grant being given to the Kottayam Seminary as early as 1818.^{80/} Vernacular education do not seem to have received much attention; which is reflected in the comment of Sir.T.Madhava Rao who wrote in the Administration Report of 1864-65, that ^{81/}"while the Sircar has not been wanting in promoting English education, it must be confessed that, but little progress has been made by it as regards sound instruction in the vernacular language".

Table VIII: Government Schools in Travancore, 1864-65

Type of Schools	Number	Students
High School, Trivandrum	1	678
High School, Trivandrum	2	..
Dist. Government Schools	4	277
Dist. English Schools	15*	431
Government Schools	20	..

* 3 of these schools were opened in 1864-65

** There were a few students in Madras, supported by the Government.

(Source: RAF: (1864-65) 'Education', p.46)

There were some significant points to be observed about development in this period. First of all, Travancore government's educational policies in this period seem to have broadly conformed to those prevailing in British India under the East India Company. It was from 1813, with the changes made in the Charter of the East India Company, that missionary enterprise in the field of education was accepted and encouraged - though quite reluctantly at times - by the Company Government.^{83/} It was also attempted to develop education in India on the basis of indigenous schools, in the wake of the dictates of the 1813 Charter Act; though this policy also was implemented unevenly in different regions.^{84/}

With the acceptance of the well known 'Macaulay's Minute' by Lord William Bentinck in 1835 and the demand for English education arising from some sections of the middle and upper class Indians in the Presidency

towns, indigenous education and vernacular education were largely neglected in British India.^{85/} The situation seems to have been more or less the same in Travancore, where the government did not take much interest in vernacular education.^{86/}

Entry of Christian Missionaries

Now, what remains to be reviewed is the contribution made by the Christian missionaries in early Nineteenth Century. The earliest of European Christian missionaries to come for proselytization work in this region were the Roman Catholics. They worked mainly among the lower caste, particularly the fishermen Communities of the coast, from among whom they made conversions, and also among the Mar Thomas or Syrian Christians whom they persuaded to conform to western church organization, traditions and rituals. One of their major educational concerns was providing religious education for prospective priests and catechists which resulted in the founding of various 'Seminaries' and theological colleges.^{87/} By their very nature these institutions could not have contributed much to mass literacy.^{88/} Their limited scope is brought out by Adrian Noons, the then Dutch Governor in Cochin who wrote in 1781;^{89/} "The Seminary of Verapoly is the best.....Having heard this Seminary much extolled, I carefully informed myself whether the pupils were instructed in other necessary subjects besides Theology, but discovered that they are only taught ordinary church Latin, and that with regard to Theology, they rather apply themselves to church usages than to the dogmatic part of religion. Still less are they taught natural theology, ecclesiastical or profane history, and even less geography, Physics and metaphysics, unless there is found a pupil among them, who himself wishes to take up these subjects..... This seminary therefore has a greater reputation than it is really entitled to it".

Besides the Seminaries, the Catholic missionaries also run some schools for primary education; especially for the fishermen communities among whom they worked.^{20/} These schools were emphasizing the imparting of religious knowledge and prayers and hence "seem to have been essentially catechism classes."^{21/} So their contribution to mass literacy is open to doubt. This was very much unlike the concern of the protestant missionaries for whom the christian religion was very much based on the Gospels and therefore the spread of their religion required at least the basic faculties of reading and writing. This particular aspect of Protestantism; and the resultant concern of protestant missionaries in the spread of literacy, is vividly seen in the history of education in Travancore, as they started operating in these parts by the early years of Nineteenth century.

Rev. Ringletaube, the first Protestant missionary to evangelize in Travancore, started a school in the village of Mylady in 1806.^{21/} His educational activities extended to other villages as well, as shown in table IX, during his tenure here. It was followed up by his successors who operated all over Southern Travancore under the aegis of the LMS.

Table IX: Number of School boys in different Congregations - Protestant Mission (LMS) - Travancore, 1815

Name of the Congregation	Strength of the Congregation	Number of School boys
Mayilady		
Pichikudiyiripur	174	32
Tameraculam	30	33
Pittalen	218	27
Athicandu	116	28
Coilrilley	50	25
Kitamboly	57	34
	102	9
TOTAL	747	188

(Source: Church History: (1905), p.20)

Like their Catholic predecessors, Protestant missionaries also concentrated their activities among two sections of the population - lower castes and Syrian Christians - on the former for conversion^{93/} and the latter for "correction".^{94/} Of the two important Protestant agencies that operated in Nineteenth century Travancore, the CMS^{95/} concentrated in Central and North Travancore and among Syrian Christians - at least initially - and the IMS^{96/} in South Travancore and among Shanars and other lower castes.^{97/} For both their purposes, educational activities were prerequisites. Therefore, we find that right from the beginning Protestant missionaries keen on both Theological and higher education as well as general and primary education.

Most prominent among the educational institutions founded by the missionaries were the 'Seminaries' (boarding high schools) at Kottayam (1816) and Nagercoil (1819). Besides these two, other high schools were established in the first half of the century itself, in Neyyoor, Santapuram and Parasala in the South and Mavelikkara and Alleppey in the North.^{98/} Various primary schools linked to these institutions, also sprang up all over South, Central and North Travancore, as shown in table X.

Table X: Number of Schools and Students under Protestant Missionary Agencies - Select years in the Nineteenth century

Year	L.M.S.		C.M.S.	
	Southern Travancore		Northern Travancore	
	SCHOOLS	STUDENTS	SCHOOLS	STUDENTS
1812	..	..	..	..
1813	6	..	..	..
1815	..	188	..	..
1818	..	..	2	..
1819	16	..	..	..
1820	..	..	10	..
1821	..	..	35	..
1822	20	..	..	..
1823	27	..	..	..
1824	47	..	..	..
1827	59	1891	..	1051
1828	..	1736	..	..
1840	..	7500 (?)	..	..
1858	..	5000	..	2719
1868	..	..	..	3296
1878	..	7429	..	4665
1901	351	16180	..	10607

(Source: Eira Dalton: (1863) and R.J.Josudas: (1975), and V.Nagan Aiya: (1884), Ch.IV, Pp.149-151.)

An interesting aspect of early missionary schools, was that, though there was a heavy accent on religious subjects, their syllabi did not neglect secular subjects altogether. Rev.Mead, ^{99/} one of the leading pioneer LMS Missionaries, wrote the following about the objectives of the Nagercoil Seminary: ^{100/} "The great object of this school is the communication of Religious and useful (emphasis mine) knowledge. When a boy leaves the Seminary, we shall be able to say; from a child thou has known the holy

scriptures, which are able to make thee wise into salvation. The next object of the invitation is 11 and language to be extended as far as our peculiar circumstances will admit". In this respect, the CMS was not very different from the LMS. The objectives of the pioneer missionaries in establishing the CMS school in Kottayam, and of Col. Munro in supporting them, were, among other things, ^{101/} (a) "the maintenance and education of young men for the Priesthood, and as school masters, and to educate youth in general, i.e., the laity, to the greatest possible extent" and (b) to provide an education which would be in the Syriac, Malayalam, and English languages and would contain arithmetic, geography etc; and above all a sound system of theology. As a result, the syllabi of the CMS Grammar School at Kottayam in 1834 showed the following pattern as given in the scheme.

Subject Taught in the CMS Grammar School, Kottayam, 1834

Language	Ist Class	IIInd Class	IIIrd Class
Malayalam	Testament, Watt's 2nd catechism, Geography Malayalam, Arithmetic and writing	Testament, Watt's 1st catechism, Malayalam, Arithmetic and Geography	One of the Gospels, catechism, Malayalam, Tables
English	Bible with translation in Malayalam, Roman History with Translation, Arithmetic and Grammar	Testament with translation into Malayalam, Arithmetic and outlines of Grammar	Spelling Book
Sanskrit	Amarakosam and Grammar	Amarakosam 1st part	Elements

(Source: CMS 1835: ICHA Part I, App:XX, pp. 114-115)

Apart from teaching secular subjects, the missionary schools chose
 English as the medium of instruction also. This choice may
 have been the result of their desire to reach as many people as possible,
 with their own language. Reflecting this concern a missionary handbook
 explained that "considering the low medium for the first four classes in all
 our schools, and these four classes are our ordinary elementary schools.
 Beyond this, education was carried on chiefly in English and for the acqui-
 sition of English." ^{102/} The CMS missionaries established a training school
 in Mavelikara around 1857 to train school masters and cate-chists. The
 reason given for the venture was that they found their counterparts in
 Madras being more successful in their work with the help of Tamil Readers
 and Schoolmasters, who were trained in a similar institution at Palayam-
 cotah. ^{103/} The commitment of at least some missionaries to vernacular educa-
 tion is reflected in the argument expressed in a LMS document of early
 Twentieth century, that, "since.....the self development and self expan-
 sion of a people.....(is the object of education).....for such develop-
 ment the use of vernacular as a medium of education seems to be the first
 requisite." ^{104/}

The only obstacle the missionaries had to face in early years of
 their endeavour was the want of text books. For instance in the words of
 Rev. Reed, "we have elementary books to translate and print before we have
 even the paper is necessary to put this plan into operation". ^{105/} This
 problem was solved to some extent in early Nineteenth century with the
 help of South Indian Christian School Book Society. ^{106/} and in the second
 half of the century with the help of Travancore Text Book Committee.

Evidently there was a clear perception among early Protestant missionaries that educational work is a necessary prerequisite for their religious work. Again Rev. Mead wrote in December of 1844: ^{107/} "We have no reason to regret. Without this branch (Education) of our work, preaching would not be practicable in many places The establishment of a school at one of the villages, had led to the adult population to listen to instruction and to attend public worship". The fear of Christian children being influenced by Hindu teaching was also behind this concern for education. The same letter says that "If we had not such a college (Nagercoil) all our brightest, most intelligent Christian boys would be scattered about in Hindoor Schools. (Our schools has) to adequately shield and train our youth in the midst of a heathen people".

In effect, the missionaries, for the purposes of proselytization, to ward christian students from Hindu influences and also for the purposes of extending education, were active in the field. From circumstances of the times, one should presume that more lower caste students made use of these schools than upper caste students. In a period when government schools were not admitting lower caste students, and the indigenous schools were also closed to them, to have had these missionary schools for their education was definitely a blessing.

In fact education of the lower castes - both Ezhava and Shanar as well as of "slave" castes - were an exclusive preserve of missionary schools till the government came into the field by the end of Nineteenth century. As early as 1839 the missionaries are reported to have prepared " a plan for the emancipation and education of the children of slaves in Cochin and Travancore", ^{108/} They not only started separate schools for lower caste children but also admitted them in regular schools. Two of

the earliest missionary schools for lower caste children were in Alleppey - started by Rev. Norton in 1835 - and in Kottayam; started by Rev. Henry Baker Sr. ^{109/} In the South, Rev. Mead started a school for Pulayas and also gave monetary incentives in the form of addition to the salaries (one fanam for each 'slave' boy and one and a half fanams for every 'slave' girl) of teachers bringing lower caste children to schools. ^{110/} Within one year of introducing this scheme - in the 1840s - 1000 'slave' children are reported to have been brought into Christian Schools in the Neyyoor region alone. ^{111/}

Another area in which Missionaries were active, was that of female education. The first girl's school (of the 'modern' type) in the State was started by Mrs. Baker and Mrs. Fenn, both wives of missionaries, in Kottayam in 1818. ^{112/} Mrs. Mead, and her missionary wife started a school in Nagercoil in 1819. ^{113/} These were followed by several such schools in different parts of the state. To promote female education, a pamphlet entitled, "On the Advantages of Female Education" was printed as Tract No. 31 of the M.S. Press at Nagercoil and was distributed free by the missionaries. The "Liteitia - Bona - Julia Knill" schools initiated by Rev. Mead in Neyyoor were meant for girls; from among whom two each from every school was especially trained to go and start girl's schools in different villages. As a result of these concerted activities there were 15 girls schools and 361 girl students in Southern region alone; by 1837. ^{114/} The number of girls in Southern missionary schools increased to 998 by 1840 and to 1468 by 1857. Meanwhile in the North there were 444 girls in CMS schools by 1857. ^{115/}

In spite of all these efforts female education was never a roaring success. One reason could have been the limited objectives of the missionaries themselves. ^{116/} In any case, throughout the century, there were

problems in attracting LMS to schools. Therefore, as late as 1906, mission-
 sources lamented that 'it is disappointing to note the small number of
 girls in some of the schools'.¹¹⁷ Yet, even the limited number were note-
 worthy, considering the fact that most of them would have been from lower
 castes, the most uneducated section of the population.

Technical training was also an area which was initiated by the mission-
 aries. A school of industry was started in Nagercoil in 1820, followed by
 several such schools elsewhere.¹¹⁸ Subjects taught in these schools inclu-
 ded, printing, book-binding, tanning and currying of leather, etc. For
 girls, training in lace making and embroidery work was provided.

So it was in the areas of lower caste education, female education and
 technical training, all areas neglected by the traditional system, and
 areas not yet taken up by government, that missionaries were engaged in.
 In their efforts they were assisted by the Travancore government. Not only
 for their 'Seminaries' but also for the whole educational efforts,
 including the primary schools, government aid was forthcoming. The
 assistance from government was indeed a great help to the Missions, parti-
 cularly for the LMS which was not a very affluent organization. The main
 influence behind these grants originally was evidently that of Col. Munro,
 a zealous Christian, who viewed missionary education as a means of
 'anglicizing' India, and thus a prerequisite for the consolidation of
 British power.¹¹⁹ As early as 1813 Munro asked for a report on the edu-
 cational activities of the LMS and enquired whether they will require
 any financial support. This resulted in the grant of 61 Cottans of paddy
 land for the LMS, which was later extended.¹²⁰ Similarly, the funds for
 establishing the CMS College came from the interest of a sum of money
 (Rs. 10,500) invested in the Company's bonds; which originally was received
 by Macaulay-Munro's predecessor - from the Travancore Government as

recompence for 'acts of oppression' committed against the Syrian Christians.^{121/}
 Besides, the CMS received the Munro island - 7 miles in circumference - from
 the government by the Neet dated 5th Makaram, 994 ME, (1819 A.D.)^{122/}

Munro's personal interest in giving jobs in government, and in
 British establishments (including missionary establishments) to Syrian
 Christians and Christians converts, must have attracted some students to
 missionary schools. Munro invited missionaries to send "such Syrian as
 want employment" and favoured them with appointments to various positions
 including that of judges.^{123/} In spite of such efforts at least initially
 most of the students from CMS 'college' went back to their traditional
 livelihood or found employment with the missionaries themselves as shown
 in Table XI.

Table XI: Classification of Students in CMS College, Kottayam 1816-1835,
according to Occupation

(a) Employed in the Service of the Mission or deriving Support in any way directly or indirectly from Missionaries	24
(b) In government service	Nil
(c) Obtaining a livelihood from independent services	58
(d) Employed in Trivandram (1 as an Usher in a school and 2 as <u>Munshies</u> of Europeans)	3
(e) Dead	10
TOTAL	95

(Source: CMS 39: ICHA)

The Nagercoil Seminary did produce students like Nango Pillai and
 Ram Row who rose up to become Dewans of the State.^{124/} But a strategy of
 attracting higher caste people to Christianity through English education

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and government service, was either not followed or was not very successful here. Throughout the first half of the century, CMS missionaries are reported to have had not more than ten converts from among the Nairs. ^{125/} In fact the missionaries felt that "the heathens of this caste are the chief opponents, to the spread of christianity". Government jobs could not have been used to attract converts from higher castes in Travancore, since they in any case would have got such jobs, under the Hindu Royal government.

The preceding review of Protestant missionary efforts in the field of education, brings forth certain significant points. First of all, they provided more or less the only recourse to modern education in many parts of the State, in the first half of the century. These missionary schools grew up along side and not as substitutes to the indigenous schools. Even if the missionaries had reservations about the indigenous system they could not have adversely influenced them; given the fact that they had their own clientele and that the government did not take a policy unfavourable to them. With their involvement in vernacular education, missionary schools must have made considerable contributions to spread of mass literacy. Besides all this we should specially take note of their contributions to female and lower caste education - sectors largely neglected by government as well as the traditional system.

Developments in the Second half of the Nineteenth Century

It is in the second half of the century that education in Travancore really expanded; and it really acquired the characteristics of a 'modern' system. To be remembered in this context is the fact that all over India, the indigenous system of education was crumbling down leaving a large gap in

the educational traditions of the Indian people. It is this gap that was being bridged by a 'modern' educational system in Travancore and elsewhere. The factors that made Travancore's efforts in this direction comparatively more successful than efforts elsewhere, requires explanation.

In 1864-65, as noted earlier, "the pupils under instruction in all the private schools in the country," including missionary schools, were estimated to be around 40,000.^{126/} This position of the indigenous school system could not have remained intact for long. With the impressive growth in number of government schools and private schools receiving grant-in-aid, there were more outlets for acquiring education. As a result the proportion of students acquiring education in indigenous system alone might have decreased. More significantly, in the second half of the Nineteenth century, demand for education started shifting away from training within a strictly traditional curricula of the indigenous school, for reasons to be explained later. This also meant that more parents started sending their children to 'modern' schools, in addition to the indigenous schools.

Against this background, was the fact that the Travancore government, in their scheme for educational development, attempted to 'upgrade' the indigenous schools and integrate them into the 'modern' educational system. The integration of indigenous schools seems to have been done in two ways. One was to leave the realm of elementary education, preparatory to the entry into modern system, to the indigenous schools, and schools similar to them run by the missionaries.^{127/} The other method was to revise both the content and method of teaching in these schools so as to bring them within the purview of the formal system as grant-in-aid schools.^{128/} As early as 1867, the Director of Vernacular Education wrote in one of the earliest reports on his department, that "in view to satisfy the demand (for admission into the Central School at Trivandrum) it was thought desirable to make the

private schools in the Town ^{129/} assimilate their system of teaching to that pursued in the Sircar schools and thus render them capable of useful instruction".^{130/} That such an objective was maintained throughout the century and well into early Twentieth century, is evident from the fact that the Dewan of Travancore in 1908 observed the fall in number of unaided (pial) schools and the rise in the number of aided schools as an "encouraging" development, as it was an indication that "a larger number of institutions are endeavouring to conform to the rules so as to deserve recognition and aid from the Sircar".^{131/} Given the fact that the government's primary interest was in development of vernacular education, it could not have overlooked the potential of the indigenous system, in this field.

Details of the actual implementation of the scheme for upgrading and/or integrating indigenous schools to the modern system are not available. After whatever efforts at integration that the government did, at the end of the century we find the largest percentage of teachers without proper qualifications, teaching in the private unaided schools most of which were off-shoots of indigenous schools. (See table XII)

Table XII : Distribution of Teachers with Different Levels of Qualifications in the Schools under Different Managements, Travancore 1900-01.

Teachers with	(Percentage)		
	Government Schools	Private Aided Schools	Private unaided Schools
Professional Certificate or a Special Degree	21.2	56.9	21.8
General Qualifications	8.8	35.9	55.2
No Qualifications	2.3	8.4	9.2

(Source: RAT: (1900-01) Ch.VII, p.61)

Nevertheless there are reasons to believe that it had been implemented fairly well in the second half of the century. In 1891, the Census of that year found that around 1300 indigenous schools existed in the state with about 50,000 students studying in them.^{132/} Besides these there seems to have been another 500 indigenous schools,^{133/} estimated by the Proverthy School Committee of 1892 to be catering to around 15,000 students. (See Table XIII) This means almost doubling of the enrolment of students in indigenous schools from 1864-65. But with the expansion of the 'modern' school system in Travancore, the indigenous schools were accommodating only around 50 per cent of all students.

Table XIII: Distribution of Students in different types of Vernacular Schools, 1892: Estimates of the Proverthy Schools Committee

Type of School	No. of Schools	Nominal Roll No. of Students	Actual attendance (a)	Percentage of students
Proverthy (Govt. Primary)	187	8,415	9,996	12
District (Govt. middle and High Schools)	26	3,205	3,807	5
Grant-in-aid	1225	51,556	51,556	64
Private (Indigenous)	500	15,000(b)	15,000	19
Total	1938	78,176	78,176	100

Note: (a) The number of students in Proverthy and District schools reported to the Committee was found to be underestimates. When the estimates for 28 schools were cross-checked, they were found to differ at a ratio of 1655: 1966, between Nominal Roll number and actual attendance. This ratio was used to revise the estimates to get actual attendance.

(b) The figures relating to Private Schools are only approximate.

(Source: "Proverthy Schools Committee - Provisional Report", in CSF No.13399, GAD (E) Rs.

This would mean that far from being destroyed in the wake of the rising modern system, the indigenous system continued to serve the cause of education in the second half of the Nineteenth century, complementing the 'new' schools. The shift to modern schools happened only among those sections of the population who aspired for positions in the administration and in the European plantation and trading companies.^{134/} The rest of the potential students seems to have remained with the indigenous system. This is perhaps reflected in the observation of the Proverthy Schools Committee^{135/} that the richer classes go to Proverthy (government) Schools while poorer students attend indigenous schools. Another possibility is that indigenous schools were resorted to even by those students who aspired for government and company jobs, for the most elementary education.

Moreover, the modern schools were held in suspicion by the more tradition-bound sections of the people. While missionary schools like the Nagercoil Seminary suffered "in consequence of vague rumors of alarm created by ignorant folks who misintrepreted its object",^{136/} even government vernacular schools - in which "education was conducted according to the English system"^{137/} was not spared such susploions. The Report of the Vernacular Education Department for M. 1044^{138/} mentions how "the people of Vycome had been labouring under a wrong impression regarding the character of the instruction given in the Vernacular schools(imagining)... that the books used, treated of matters calculated to undermine the Hindoo religion". Therefore, indigenous schools would have continued to attract sizeable number of students until even the most tradition-minded of the parents were forced to send their children to modern schools, which could have happened only much later.

From the preceding review we may conclude that just as in the first half of the Nineteenth century, the indigenous education system, did contribute a sizeable base of educated or literate population on which the modern system could build further on, in the second half as well. Moreover, in the second half of the century, inspite of the full fledged development of the modern system, the indigenous system survived, either existing side by side with the modern system or integrated into the latter in the form of "private unaided schools", and strongly supplementing the efforts of the modern schools. Both these factors helped to prevent a break in the educational traditions of the people of the State, and thereby contributed considerably to the comparatively high rate of literacy in Travancore, in the Nineteenth century.

Governmental Intervention in Education

In the second half of the Nineteenth century the government school system expanded quite considerably. In the 1860s, under the administration of Dewan, Sir T. Madhava Rao (1862-1874) the Travancore government entered significantly into the field of education. Though the Sircar school system was of very limited proportions at the time of his assuming responsibility as Dewan, Madhava Rao ^{139/} gave shape to a fairly ambitious education policy. The main thrust of this policy was to appropriate at once, every year, a sum of Rs.20,000/- towards the establishment of Vernacular Schools in the districts, to be conducted on a sound plan.

The comprehensive plan for educational development envisaged by Madhava Rao, had three major aspects: First of all, the government undertook to establish schools of its own. Secondly, private agencies were to be encouraged to start schools, through liberal grant-in-aid. Thirdly, indigenous schools were to be upgraded and integrated into the system. The main thrust

of the programme was the expansion of vernacular education. In order to facilitate the expansion of vernacular education under government auspices, a Vernacular Education Department was organized with a separate Director and two Inspectors for the two regions into which the State was divided. This department succeeded in setting up vernacular schools in different parts of the State in the 1860s itself. 140/

Table XIV: Particulars of Government Vernacular Schools in Travancore, 1866-69

Name of School	Date of Opening	Number of students 1868-69	Number of teachers 1868-69
Trivandrum School	August 1866	270	9
Branch School, Thycaud	May 1867	64	5
Normal School, Trivandrum	September 1866	30	1
Girls School, Trivandrum	April 1867	60	3
Nedumangad	February 1867	54	3
Neyyattinkara	May 1867	90	4
Vilavancode	May 1867	69	3
Chirayinkil	August 1867	71	3
Quilon	September 1866	17	2
Anbalapusha	July 1867	68	2
Vycome	May 1867	40	3
Kottar Tamil School	..	65	3
Eranjel	January 1868	46	2
Kaloulam	August 1867	70	3
Thovala	June 1868	105	2
Kottarakara	July 1868	12	1
Karunagappally	January 1868	50	2
Kartigapally	October 1867	76	3
Mavelikara	October 1867	50	3
Tiruvalla	February 1868	76	2
Kottar Malayalam School	May 1868	90	3
Nagayoolam	July 1869	62	2
Patanapuram	May 1869	34	1
Kunnathur	August 1868	95	3
Chenganmur	August 1868	100	3
Alleppey	July 1869	42	2
Kottayam	May 1869	48	2
Sherthallai	May 1867	44	2
Paravoor	July 1869	49	1

TOTAL (Schools: 29)

('Report of the Vernacular Education Dept. ME-1044', Comm.No.65, from Dir. Vern.Ed.Dept. ME 1043', Comm.No.9, From Dir.Ver.Ed.Dept. to the Dewan, dt.10th March, 1869, in CSF No.290: GAD(E) Rs.

The comprehensive scheme for educational development initiated by Madhava Rao, was consistently followed up through out the second half of the century; as the increasing trend in Vernacular schools and their admissions in Travancore, would show. (See Table XV)

Table XV: Number of Vernacular Schools and their admissions in Travancore, 1865-66 to 1904-05 1417

Year	Vernacular Schools (Sircar and Aided)	Students
1865-66	12	865
1866-67	20	1383
1867-68	49	3455
1868-69	48	3639
1869-70	53	3075
1870-71	188	8064
1871-72	216	8452
1874-75	233	11466
1879-80	593	29363
1884-85	857	43513
1889-90	979	47044
1894-95	1606	82820
1899-1900	1283	83058
1904-1905	1483	99757

(Source: Robin Jeffry: (1976), Ch.III, p.80)

In 1877, a scheme for starting one school - more if necessary - in every proverthy was put into effect. Under this scheme, people of the locality were to provide the school building, upon which the government will give a grant of 1 fanam per pupil for teaching facilities. By 1881 the target seems to have been almost achieved. Besides, in 1885, some of the government English Schools, established in the first half of the century, and died down subsequently, were revived. In the meantime private schools were also expanding with the incentive of grant-in-aid.

The expansion in government educational institutions was supple-

mented by the development of an adequate support system. To rectify the problem faced by the growing vernacular school system in finding adequate

text books, a Book Committee was organized in 1867, with the charge of preparing original or translated text books.^{142/} Translations were made

from both Sanskrit and English. Between 1867 and 1872, 12 titles were

brought out by the Committee. Sometime in the 1870s the Committee seems

to have ceased to function but it was revived in 1883. Kerala Varma Valia

Koil Thampuran-a leading poet and well known scholar, was Chairman of the

Committee for considerable number of years and the leading force behind its

activities.^{143/} As it has been pointed out,^{144/} "through the various cate-

gories, brought out under the auspices of the Book Committee, a consciously

planned literature for juveniles was also emerging. The graded text books

were obvious, but perhaps not many instances. More significant were

biographies and other categories."

The distribution of books issued by the Committee was undertaken

by the Siroar Book Depot, established as early as 1866. A review in late

Nineteenth century found that from a financial point of view it has been

very successful and as regards its public utility "it has.....met a felt

want".^{145/} In the light of this, a scheme was introduced in 1897 to start

Branch Depots in Kottar, Kulithoray, Quilon, Mavelikara, Alleppey and

Parur.^{146/} The work of these agencies was greatly assisted by the work of

the Government Press set up in Trivandrum in the 1840's, as well as the

two presses founded by missionaries in Kottayam and Nagercoil.^{147/} By the

last quarter of the century, the numerous newspapers, periodicals and

literary journals which appeared in Malayalam gave a great impetus to the

growth of education.^{148/}

Another important support service was the Normal School for teachers'

training, started in 1865. This developed into a Teachers' training College

by 1889. As early as 1868 it was reported that 36 out of the 57 Masters and

Undermasters" in government Vernacular schools, had training in this institution. ^{149/}

As a result of such governmental intervention in the field of education, governmental expenditure on this count increased substantially as shown in table XVI. This was much more so in the last decade of the century when in 1891-92, the Proverthy School Committee recommended on the one hand, a reduction of fees in schools and on the other, opening of 51 new schools in different proverthies. ^{150/}

Table XVI: Government Expenditure on Education, Travancore 1871-1905

Year	Amount (In Rupees, 1000s)
1871-72	110
1884-85	218
1894-95	596
1904-05	641

(Source: PRG Nair: (1978), Ch. III, p.52, Ta.3.6)

Following the Christian missionaries, the government also entered into the fields of female education, higher education and very late in the century, even into lower caste education. The first girls school started by government was at Karamana in Trivandrum in 1859. This was followed in 1864 by the Maharaja's English High School for girls. Reports of the Vernacular Education Department for MS 1843 and 1844 (1868 and 1869) claimed that the School in Karamana had earned a good reputation. ^{151/} Success of this school seems to have created a desire elsewhere also to have girls' schools. By the end of the century there were several girls schools in

recognized as the Maharaja's College in 1869, presenting matriculates for the degree examinations of the Madras University. ^{152/} By the end of the century there was an Ayurveda College, a Sanskrit College, A Law College, a Women's College and a Teacher's Training College in Trivandrum run by the government. ^{153/}

As early as 1865, Madhava Rao, mooted the idea of a school for Shanars and other lower castes in Southern Travancore through his Circular No.2965, dated ~~13th~~ September, 1865. This proposal received mixed reactions from the people whom he consulted. While one person felt that ^{154/} "a good Anglo-Vernacular School, such as the Sircar would establish, would directly be well taken advantage of by the castes for whom it is proposed to establish it(and that)....as many as 50 boys willing to pay 1 fanam per mensum would be ready at once to join any such school"; another felt that ^{155/} "a school for Shanars who do not freely mix with Sudras etc. would prove a failure".

In any case, government does not seem to have gone ahead with this scheme and lower caste children remained excluded from government schools for the greater part of the Nineteenth century. ^{156/} In a letter to the Government of Madras in April 1870, Ballard, the then British Resident mentioned, exclusion from government schools as one of the main disabilities that lower caste people were subjected to, in Travancore. ^{157/} Though the high school at Trivandrum was theoretically open to all castes, he pointed out that not a single Uyava, Shanar or fisherman (not professing Christianity) was studying there at that time. ^{158/}

In 1871, there was once again a suggestion to open government schools to lower caste children. ^{159/} This also seems not to have been put into effect.

But by 1895 there are records mentioning "the repeated Proclamations of the Maharajas that all classes, without distinction of caste or creed, may have access to public institutions"^{100/} and also that at least Ezhavas having access to the Maharaja's High School and College at Trivandrum and to two or three District Schools.

Government's efforts in the field of education was considerable by the end of the century. Schools run by Travancore government formed 11.6 percent of all the schools in the State and the students studying in them formed 24.8 percent of the total student population.^{161/}

Expansion of Missionary Educational Efforts

In the second half of the Nineteenth century, the private agencies were also in the field quite actively. Most important among them were the Christian missionaries and the local Christians.

On the part created in the first half of the Nineteenth century - when missionary institutions were almost the only recourse to modern education - there was a massive expansion as well as diversification of missionary educational activities in the second half. As already mentioned the diversification - started in the first half - was mainly into female education, technical training and education of the lower castes. Of these, their contribution to lower caste education was commendable when we consider the fact that between 1875 and 1891, the number of literates among 'native Christians' who were predominantly lower caste converts, doubled.^{162/}

The growth of missionary education got a boost in the second half of the century with the offer of grant-in-aid from the government. In fact liberal government aid - both in cash and in land - was available to missionary enterprises even earlier. But most of the aid went mainly for the two

Seminaries in Kottayam and Nagercoil. With the introduction of grant-in-aid in 1868-69,^{163/} even primary schools run by missionaries could look up to governmental assistance. In 1881, in the light of increasing governmental expenditure on vernacular education, it was decided to encourage more private enterprise in the field of education.^{164/}

With the acceptance of grant-in-aid and the related governmental supervision, the predominance of religious matters in missionary schools had to be curtailed. With the grant-in-aid scheme, a special Inspector ~~was appointed~~ for schools receiving aid. One of the conditions for giving grant was that the school should adopt the same course of instruction and books followed in government schools. Teachers in aided schools were given training in those subjects they were deficient in, at the government Normal school, during holidays.^{165/} Institutions with a predominantly religious curriculum were not eligible for grants.^{166/}

The general standard of missionary schools, both in terms of subjects covered and books used seems to have improved. Moreover a well-knit organization, with High Schools in major towns and primary schools in villages around and linked to these High Schools, also was developed. Missionaries themselves endeavoured to upgrade their institutions so as to conform to the requirements set by the government. Basis standards were stipulated for admission to the high schools. Teachers with "superior education"^{167/} were employed to regularly inspect village schools and to supervise their functioning so as to make the students coming out of them adequately prepared for admission to the high schools. Practices such as allowing the same teacher to teach students upto third or fourth standard were stopped at the instance of the government.

* Syrian Christian Enterprise in Education

Besides the Protestant missionaries, Syrian Christians also made significant contributions to educational development in Nineteenth century Travancore. Among them, it was the non-Catholic Syrians who entered the field of modern education first, in association with the missionaries, particularly the CMS. Their collaboration with CMS, in modern education paid off in terms of lucrative jobs in companies as well as the government. This prompted them to send more of their children to schools and also to start schools of their own.

We have earlier noted how Col. Munro favoured non-Catholic Syrians with appointments in government and how Syrian youth, trained in CMS and LMS Schools got lucrative jobs in trading companies. But the close collaboration between the Syrian church and the CMS came to an end around 1835-40. Then the Syrian church took exclusive control of the famous Kottayam Seminary. At the time of the split with missionaries a section of the Syrian Church took favourably to Anglican persuasions in general and this led to the origins of a new church, the Reformed Syrian Church or the Mar Thoma Church. It is interesting to observe that the ensuing rivalry between the two groups of Syrian Christians got most intensely reflected in a competition to start more schools.^{168/} By the end of the century we find the Syrian Orthodox Church registering a society under the Companies Act to manage and coordinate their educational activities.^{169/}

* This term describes indigenous christians who were not converted by Western missionaries.

All this while the Catholic Syrians were comparatively inactive in the field of education. Evidently, the Syrian Christians like any other community of some means, had access to education in the traditional system. The early CMS missionaries found at least two schools being run by the non-Catholic Syrians around Kottayam, when they first arrived. According to early Jesuit sources, Ariviliruth, the ritual associated with the beginning of schooling, was common among the Syrians, 170/

The Portuguese Jesuits and Italian Carmelites who came to hold sway over the administration of Catholics from the Sixteenth century, did not have any real interest in modern education, particularly English education. For Jesuits and Carmelites, English language itself was associated with the Anglican rebellion against Roman Catholic supremacy in Europe. This has resulted in only a few Catholic children seeking modern education at that time. The CMS Grammar school at Kottayam in 1834 had just one "Romo-Syrian" student, in a total of 60, which consisted of 41 non-Catholic Syrians, 17 Nayers and 1 Brahmin. 171/

From the 1880s onwards Catholics started establishing schools. Once they entered the field - strong as they were in terms of numbers as well as wealth - they made spectacular progress. Between 1882 and 1887 the number of schools under Catholic management increased from around 10 to over 1000. 172/ This change in attitude occurred at a time when, Syrian Catholic leaders were gradually being allowed - under pressure - into the higher realms of the church hierarchy. Those of them who made it to the top did not share their European predecessors' antipathy towards modern education.

Fr. Immanuel (Mani) Nidhiry, Pontifical Vicar General (1889-1892) and the most prominent Syrian Catholic leader of his times exhorted Syrians to

start English Schools. In a speech at Mulanthuruthy he is reported to have said,^{173/} that any day an 'English' School will be a more prized asset than the gold crosses of Kuravilangad and Athirampuzha which can be stolen. Similarly when he was asked to arbitrate in a dispute between two groups of the trustees of the Parish of Palai, one wanting to use church funds to build a bathing ghat in the river and another wanting to start a school, Fr.Nidhiry, strongly recommended the school; and is believed to have suggested that all excess resources of the parish should be utilized for this one purpose.^{174/} Fr.Kuriakose Elias Chavara another rare Syrian Vicar General in a missionary dominated church, had also started a School in Mannanam, besides calling upon Syrian parishes to start schools.^{175/}

By the end of Nineteenth century, necessary organizations, even cutting across denominational barriers, started emerging among Syrian Christians, creating adequate instruments for educational expansion. Under the leadership of Nidheerickal Mari Kathanar, a Catholic, and Pulikkottil Mar Dinosyius, a Jacobite, an inter-denominational organization called the Nazrani Jathiya Aikya Sangham was organized in the 1880s. Apart from the fact that these two important Syrian Christian denominations came together for a joint venture, when denominational rivalries were the order of the day, it also had an ambitious scheme to start; (a) English High Schools and Girls Schools in all Christian Centres (b) A Central College in Kottayam (c) Libraries in all parishes and (d) godowns in Christian centres to store surplus grains till prices turned favourable to farmers.^{176/} A Bank was planned to help finance the schemes and the initial investment was to be raised through a lottery.^{177/} The nazrani Deepika; well known Malayalam daily was started by the Sangham, for the purpose of, as its opening editorial (dated 15th April 1887) put it, "to explain to the public the benefits

of the Sangham and the schools etc. proposed to be started by the Sangham". After the Sangham broke up, due to non-cooperation by the Missionary authorities of the Catholic church and other reasons, the two Syrian factions came together once again under the Travancore and Cochin Christian Association, with the objective of, among other things, "bringing to the notice of the Government, the claims of Christians to preferment in the public service". ^{170/}

Apart from the organizations mentioned above, another factor which helped the educational expansion of Syrian Christians, was the availability of liberal grant-in-aid from the government. As a result of all this, by the end of Nineteenth century, indigenous Christians contributed relatively more than the missionaries to the educational development of the State as shown in table XVII.

Table XVII: Denomination-wise distribution of Schools under Christian Management - 1908

Denomination/Diocese	Number of Schools
London Mission Society	393
Salvation Army	74
Diocese of Travancore-Cochin (CMS)	296
Church of England Zenana Missionary Society	16
PROTESTANT TOTAL	779
Archdiocese of Verapoly	130
Diocese of Quilon	147
Diocese of Cochin	92
LATIN CATHOLIC TOTAL	369
The Vicariat Apostolic of Changanacheery	424
The Vicariat Apostolic of Ernakulam	178
The Vicariat Apostolic of Trichur	186
SYRIAN CATHOLIC TOTAL	778
The Syrian Archdiocese of Malankara (Jacobite)	175
St.Thomas Syrian Metropolitan See of Malabar (Mar Thoma)	97
NON CATHOLIC SYRIAN TOTAL	272
GRAND TOTAL	2208

Note: These Statistics cover schools not only in Travancore but also in Cochin and perhaps even a few in Malabar.

Source: (J. Manac. (1908) pp.106-12)

One factor to be noted regarding the educational activities of the Syrians, as highly caste-conscious as any of the higher Hindu castes ; was that it did not provide for lower caste education.^{179/} In this regard, whatever contribution that was made, apart from the work of Protestant missionaries, were by the Latin Catholic dioceses, which remained under western missionary leadership right upto the Twentieth century. But the over all dimensions of their educational activities remained relatively small as they entered the field only quite reluctantly. Nagam Aiya in 1906 ^{100/} mentions how they " of late " have undertaken educational work in right earnest. He says they had 3 High Schools, 35 English and Vernacular Schools and 28 Pariah Schools; besides being involved in female education. It should be noted that their contribution to lower caste education evidently was very significant, a field neglected by their Syrian counterparts.

The educational efforts reviewed above resulted at the close of the century, in 25.5 percent of schools in Travancore being grant-receiving private schools and 27.8 percent of all students studying in these schools.^{181/} Most of these schools must have been Christian schools, though certainly not all. The Poorerthy School Committee Report makes out that all grant-in-aid schools are run by missionaries.^{182/} Even if we take the term "missionaries" to mean Christians of all descriptions; still such an assumption certainly is an exaggeration. In 1893, schools run by missionaries numbered 879 out of 2219 institutions classified as private. It is quite possible that most of these schools were receiving grants since they might have easily conformed, to the standards stipulated for such grants. In the last decade of the century, the share of missionary schools in the total grant-receiving institutions must have come down as other agencies entered the field with enthusiasm.

PT IIGrowth of Vernacular and Primary Schools

So far, we have presented a review of the expansion in educational facilities in Nineteenth century Travancore. In this section, we offer certain insights into the objective conditions, with emphasis on the socio-economic factors responsible for increasing demand for education in Nineteenth century Travancore. Besides, some explanations as to how the educational system developed a pattern which gave preeminence to primary and vernacular education, is also attempted.

The few 'modern' schools started by the government, along with the village schools and 'Seminaries' started by the missionaries, laid the base for a 'modern' sector in Travancore's nascent educational system in the first half of the Nineteenth century. These schools provided for those people who were far sighted enough, to gather training in English or in 'English' ways, ^{and} competence for appointments to higher ranking jobs in government service. Yet we do not come across any evidence showing a strong flow of students into the government schools or, for that matter, into the missionary schools during early Nineteenth century. The reservations held against the 'modern' curriculum taught by these schools by the conservative sections of the Hindu population must have been the main reason for this. There evidently was not any countervailing force to act against such sentiments. Moreover the government, still a traditional Hindu monarchy, though under the tutelage of the British, was tolerant towards the traditional system of education. As a result, we do not see the evidence of the growth of a 'modern' sector in any way harming the continued existence of the indigenous schools.

Whatever changes were occurring in the first half of nineteenth century, were in line with strengthening of the indigenous schools, primary schools, and vernacular schools. Moreover, the teaching of 'slave' and lower caste students, for which the missionaries gave attention to, worked towards bridging a serious gap in the region's educational tradition. Moreover, the maintenance of the indigenous system, which was the only recourse to education prevailing up to that time, helped not to create any break in the educational traditions of the people of Travancore as it had happened elsewhere.^{103/} The end result of all these developments in the first half of the Nineteenth century is that the Travancorean educational system was being built up from the base, that is, from the primary schools being taught in the vernacular. The same arguments hold good, for the developments of the second half of the Nineteenth century as well. The missionaries, though expanding into higher education, did not disown the emphasis on lower caste, vernacular, and primary education. The indigenous schools survived under 'protection' from the government, either as indigenous schools themselves or as independent private schools recognized as part of the formal school system. This further strengthened the preference for primary and vernacular education in Travancore.

Forces behind the Syrian Christians' Entry into Education

In the second half of the century, the motives behind the entry of Syrian Christians and particularly of Catholics, who were new entrants into the field of education become pertinent. We have seen how they entered the field of education around 1880s. First of all Catholics were viewing with obvious interest, the advance made by fellow Syrians through modern education and government jobs. One of the main complaints against Portuguese, and Italian missionaries, voiced by the Syrian Catholics in their petitions to

Rome asking for Bishops from their own ranks,^{184/} was that these missionaries were not interested in English education, and therefore Catholics were left behind in the race for Sircar service and the resultant social influence.

A letter written by Fr. Louis Pazheparambil to Rome in this connection, in the 1880s, pointed out that among Jacobites there were many Judges, and Vakils and persons holding high positions in government, while among Catholics there was hardly anyone who had obtained a degree and held office in the government administration.^{185/} Significantly, the then Dewan pointed out in 1891 that "In regard to Syrian Christians; in recent years they have been largely employed in the Education, Judicial, Public Works, Medical and other Departments.... much more largely than they were 10 or 15 years ago.... (They) only recently... have sought the advantages of liberal education such as is given in the colleges".^{186/} In this context it should be noted that the favours of their Protestant benefactor, Col. Munro, were restricted to non-Catholic Syrians and new converts only and was never extended to Catholic Syrians.^{187/} As government jobs got more and more linked to educational qualifications, educational achievements became a prized asset in Travancore society. The great efforts made by Syrian Catholics in the field of education in the last decades of Nineteenth century should be understood in this context.

The agrarian economy of Travancore had undergone some basic structural changes in the Nineteenth century; starting with the opening up of the caste-bound land 'market' in the early decades, followed by conferment of proprietary rights on Sircar tenants in 1865 and finally the assurance of security of tenure to superior tenants on private (Jenmon) land. In 1818, a Government Regulation encouraging conversion of waste lands into agricultural land was issued. The regulation guaranteed enjoyment of such lands

tax-free for the first ten years; and light taxation afterwards.^{188/} It also guaranteed recognition of claims for cost of improvements made on newly converted lands. In addition Chakuti (escheated) and Pokuti (abandoned) lands were assigned to those who were prepared to cultivate them.^{189/} This opened up the possibility of Syrian Christians and Ezhava acquiring Sircar land on lease for cultivation which was almost impossible earlier, as distribution of land was largely governed by the dictates of the traditional caste structure.^{190/} Subsequently, through the Pandaravaka Bottom Proclamation issued on June 2nd, 1865, full ownership rights were conferred on the tenant cultivators of Sircar lands, subject to the payment of land revenue. They were also allowed unrestricted transfer of their properties.^{191/} In 1829, following some cases of infringement on the traditional rights of tenants on private Jenmon lands the Sovereign served instructions on his Courts not to allow eviction of tenants paying their dues regularly.^{192/} These instructions were reissued formally as a Royal Proclamation in 1867.^{193/} This was followed by the Travancore Jenmi and Kudiyar Regulation of 1896.^{194/} The end result of these reforms was that, while a class of peasant proprietors was created on the former Sircar lands higher tenants on private Jenmon lands were given full security of tenancy.^{195/}

The Syrian Christian elite who had considerable share of Sircar tenancies, could exploit the opportunities for developing commercial cultivation inherent in these reforms, based on the advantages arising from their patriarchal family organization and earlier trading traditions.^{196/} It is quite likely that with the capital accumulated from trade, they moved into conversion of waste land into agricultural land, following the Royal Edict of 1818. The state monopoly over trade which was introduced in Eighteenth century must have prompted them to do so. Given this background, it is.

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tax-free for the first ten years; and light taxation afterwards.^{188/} It also guaranteed recognition of claims for cost of improvements made on newly converted lands. In addition Chakati (escheated) and Pokuti (abandoned) lands were assigned to those who were prepared to cultivate them.^{189/} This opened up the possibility of Syrian Christians and Eghava acquiring Sircar land on lease for cultivation which was almost impossible earlier, as distribution of land was largely governed by the dictates of the traditional caste structure.^{190/} Subsequently, through the Pandaravaka Patton Proclamation issued on June 2nd, 1865, full ownership rights were conferred on the tenant cultivators of Sircar lands, subject to the payment of land revenue. They were also allowed unrestricted transfer of their properties.^{191/} In 1829, following some cases of infringement on the traditional rights of tenants on private Jenmon lands the Sovereign served instructions on his Courts not to allow eviction of tenants paying their dues regularly.^{192/} These instructions were reissued formally as a Royal Proclamation in 1867.^{193/} This was followed by the Travancore Jenni and Kudiyar Regulation of 1896.^{194/} The end result of these reforms was that, while a class of peasant proprietors was created on the former Sircar lands higher tenants on private Jenmon lands were given full security of tenancy.^{195/}

The Syrian Christian elite, who had considerable share of Sircar tenancies, could exploit the opportunities for developing commercial cultivation inherent in these reforms, based on the advantages arising from their patriarchal family organization and earlier trading traditions.^{196/} It is quite likely that with the capital accumulated from trade, they moved into conversion of waste land into agricultural land, following the Royal Edict of 1818. The state monopoly over trade which was introduced in Eighteenth century must have prompted them to do so. Given this background, it is

possible that they benefited directly from the conferment of ownership rights on Sircar tenants in 1865. Moreover their family organization which was patriarchal, with every adult male having an equal claim to his father's property; provided enough incentive to individual initiative, to consolidate and enhance the value of land. From acquiring Sircar land on lease, their shift to superior tenancies on private Jermon land must have been fast. We find that by the second half of Nineteenth century, it was the Syrian Christians who dominated in the cultivation of commercial crops. They took up banking, public works contracts and commercial agriculture earlier than other communities in Travancore.^{197/} The economic progress made by this community was noted by many contemporary sources, including V. Nagam Aiya who wrote in the Report on the Census of Travancore, 1881.^{198/} that "they are a very industrious and enterprising class (and that) their general condition may be said to be one of prosperity and comfort". This increase in the prosperity of at least a fairly significant section of the community had its impact on education which in the pre-industrial society of Nineteenth century Travancore would have assured, a corresponding increase in social status as well.

Another factor which facilitated the educational activities of Syrian Catholics was the changes in their church organization. During the protracted western missionary dominance over their church, the earlier, relatively autonomous church organization was replaced by a more centralized and hierarchical organizational structure. The early western missionaries found the Syrian Christians organized in fairly autonomous units centred around the local churches. These communities were led by priests designated as Desathu Pattakaran. an office to which candidates are chosen by the community

and maintained by them. The priest was subject to the control of the Phillivanam, an assembly of the community-members, in all important matters. Adrian Moens, Dutch Governor of Cochin in his Memoirs of Administration for 1781, observed that 189/ there are some prominent persons of the community or elders who represent the community, and they together with the Vicar look after the fields and gardens which belong to each church, and make disbursements and receive the revenue and annually render an account to the community.

At the regional level the Syrian Church had an Archdeacon designated as the 'Head of the Community' (Jathiku Thalavan) who controlled the affairs of the community along with a regional assembly of representatives from each of the local communities. The Bishops - mostly from the West Asian Countries, before the arrival of the missionaries - "were honoured, received their prerequisites", but seldom interfered in the administration of the local church. This situation changed when Portuguese and Italian missionaries were appointed Bishops for they, "brought up in the traditions of the Western Church; where Bishops rule in their Diocese: meant to rule in Malabar as well". At the Parish level, as Adrian Moens observed, the European priests have started claiming a right to direct the administration of the property of churches they visit. Gradually the independence of the local communities was lost and the power of the Bishop grew. The Desathu Pattakarans locally selected and trained and owing allegiance to the local community was replaced by Priests selected by the Bishop, trained centrally in Seminaries, owing allegiance to the Bishop, and sent out by him to Parishes on a fixed salary and with possibility of transfer from place to place. 200/ Such centralization did not go unchallenged by Syrian Catholics Idavakas (local Communities); but by Nineteenth century it became

well entrenched. Among non-catholics the Mar Thoma church which conformed generally to Anglican persuasions, also developed a highly centralized church organization by late Nineteenth century.^{201/}

The advantage of the hierarchical organization was that it could mobilize the increased resources of the community on a more extensive scale and could channel it ~~up~~ effectively into building public institutions, including schools and colleges. As part of the changes in their organizational structure, there emerged a monastic order, recruited on an all-Kerala basis which provided an effective instrument for building up educational institutions all over Travancore and Cochin. This monastic order of Syrian Catholics known as the Servants of the Immaculate Mother of Mount Carmel (now known as the Carmelites of Many Immaculate) was organized in 1829.^{202/} Members of the order were recruited from different parishes and were organized centrally with a Prior General as the head of the organization and spread out in different monasteries around the region. The resources for the organization was raised from all over Kerala and the order was not bound to any particular locality. Right from the beginning of Catholic efforts in modern education, this organization was in its forefront.^{203/} In effect, a combination of the increased prosperity of the Syrian Christian Community and the changes in their Church organization, created the preconditions for speedy and spectacular achievements in the field of education.

Compulsions Behind Government Intervention

As noted earlier, government intervention in modern education, became significant under Sir.T.Madhava Rao, in the 1860s. The rather sudden outburst of government interest in education, and its overriding concern for vernacular education has to be analysed. The influence of Wood's Educational Despatch of 1854, incorporating provisions for organizing departments of

Public Instruction; introducing a formal grant-in-aid scheme, combining vernacular education with English education, and linking educational qualifications with employment in government etc., on Madhava Rao and his educational policy cannot be overlooked, for the similarities between the two are many. Similarly there were similarities between the provisions of the 1813 Charter Act and Munro's educational policies. There were other occasions when educational policies of British Indian and Travancorean government coincided. For instance, in 1882 the Indian Education Commission recommended a policy of gradual withdrawal of the State from the sphere of secondary and collegiate education in favour of private Indian enterprise.^{204/} Around the same time Travancore also decided to do the same; though the intended withdrawal was mainly from vernacular and primary education since secondary and collegiate education did not figure significantly in the Travancorean education system at that time. Again, in 1904, a Government of India Resolution emphasised the need for the medium of instruction of children upto the age of 13, being in their mother tongue.^{205/} In the same year instruction in Travancore Schools were formally organized to be in the vernacular in the lower classes and in English in the higher. Even with so many instances of the educational policies of Government of India and Travancore Government coinciding, the explanations for a comparatively more serious implementation of these provisions in Travancore, unlike what happened in British India in spite of the Wood's Despatch, has to be sought elsewhere.

During the reign of Swati Tirunal (1829-1847) the momentum gained by Munro's reforms in early Nineteenth century seems to have been lost, and the administration fell back to traditional ways, provoking strong disapproval by British observers of the Travancorean scene. Many complaints regarding

maladministration in Travancore had reached the Madras government at this time. This led to an ominous threat from Lord Dalhousie who wrote to the Maharaja of Travancore that "unless averted by timely and judicious reforms", annexation of Travancore "is a distinct possibility."^{206/} Though the threat of annexation might have eased in the wake of the events of 1857, subsequent events would have also convinced Travancorean statesmen that traditional ways will no more hold and that there is no option but to conform to the dictates of the new dispensation.

It was in this particular background, that Madhava Rao was called upon to reorganize the State's administration; and started looking for personnel competent to run the administration. Travancore's preference for vernacular education should be understood in this context of the requirements of the State administration for personnel being substantially different from that of the Imperial administration. Bulk of the business in the State administration was carried on in Malayalam, and it was to do this that Travancore government required competent persons in plenty. In fact one of the main contentions of Malayali Memorialists^{207/} was that since the Court Language of Travancore was Malayalam, knowledge of that language was imperative for all government officials.^{208/}

Changing Dimensions of Governmental Requirements

A major component of the government policy for educational development, was the linking of educational qualifications with appointments to government jobs. Though introduced gradually and by selected jobs, this policy, over the years became applicable to a wide variety of appointments.^{209/} As early as 1823, the Travancore government felt the need to give training for aspirants for government jobs. In that year a Nittu pointed out the problem of people

with general administrative abilities being not proficient in arithmetic and those proficient in arithmetic found wanting in administrative abilities. To rectify this problem; it was directed to select youngsters from 'good' Paravads for being given proper training before appointment to government jobs.^{210/} Then in 1842, a Committee of Europeans appointed to report on the few English Schools established by then, recommended^{211/} "the holding out of some prospects of future employment in the public service to those boys who may distinguish themselves by their progress, especially to the Sudras (Nairs) who form so large a portion of the population".

The Government Malayalam School Certificate was fixed as the minimum qualification for Udemuyar or Copyists in Mandapathumvathukal or Division Cutcheries from 1887. A Revenue test was prescribed for Selection as Division Sherestadars and Head and Assistant Samprathis in 1888. Tests in Criminal Law was prescribed for Magistrates around the same time. Even for appointment as Revenue peons, literate persons alone were chosen from 1887.^{212/} Regarding the Service Examinations, government was advised in 1894 to appoint only those who pass this examinations in jobs fetching a salary upto Rs.15/- to Rs.20/- a month; or those who have passed the 5th Form Examination and held a certificate from the Director of Education, who may be considered equivalent to that standard; provided they pass also a handwriting test.^{213/} It was also suggested that a committee be appointed to revise the curriculum in vernacular schools in the light of this.

For higher level appointments a scheme known as the Attache System was introduced in the 1890s, whereby a few graduates from Trivandrum College were selected and appointed on probation for two years, after which on the basis of their performance they were to be absorbed into permanent posts in the government departments.^{214/} In 1891 itself it was claimed that educational qualifications based on University and Service Examinations "have been prescribed by

Government, for almost all appointments in the State above the grade of peons". ¹¹¹ At least most of the important jobs were covered by prescription of educational qualifications. ^{216/}

This indeed, was a major break with the past since in Travancore traditionally, government service was the exclusive preserve of certain higher castes; and even among them (for sensitive jobs) of certain privileged families. The exclusiveness of the civil service was already diluted in the Eighteenth century by Martanda Varma. In his effort to institute a centralized monarchical regime he suppressed the landed baronage consisting of various title holders like Madampinar, Pillamar and Karyakar, whose families traditionally monopolised positions of power and prestige associated with the governance of the State. In its place he instituted a bureaucracy selected on the basis of personal competence and loyalty to the king. As Colleeness the then Dutch Governor pointed out in 1743: "All the greatmen of his kingdom called Amaviam are men of common Nair origin and their ranks is not inherited by their descendants. Accordingly they depend entirely upon the ruler, they are everything to him and they obey him with a slavish submission". ^{111/} This shift is evident in the fact that two of the most brilliant bureaucrats of Eighteenth century Travancore - Dalawa Ramayyan, a Tamil Brahmin and Raja Kesava Dasen, a Nair of common birth - were from outside the state with traditional claims to higher positions in the administration. Eustaius D'Lannoy, a Flemish formerly in the service of the Dutch and Tachil Nattu Tharakan, a Syrian Christian trader of Alleppey, also came to play influential roles in the politics and administration of Eighteenth century Travancore. ¹¹¹ The shift was largely in favour of non-aristocratic Nairs, and non-Malayali Brahmins from outside the borders of the state.

One explanation for this is that with the dedication of the State to Sri Padmanabha, the deity of the premier shrine in the State by Martanda Varma, in Travancore Society, the basis of social and religious status became the temple. Subsequently political power was vested in those Savarna castes who had permission to enter the temples, and also with that all jobs related to the administration of the state were vested among them. 218/

With the introduction of educational qualifications for selection to government jobs, there occurred a widespread demand for education. This along with the commitment of the successive Dewans of Travancore to the spread of modern education 219/ resulted in the opening of so many schools and thereby of increasing literacy.

Communal Pressure for Educational Examination

Now that individual merit and educational qualifications were made the criteria for selection to government service, educated persons from different communities, including Christians and Ezhavas, who were outside the pale of government service could aspire for such positions; which were source of great social prestige and power. During a brief period in early Nineteenth century non-Catholic Syrian Christians were favoured with government jobs; along with lower caste converts to Christianity, under the influence of Shro. There were more than 200 Syrians employed in the government in 1819, in Travancore and Cochin. Otherwise they were largely excluded from the civil service. As a result by 1891, there were only 270 Syrian Christians holding government jobs of which only 32 were holding "respectable appointments" according to the Malayali Memorialists. 220/ This they felt compared unfavourably with the attitude of neighbouring governments as the

following table that they presented would show:

Table XVIII: Syrian Christians in Government Service holding important positions: Travancore, Cochin, Malabar and other parts of Madras Presidency

Departments	Travancore	Cochin	Malabar	Other parts of Madras Presidency	Total outside Travancore
Revenue	..	..	4	5	9
Judicial	..	2	2	..	4
Educational	4	9	14	4	27
Medical	9	1	6	4	11
Engineering	7	..	..	1	1
Registration	3	..	..	..	4
Post & Anchal	..	1	1	..	2
Telegraph	..	..	2	4	6
Meterological	..	..	1	..	1
Press	..	1	..	..	1
Total	..	14	24	10	66

(Source: CoF No. 1744, p.7, pa.6. GAD (E) etc.)

As far as the Ezhavas were concerned there were very few of them who could have had sufficient educational qualifications to get into government service. Even those who had the necessary qualifications were denied jobs due to caste prejudices, as in the well known case of P.Palpu, a Licentiate in Medicine, who had to enter Mysore State Service since he was denied a job in Travancore. The attitude of the government with regard to Ezhavas is very clear in the following statement of the then Dewan in response to the claims of Ezhavas for government jobs included in the Malayali Memorial 221/

"...as a body, they (Ezhavas) are uneducated, preferring their own occupations

of agriculture, coir-making and toddy-drawing, to going in for such education as would fit these for public service... Their social position too is such that they can hardly be eligible for public offices where a certain amount of respect is expected to be commanded in a State where Hindus are much more conservative and superstitious than their brethren in Malabar".

The relative positions of various communities in regard to the share of their members with higher education, and holding positions in government and the judicial system in 1891 is brought out in the following table.

Table XIX: Caste-wise distribution of Graduates from Trivandrum College holding jobs in Government and are registered as Lawyers - 1891

Caste/Community	In Govt. Service	Lawyers
Brahmins	56	6
Malayali Sudras (Nairs)	31	2
Nanjinaid Sudras (Nairs)	6	..
Pandy Sudras	8	1
Christians ('Native' & Syrian)	12	..
Eurasians	4	..
Europeans	1	..
TOTAL	118	12

(Source: CSF No. 1744: "Abstracts". GAD (E)Rs)

Given this background there was growing resentment among the educated young men of different communities against the vantage position held by non-Malayali Brahmins, who were favoured for their lack of strong local connections, for senior government positions by the Ruling Family. This resentment got reflected in the Malayali Memorial Movement of 1891 wherein ^{222/}the prayer of the memorialists (was) that natives of Travancore of whatever class.

caste or creed, may be freely and impartially admitted to offices in the state; the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability and integrity to discharge".

The diffusion of accessibility to government jobs that came about in the wake of the Malayali Movement, benefited largely the Nairs alone, who both in terms of educational qualifications and caste status were in a position to make use of such opportunities. Christians, Uzhavas and also Muslims were still at a disadvantage since they were excluded from positions in the Revenue Department, biggest department of the government at that time, since Revenue Officers also had duties connected with Temples. Their aspirations, therefore, found expression in the various political movements of early Twentieth century, such as the Civil Rights League, Joint Political Congress, and the Abstention Movement.^{223/}

Under such pressure, the government conceded greater representation to these communities in the civil service. In 1915 a confidential circular was sent to Heads of Departments, requiring them to show special consideration to Uzhavas, Muslims etc., and this was recirculated in 1917.^{224/} In 1921, "Stringent departmental instructions were issued to the appointing authorities to afford equal opportunities to all communities".^{225/} In 1925, "arrangements were made for exercising greater control and keeping closer watch over the appointments made by Heads of Departments, by calling for quarterly returns of appointments made by them".^{226/} In 1926 the Revenue Officers were divested of Temple duties by creating a new Dewasom Department. Finally in 1935, in the light of the Report submitted by Dr. G.D. Nokes, who was appointed as special officer to study the question of communal representation in government service, the government appointed a Public Service Commission for recruitment to government jobs.

All this while the lowest castes did not benefit at all because educational qualifications as criteria for selection to government jobs could hardly have made any change in their position. As early as 1865 it was pointed out that ^{227/} "there appears a certain inconsistency in holding out government situations as open to all, irrespective of caste distinctions and at the same time, withholding from the lower castes, those advantages enjoyed by the higher, which would fit them for such offices". Over the century there was hardly any change in their prospects. The benefits of the developments explained above went to what can be termed as an emerging middle class, constituted of ^{228/} "the lower strata of the upper caste Hindus, and the upper strata of lower caste Hindus in combination with their counterparts in Christian and Muslim Communities".

How the Syrian Christians came into the field of modern education is already explained. The Nairs, who could not benefit as much as the Christians did from economic developments of the period; ^{229/} were forced to depend more and more on government service. As explained earlier, in the new polity created by the rise of Martanda Varma in Eighteenth century, positions in government were held mainly by non-Malayali Brahmins and 'non-aristocratic' Nairs. Of these the Brahmins evidently had the sway over higher positions as successive governments came to power. With Nair graduates increasing in number, by the end of Nineteenth century, they also started making their claims for these higher jobs as well. Education which was the password for most government jobs, as a result, was sought after by Nair young men. ^{230/} Their failure to make profits out of their landholdings in the wake of the commercialization of agriculture, (encumbered as they were with the joint-family organization with its inhibitions on individual initiative and restrictions on sale of property etc. ^{231/}) made Nair youth to

fall back upon their traditional access to government jobs, which in the new circumstances had to be backed up with educational qualifications. This led many of the junior members of Nair Tharavad, going to court claiming the expenses of education from the Karavanan of the Tharavad. Till necessary changes in the law occurred in early Twentieth century, judgement in Courts seems to have gone against the junior members on this question.^{232/} Pressed as they were from above by the Brahmins, and from below by the Syrian Christians and Ezhavas, Nairs went in for starting educational institutions in the Nineteenth century itself; either by upgrading traditional schools with which they were associated or by starting new schools. These efforts gained focus and momentum in early Twentieth century with the organization of the Nair Service Society.^{233/}

Similarly the Ezhavas, sections of whom also advanced economically in the second half of the century, were on the eve of a great Social Reform Movement, which in early Twentieth century, took them into the field of public education and social and cultural development. Increasing value of the liquor trade and the growing demand for coconut produce in the world market in the second half of the Nineteenth century, benefitted some sections of the Ezhavas who traditionally were occupied with the tapping and sale of toddy as well as in the processing of coir products.^{234/} Backed with such prosperity, more and more Ezhavas started seeking education, mainly in the missionary schools. As a result the percentage of literates among Ezhava males increased from 3.15 percent in 1875 to 13.71 percent in 1901,^{235/} This in turn led to the demand for representation in government service as it was argued that "Public Service ... it must be admitted, is the strongest incentive to education in this country", and that, though "Public Service is not the end and aim of education ... the Tivas (Ezhavas) have not yet attained that stage when they

can appreciate education even though it does not secure them appointments".^{236/} By the end of the century, Ezhavas evidently were claiming a social status corresponding to the economic development that they had achieved. It was these two factors, economic prosperity and educational development which laid the base for the Social Reform Movement initiated under the leadership of Sri Narayana Guru. With the organization of the Sree Narayana Dharma Paripalana Yogam (SNDP) in 1903, Ezhavas themselves started establishing educational institutions all over the State.^{237/}

Such all round interest in modern education and benefits thereof, among different castes and communities, definitely added a great impetus to educational development in Nineteenth century Travancore. But the lure of government service by itself is insufficient to explain the increase in demand for education in that period. Persons holding government jobs were only 48,017 or 1.6 percent of the total population in 1901.^{238/} While the small number of jobs in government could have added to the competition to get into them, it alone could not have prompted so many parents to send their children to get educated at a considerable cost.^{239/}

Commercialization of the Economy and the Demand for Education

The structural changes that occurred in the agrarian economy of Travancore in this period has already been mentioned. In the first half of the century itself Travancore as other parts of India was more closely incorporated into the world market under the specific conditions of a colonial economy. With the increasing British political control over India, Indian economy for all practical purposes became an agricultural and raw material producing appendage to the British economy. Early British investment in India was in extracting industries like mining, plantations and agro-processing which were all within the framework of a dependent

relationship.^{240/} In Travancore, British capital was directly invested in coir processing, tile manufacturing, and plantations.

British investment in plantations started around 1850. The subsequent increase in cultivation of and trade in agricultural produce was abetted by the fact that by then Travancore was integrated well into the world market nexus. During the 1860s various state monopolies; except those on salt, abkari and opium were abolished and a system of customs duties introduced. As early as 1853 the Madras government had started negotiations for putting Travancore and Cochin on the same footing as provinces directly ruled by the Company, in matters of trade and commerce. This resulted in the signing of the Inter-portal convention of 1865 by these two States and the British Indian Government.^{241/} Following these developments there was considerable increase in trade, especially export of each crops.^{242/}

Though the immediate result of the lifting of monopolies was a shrinking of public revenue, in the long run, revenue intake increased with expanding commerce. This must have come in handy when government went in for investing in and subsidizing of education. In 1860 and 1866 there were Nittus issued by Travancore government sanctioning the utilization of Revenue from Tobacco and Salt for educational purposes.^{243/}

Along with the growth of plantation agriculture, within the State the tenurial reforms mentioned earlier created the necessary pre-conditions for increasing commercialisation of agriculture; both in terms of cash crop cultivation and cultivation of food grains for selling in the market. Therefore it was in a situation of commercialized agricultural economy, that in Travancore, there was obvious interest in education. The link between these two developments is to be seen in terms of the fact that jobs opportunities in plantation and commercial sectors would have increased on the one hand, while

on the other, there was, increasing demand for at least basic education that could equip people to handle accounts, mortgages, contracts, agreements etc. The commercialization of the Travancorean economy and the resultant all-round interest in acquiring basic literary skills, having worked as a powerful force behind the increase in demand for education in the second half of the Nineteenth century, cannot be overlooked.

In contrast to the developments in Travancore, public demand for education seems not to have been so widespread in British India. The kind of socio-economic developments which generated such demand in Travancore did not happen with the same intensity, all over British India but rather only in pockets - particularly around big commercial and urban centres. ^{244/} Even in those centres where socio-economic factors developed in such a way as to increase demand for education there were no agencies to provide educational facilities, like the ones we saw in the case of Travancore. The increasing preoccupation of official activity in the field of education in British India in towns and cities, may largely be due to this. Besides, unlike in Travancore where the peculiar settlement pattern of the region facilitates wider access to education with a relatively low geographical spread of institutions, ^{245/} schools centred in towns and cities could not have contributed much to mass literacy in other parts of India. As it can be seen, there developed a preference for secondary and higher education, that too in English in British India, which could not help the development of mass literacy. While there was an increase of 180 percent in the number of students in secondary schools, there was an increase of only 49 percent in the number of primary school students in British India, between 1881-82 and 1901-02. The disproportionate development of secondary education vis-a-

vis. primary education is shown from the following table :

Table XX Statistics of Public Education, British India,
1860-61 to 1901-02

Year	Primary		Secondary	
	Schools	Students	Schools	Students
1860-61	5450	201245	142	23165
1870-71	15921	517574	3146	206300
1881-82	16269	2156242	4122	222097
1891-92	27109	2637607	4872	473294
1901-02	97854	3204336	5493	622768

Notes

- The 1860-61 figures are for Madras, Bombay, Bengal (with Assam) and Agra Provinces only. Upper Burma added in 1891-92, other provinces in 1870-71, 1881-2 is preferred over 1880-1 because of more complete figures.
- ii. Expenditure on Education in thousands of Rupees; 1860-61 = 3594, 1870-71 = 12115, 1881-82 = 18750, 1891-92 = 30520, 1901-2 = 40121.
 - iii. In 1901-2, Primary Departments of Secondary Schools in UP and Central Provinces were shown as separate institutions, and are included, with pupils in them, under the head of primary schools.

(Source: Gazetteer: (1907) Ch.XLIII)

As noted earlier, integration of indigenous schools, combining vernacular education with English education etc. were provided for in the policy statements of British Indian government as well. But these similar set of policies seems to have had different impacts as implemented in British India and Travancore for which the growth in demand for education as it developed in Travancore seems to have played a major role.

Summary and Conclusion

To summarise, the preceding survey brings out the respective contributions of socio-economic factors responsible for the establishment, development and diffusion of the school system in Nineteenth century Travancore. The indigenous school system provided the base upon which the modern system was erected. The demand for education provided by such schools was steady at least in the first half of the Nineteenth century. Since the missionaries with their vernacular primary schools supplemented the work of indigenous schools in the early decades and since the government followed a policy of integrating such schools into the formal system later, there was no serious break in educational development in the State throughout the Nineteenth century.

In the second half of the century both private and government schools increased in number considerably. Of these, the government school-system, as it was envisaged in response to the reorganization of administration and its requirements for trained personnel for middle and low level positions, assumed an emphasis in favour of vernacular and primary education. This evidently enhanced its contribution to mass literacy. The private schools - operating as they were at least partly in tune with the demand generated by the requirements of government service - also conformed broadly to this pattern.

The attraction of government jobs acted as a main force behind the expansion of educational activities of the elites of the various communities. The Christians, hoping to acquire a social status corresponding to the economic gains made in commercial agriculture, were the first elite group to move into modern education. Now the internal Church organization changed in such

Way as to halt such expansion, is already explained. The Ezhavas were to follow the Christians soon. With the threat posed by these two communities the Nairs also had to expand their educational activities, to ensure their position of preeminence in the government service.

This situation resulted in educational facilities becoming a bone of contention among the elites of the leading communities. The lower castes and communities got sidelined from this competition, to remain largely uneducated. 246/ The little work done by missionaries for such communities, become pertinent in this context.

The desire of getting into government service did ensure more admissions to schools, and greater literacy, especially in Malayalam. In due course, government service and professional jobs became the focus of education, in a society which did not provide any other alternative to agriculture. This resulted in education in Travancore remaining largely a liberal arts education - even in Twentieth century when a few technical and professional institutions did come up. The technological training required for the development of industrialisation never evolved in Travancore. 247/

The growth in public education facilities in the second half of the century was evidently facilitated by favourable policies of the government. While these policies themselves were influenced by the particular historical context in which they were given shape to, its successful implementation, resulting in growth in number of admissions to schools, and literacy, and its maintenance over the decades, was possible only with adequate public demand for education. This demand was generated largely by socio-economic developments in Nineteenth century Travancore. Most important among them, was the commercialization of agriculture and of the economy which led to the growth of demand for basic literary skills. Such demand, supplemented

by the fact that schools were rather easily accessible, given the peculiar settlement pattern of the state, must have been the main reason for the relatively higher literacy levels in Nineteenth century Travancore. The accessibility to government jobs, as it created an interest among different communities, for developing educational facilities, must also be counted as a factor in the overall development of demand for education in Travancore.

Therefore, the explanation for the comparatively greater advance in public education and mass literacy made by Travancore in Nineteenth century is to be sought in the socio-economic factors rather than in the relative merits of the educational policies followed by the government or private agencies.

(Earlier versions of this paper were presented at Seminars in Centre for Development Studies, Trivandrum, Kerala History Congress, Alur and the A.K.Gopalan Centre for Research and Studies, Trivandrum. I am grateful to the participants of all the three seminars for their helpful comments. Professors K.N.Raj, Bipin Chandra, P.G.K.Panikar, Vaidyanathan and J. Madhavan Pillai have favoured earlier versions of this paper with valuable comments for which I am thankful to them. I wish to register my gratitude to the Special Secretary, General Administration Department, Government of Kerala, The Librarian, United Theological College, Bangalore, and The Director, Kerala State Archives, Trivandrum, for permission to make use of Archival material under their custody. Needless to add, none of these persons are responsible for mistakes and other shortcomings remaining in the paper.)

Table .1: District-wise distribution of Schools and Students
Travancore - 1901

District	Number of Schools	Number of Students
Trivandrum	236	10,528
Neyyattinkara	190	9,264
Coilon	187	12,362
Eraniel	176	9,420
Ambalapuzha	169	7,810
Trivandrum	165	13,198
Kottayam	157	8,941
Chengannur	157	6,935
Karunagappalli	144	8,650
Kunnathunad	136	4,807
Agasteeswar	132	6,893
Sherthallai	131	5,768
Meenachil	125	5,400
Mavelikara	122	7,161
Muvattupuzha	117	4,495
Parur	114	6,362
Changanacherry	112	5,589
Vaikon	110	4,880
Kottarakara	105	4,501
Kalkulam	105	5,514
Kartigappally	100	5,540
Ittanamangal	96	4,943
Vilavankode	95	4,454
Chirayinkeezhu	90	4,285
Kunnathur	86	4,321
Alangad	82	3,474
Tovadi	63	2,501
Nedumangad	53	2,324
Pathanamthalam	44	1,915
Indupuzha	41	1,478
Shencottah	37	1,806
TOTAL	3683	1,84,639

(Source: B.S. (1902), Vol. VII, Part 1, p. 1000)

- 2/ P.R.G.Nair: (1978) Ch.III, Robin Jeffry: (1976), Ch.IV, reviews the pattern of educational development in 19th century Travancore.
- 10/ RAMP: (1902), Appendix, Statistical Returns, Ch.VII, p.Cix, ta.70.
- 11/ Percentages were calculated, excluding Lower Secondary and Upper Primary Schools and including schools for teaching Quran - See RAMP: (1898-99), Ch.VII, p.216.
- 12/ Census: (1903 A), Vol. XXVI, Ch.VII, p.217
- 13/ Special and Training Schools Constituted another 0.3%.
- 14/ Comparison with Madras Presidency is Impossible since medium wise data is not available for Madras Govt. Schools.
- 15/ P.R.G.Nair: (1978).
- 16/ Known after Charles Wood, then President of the Board of Control of the East India Co., was the first comprehensive educational policy statement for British India. It was issued in 1853. See Don Adams: (1970), Ch.III., p.75, and J.P.Naik and S.Nurullah: (1974), Ch.IV, p.133.
- 17/ Education in British India had become 'top heavy' by the second half of the 19th century, for various reasons. Most important reason was that "English was made the language of administration" and "increasingly the new education became the pass to employment in the public service." - Anil Seal (1968), Ch.I., p.17. and also see S.Velaudhan: (1977), Vol.IV.
- 18/ Though we get accounts of the difficulties involved in getting to school in Kerala, it is apparent that for most people there was a school within reachable distance. In cases where the school is not within a day's travel, relatives' houses or friend's houses were available for students to stay. For accounts of schools going experiences of early 20th cent. see P.Kesava Dev: (1977) and Thakazhi Sivasankaran Pillai: (1983).
- 19/ The difficulty in reaching schools, when the distribution of schools is such as one in 550 Sq.miles, one in 267 Sq.miles and one in 195 Sq.miles as the case was in some states of Western India, can easily be imagined - See Van Derland (1982), Ch.IV, p.125, TA.4.1. Sq.
- 20/ For a comprehensive description of the different systems of education prevalent in traditional Indian Society, See C.Hayavadana Rao (ed): (1929), Vol.IV., Ch.VII.
- 21/ P.N.Kunjan Pillai: (1970), Ch.XVI, p.267
- 22/ Separate schools for technical education do not seem to have existed in the traditional system. Such knowledge were transferred through apprenticeship. - Mathew M.Kuzhiveli (1965), Ch.III., p.3., for details of Salais and Mutts see N.Vedamani Manuel: (1972), p.36 and K.T.Lakshman: (1947), Pp.xx - xxi.

- 23/ N.V.Manuel: (1972) and S.Desivinaiyagom Pillai: (1929), p.203.
- 24/ See Kerala Kaumudhi: (1983), N. *Quadratum Thodiyar*: (1980), and Deepika (1980)
- 25/ N.V.Manuel: (1972), p.32.
- 26/ K.J.Leenose: (1947), p.xix.; N.V.Manuel: (1972), Pp.61-62, M.M.Kuzhuveli: (1965), Pp.24-25, and K.K.N.Kurup: (1977), p.6.
- 27/ Velaudhan Panikkasserri: (1977) Pp.191-93., N.V.Manuel (1972), p.32 and K.J.Leenose: (1947), p.xix
- 28/ For detailed description of traditional primary schools in Madras, see J.P.Naik and S.Nurullah: (1974), Ch.I., Pp.6-8 and in Kerala, See M.M.Kuzhuveli: (1965). Ch.IV.
- 29/ For Detailed description on traditional school only with 1000 - 1789. - V.Panikkasserri: (1977), Pp.191-93.
- 30/ P.N.Chopra et al : (1979), Vol.III, Ch.XII, p.206.
- 31/ M.M.Kuzhuveli: (1965), Ch.IV.p.55
- 32/ N.V.Manuel: (1972), p.33, and K.J.Leenose: (1947) p.xix.
- 33/ C.Achutha Menon: (1911), Ch.IX, p.290
- 34/ K.Gough: (1975), p.134., William Logan: (1906), p.100 and V.Nagam Aiyar: (1906), Vol.II, p.445.
- 35/ K.Gough: (1975)
- 36/ K.Gough: (1975), p.151.
- 37/ Ibid.
- 38/ P.K.Balakrishnan: (1983)
- 39/ P.K.Balakrishnan: (1983)
- 40/ V.Nagam Aiyar: (1906), Vol.II Ch.VII,
- 41/ V.Nagam Aiyar: (1906).
- 42/ S.N.Mukerjee: (1951), p.16.
- 43/ See A.Aiyappan: (1965).
- 44/ Kathleen Gough observes that (p.151) the consequences of 'illiterate' literacy as outlined by Goody and Watt in the same collection were not found valid in the case of Kerala. Goody in his introduction, (p.132)

mentions the failure of Kerala Society to develop a strong interest in history or science. Literacy, did not lead towards the breakdown of caste barriers; either. According to Goody and Watt, one of the main consequences of literacy is that (p.30) "the use of writing as an autonomous mode of communication by the majority of the members of society." In the case of India, their finding was that "a strong tendency for writing to be used as a help to memory, ... and under such conditions its influence tended towards the consolidation of the existing cultural tradition." (p.40). We tend to believe that Kerala followed the case of India, in this matter. Moreover, the facts known about Kerala society make us believe that Kerala did not have 'an unusually high proportion' of literates in comparison with the rest of India. (See Jack Goody: (1975)). Besides Gough, M.M.Kuzhuvelli (1965); Ch.IV, p.55) also claims that Kerala had a level of literacy higher than what prevails now. His argument rest on the point that Kudipallikudams existed in every Kara, and that everyone (emphasis ours) could write and read. (Quoting Elik Reckla s in Ancient Nairs). We have our doubts about how many were allowed to make use of the Kudipallikudams. Moreover, even in the case of Nairs, the claim of hundred per cent literacy seems farfetched.

45/ B.Sobhanan: (1977).

46/ Unlike wars of olden times, Martanda Varma's army fought battles in such a way as to affect the civilian population as well. For details see K.M.Panikar: (1931), and A.P.Ibrahim Kunji: (1976).

47/ Unification of different principalities under a central rule, "helped in dissolving dialectical distinctions and developing a prose of fairly uniform standard, primarily for administrative purposes." (Krishna Chaitanya: (1971), Ch.VII. p.166.) The impact this had on the spread of education is not known. Moreover, we have no evidence of a centralized education system being set up.

48/ Centralization could have affected the traditional village system (though it was weak in Kerala) which could have adversely affected all the services maintained in the village, including education. On the relationship between village administration and services maintained see Vera Anstey: (1957), Vol.XVI, p.153 and for details of administrative centralization in Travancore, see A.P.Ibrahim Kunji: (1976), Ch.XI, Pp.101-109 and (1975), Vol.II, Part IV, Pp.425-448.

49/ P.N.Kunjan Pillai: (1966)

50/ Revenue Manual: (1915), Vol.IV, S.Velu Pillai (1933), Introduction, p.2, T.C.Varghese: (1970), Pp.30, 146 and S.Pandalai: (1912).

51/ For details see A.Das Gupta: (1967).

52/ V.Nagam Aiya: (1906), Vol.I., Ch.VI, p.411 , and B.Sobhanan: (1977), Ch.VI, p.74.

- 53/ Travancore's traditional industry - particularly weaving, which was described as "next in importance to agriculture" - suffered a set back in the last four decades of Nineteenth century. (V.Nagam Aiyar (1906), Vol.III, Ch.XVII, Pp 287-9). The possibility of such a decline having started earlier cannot be overruled; for Macaulay, British Resident in Travancore in early 19th century estimated that the number of 100 ~~men~~ working in Travancore had declined to around 500 from more than 2000, in the last decade of 18th century. - See B.Sobhanan: (1977), Ch.VI, p.76.
- 54/ Ward and Conner: (1898).
- 55/ Ward and Conner: (1898), Pp 46-47, 128-129.
- 56/ P.N.Chopra et al: (1979), Vol.III, Ch.XV, p.223.
- 57/ This is the proportion used in the 1822 Survey Report to work out the share of the school-going age group in the total population.
- 58/ J.P.Naik and S.Murullah: (1974), Ch.I., Pp. 4-5.
- 59/ The practice of tutoring at home seems to have been common in Kerala among the well-to-do families who had family tutors to whom sometimes even children of the poorer families of the neighbourhood were sent for learning - See. C.Acharya Menon: (1911), Ch.IX, p.290.
- 60/ University Committee: (1924), Ch.II, Pp.12 - 13.
- 61/ It is claimed that in the first decade of 19th century there was an attempt at building schools in every Kara, by the administration of Dewan Valu Thampi. If this effort really took place, then, it will most probably be the first instance of governmental involvement in popular education - P.R.G.Nair: (1976), fd.nt. 19, and History: (1970), Vol.I, p.73
- 62/ University Committee: (1924), Pp. 12 - 13.
- 63/ Ibid.
- 64/ P.R.G.Nair: (1976), Ch.III, p.40, and V.Nagam Aiyar: Vol.I., Ch.VI, Pp. 459-60.
- 65/ T.K.Valu Pillai: (1940), Vol.II, Ch.IV, Pp.509 - 523., and R.N.Jesudas: (1979).
- 66/ Ibid
- 67/ Ibid
- 68/ C.Acharya Menon: (1911), Ch.IX, p.291
- 69/ Ibid.
- 70/ See the curricula of the missionary schools, 1804 Table XII.

71/ Around 15,000 of these students must have been studying in the various Missionary Schools. See. RAT: (1864-65), p.46, Pa.204.

72/ RAT : (1866-67)

73/ No: 134, KSA.

74/ No: 132, KSA

75/ No: 131, KSA

76/ No: 46, KSA

77/ No: 49, KSA

78/ No: 133, KSA

79/ Old Records: (1935), P.413, Ann of Huzur Order No: 167, dt. 20th Kanni, M^E 1012: 'Aquisition of land for the English School at Chirayinkil'.

80/ No: 48, KSA, and also E.M.Philip: (1908), Appendix VII, p.448

81/ RAT: (1864-65), "Education", p.46, pa. 204.

82/ The British Indian Presidencies also show very meagre educational efforts, as the following Table shows:

Table 82.1: General Statistics of Education in British India - 1852

Nature of Instruction	Number of Institutions	Teachers	Pupils
1. Bengal L.P.			
a. English and Mixed	36	283	5,465
b. Vernacular	104	104	4,685
2. N.W.P.			
a. English and Mixed	7	112	1,582
b. Vernacular	8	48	-
3. Madras			
a. English and Mixed	1	13	180
b. Vernacular	-	-	Cannot be given
4. Bombay			
a. English and Mixed	14	62	2,066
b. Vernacular	233	233	11,394
TOTAL	404	855	25,372

(Source: S.N.Mukerjee: (1951), Pa.386, Ta.I.)

- 83/ J.P.Naik and S.Nurullah: (1974), Ch:II and Atmanand Misra: (1973), Ch.II., p.9.
- 84/ In all the Presidencies there were efforts made to integrate traditional schools into an effective system of modern education. But only in the North Western Provinces under Lt.Governor Thomason, in 1840s, did this scheme met with any viable success. The Halkabandi or Circle Schools, effectively incorporated indigenous education into a well organized, modern education system --for details see J.P.Naik and S.Nurullah: (1974), Ch.III.
- 85/ J.P.Naik and S.Nurullah: Ch.III, P.66, 74 and John Sargent: (1968).
- 86/ KAT: (1864-65), p.46, Pa.204.
- 87/ J.Ferrolli: (1939), Vol.I., Ch.XV, p.408.
- 88/ E.M.Philip: (1908), Ch.XI
- 89/ As quoted in J.Ferrolli: (1951), Vol.II, Ch.VIII, p.242.
- 90/ J.Ferrolli: (1939), Ch.XV, p.408 and (1951), Ch.IV, App.I, P.114.
- 91/ H.Hosten: (1928), Pp.45-47.
- 92/ R.A.Jacob: 'History of the London Missionary Society' (Typescript. 1957) in IMS 97: ICHA. This school is described as an English school though we do not know whether the medium of instruction was English - See M.M.Kuzhuvelli: (1965), p.iii. also see J.Waskom Pickett: (1933) Ch.XII, Pp.285-293.
- 93/ V.Nagam Aiya: (1906), Vol.II, Ch.VIII, p.116. (quoting J.D.Rus in The Nineteenth Century and After.)
- 94/ Report of the Rev. the Secretary of the Missionary Corresponding Committee of CMS on Cottayam Mission, Feb. 1835, Part I., in CMS38: ICHA.
- 95/ For details of the early activities of the CMS, See Mira Dalton: (1963).
- 96/ See Church History: (1905).
- 97/ Robert.L.Hardgrave Jr: (1968), No: 2, p.172.
- 98/ Mira Dalton: (1963), Chs.IV and XI, R.N.Jesudas: (1975), and E.M.Philip: (1908), Ch.XX, p.226.
- 99/ Ringletaube in a letter to Munro in 1813 described the 6 schools he ran for the "laity" as follows: "The instructions that are given consists in lessons of reading, writing, Arithmetic as also to Christian children, the catechism and reading in the New Testament or other religious books ... For Schoolmasters I choose such out of the congregation that can read and pray fluently which is an incitement to others." - Church History: (1905), Ch.IX, Pp. 173 - 74.

- 100/ J.A.Jacob in LMS 97: ICHA, Ch.X., p.68
- 101/ LMS 1835: ICHA, Part I, App.XX, Pp.114-115.
- 102/ 'Nagercoil, 1916-1921' in LMS 95: ICHA, Colonel Munro is reported to have said that "the plan of the college (CMS) was intended to comprehend a system of instruction in Malayalam to the priests and the laity" - See E.M.Philip: (1908), Ch.XLIII, p.315.
- 103/ 'Report of the Mavelikkara Mission District for Half Year ending June 30, 1857 (Private and Confidential), in CMS 39: ICHA
- 104/ 'Nagercoil, 1916-1921', in LMS 95 : ICHA
- 105/ J.A.Jacob: in LMS 97: ICHA, Ch.X, p.68.
- 106/ CMS 39: ICHA, Item X, Pp.198-99
- 107/ J.A.Jacob: in CMS 97: ICHA, Ch.XVII, p.98, and "The Scott Christian College, Nagercoil, Travancore" in LMS 95: ICHA.
- 108/ W.S.Hunt: (1930), Series 5, p.276.
- 109/ Eira Dalton: (1963)
- 110/ Rev.F.Bayles: 'Report on the Travancore Tamil Mission', presented at the SIMC, Ootacamund, April 1858, in LMS 97: ICHA.
- 111/ V.Nagam Aiya: (1906), Vol.II, Ch.VIII, p.117.
- 112/ Eira Dalton: (1963)
- 113/ R.J.Jesudas: (1975).
- 114/ Eira Dalton: (1963), and R.J.Jesudas (1975)
- 115/ Ibid.
- 116/ According to one source, girl schools were started to train school mistresses, and also to gain suitable wives for catechists. - 'Nagercoil Dist., Report of the year 1906' in LMS 95: ICHA. (quoting Samuel Mateer: The Land of Charity. p.272)
- 117/ Ibid.
- 118/ J.A.Jacob: LMS 97: ICHA, Ch.X, p.69
- 119/ C.M.Agur: (1903), Pp.21, 41-50, and T.K.Velu Pillai : (1940), Vol.II, p.523.
- 120/ Church History: (1905), Ch.IX, Pp.173-74.

- 121/ CMS 38: ICHA, App.XII, p.119., for details of later controversies on the origins of the fund see Z.M.Paretti: (1966), and also E.M.Philip: (1908), App.X., Pp.454-455, App.XI, Pp.457-469.
- 122/ Old Records: (1935), p.285.
- 123/ CMS 1835: ICHA, App.XXI, Pp.116-117, and App.XXVII, p.163 and CMS 391 ICHA, E.M.Philip: (1908), Ch.XX, p.226.
- 124/ "The Scott Christian College, 1906"; in LMS 95: ICHA
- 125/ CMS 39: ICHA
- 126/ RAT: (1864-65), p.46, p.204
- 127/ Letter from G.O. Newport to the Dewan, dt. 18th Sept. 1865, in CSF No: 135: GAD (E) Rs., and D.O.No: 3/3941/2 (Confidential), from Dr.Mitchell to the Dewan, dt. 30th May, 1900, in CSF No: 7089: GAD (E) Rs.
- 128/ Ibid.
- 129/ In 1867, there was only one school run by missionaries in Trivandrum town area, started in 1822. Even this school is more likely to have been in the suburbs as we find that the request for permission to start a mission station and a school in Trivandrum town, was turned down by the Govt. in 1828. Therefore the private schools mentioned here are quite likely to be indigenous private schools. See R.A.Jacob: in LMS 97: ICHA.
- 130/ Report of the Vernacular Education Department, ME 1043 in Coun.No: 9, fr. Director of Vernacular Ed. Dep. to the Dewan, dt. 10th March, 1862, in CSF No: 290: GAD (E) Rs.
- 131/ Address of the Dewan of Travancore to the Sri Cholan Popular Assembly Fifth Session, in Almanac: (1900), p.28
- 132/ The description of these schools given in the Census, that these institutions are all the result of private enterprise, mostly self-supporting, and have been so from very remote times (and) the teachers depend almost entirely upon the pupils for their maintenance which is given in kind, indicates that, at least organizationally there hardly was any change in such schools even by the last decade of 19th century - See V.Nagam Aiyar: (1906), Vol.II, Ch.XI, p:453.
- 133/ The assumption here is that the indigenous schools talked about by Proverthy Schools Committee were those which already have come within the review of the formal school system; while the Census had in mind those schools still outside the system. The fact that the Proverthy Committee Report mentions "Fees due" in indigenous schools - of which 53% was realized by them on an average, while Proverthy Schools realized 53% of fees and the Grant-in-aid schools only 3% - corroborates this assumption. Since, the Proverthy Report does not give the definitions used, there is no basis for saying anything conclusive about this.

- 134/ By the second half of the century, graduates of Air-loyal schools were being sent to various parts of the world in the coffee estates of Travancore and Ceylon. Therefore the missionaries introduced a bond requiring boarding students to stay behind for a few years for mission service. As a result of the increasing job prospects, requests for starting new schools were made to the missionaries by people of different localities. By end of the century institutions like the Namercoll Seminary would substantially increase their fees "on account of the remarkable desire and persistent demand for English education." Contemporary missionary observers felt that such demand at least partly was due to English occupation and the desire for government service." Report of the Secretary in CMS 1835, ICHA, Appendix XXI, Pp.116-17; and Appendix XXVII, p.165, in CMS 39, 1904, and The Scott Christian College (1906) in CMS 95, ICHA.
- 135/ Proverthy Schools Committee, Provisional Report, Proceedings of H.H. the Maharaja's Govt., No: 147, dt. 27th January, 1892, in CSF No: 13399, GAD (E) Rs.
- 136/ Rev. Mathias 'Review of the History of the College', 20th December, 1919, in CMS 95, ICHA.
- 137/ RSE (1864-65), p.15, pa .199
- 138/ in CSF No. 290, GAD(E) Rs.
- 139/ See Table IX.
- 140/ V.Nagam Aiyar: (1906), Vol.I., Ch.VI, p.549.
- 141/ Though the number of schools and students do not tally strictly with our own estimates, this table is reproduced here as it gives an idea of the increase in number of schools as well as students.
- 142/ Lt.No: 1018 fr.the Dewan to Kerala Varma Sr., dt.21st March, 1867, Lt.No: 349, fr.Kerala Varma to the Dewan, dt.8th June 1883, Lt.fr.Kerala Varma to the Dewan, dt.12th August, 1872, in CSF No: 290:GAD(E)Rs.
- 143/ Ibid
- 144/ Krishna Chaitanya: (1971), Ch.VII, p.173.
- 145/ Lt.No: 1897, Trivandrum, fr.Principal in charge, Govt.Book Depot, to the Dewan, dt.11th March, 1897 in CSF No: 7000; GAD (E)Rs.
- 146/ Ibid.
- 147/ P.Govinda Pillai: (1973)
- 148/ The impact of the outburst of newspapers, literary journals and other periodicals in late 19th century Travancore is comprehensively discussed in Krishna Chaitanya (1971), Ch.VII, Pp.173 -176. To quote a particular example, we have the instance of Bhasha Poshini, a well known literary journal published from Kottayam, which claimed that concessional

subscription rates were being offered for teachers and articles of interest to teachers are being included in its issues - Lt.fr.K.J.Varghese Mapillay, Sec., Bhasha Poshini Sabha, to the Dewan, dt. 30th August, 1898, Kottayam, in

CSF No.3271: GAD (E) Rs.

149/ 'Rep. of the Vernacular Ed.Dept. ME 1043' in CSF No.290: GAD(E) Rs.

150/ CSF No.13410, GAD(E)Rs, and CSF No.13399: GAD (E) Rs.

151/ 'Rep. of the Ver.Ed.Dept. ME 1043, and ME 1044' in CSF No.290: GAD (E)Rs.

152/ University Committee: (1924), Ch.II., p.15

153/ Ibid. Pp. 18-19.

154/ Lt.fr.G.O.Newport to the Dewan, dt.18th September, 1865, in CSF No.135: GAD (E)Rs.

155/ Lt.fr.John Lowe to the Dewan, dt.22nd September, 1865, in CSF No.135: GAD (E) Rs.

156/ The well known Dr.Palpu and his brother Velaudhan acquired English education because their father brought an Anglo-Indian Missionary from Angengo over to Pettah in Trivandrum, and he started a "Kudipallikudam" for these boys as well as others. Later on this school got recognized as Pettah English School. It may be mentioned that in later part of the century the Brothers Palpu and Velaudhan got admission in the Maharaja's High School - See.M.Govindan: (1952).

157/ P.N.Chopra et al. : (1979), Vol.III, Ch.XV, p.216.

158/ Ibid.

159/ Lt.fr.L.E.Lafryenais, Supdt. of Dist.Schools, to the Dewan, dt. 25th October, 1871, in CSF No.135: GAD (E)Rs.

160/ Comm.fr.P.Palpu, Asst.Surgeon, Mysore Govt. Service, Bangalore, to Shungra Soobyer, the Dewan, dt.13th May, 1895, in CSF No.3234: GAD (E)Rs.

161/ See Table IV.

162/ V.Nagam Aiya: (1906), Vol.II, Ch.VIII, p.117.

163/ "Rep. of the Ver.Ed.Dept. ME 1044" in CSF No.290: GAD(E)Rs.

164/ Effect of this could be seen in the fact that the number of aided schools in the State increased from 437 to 1375 and the number of studnets in these schools from 21,574 to 57,314 between 1881 and 1893. See V.Nagam Aiya: (1906), Vol.II, Ch.XI, p.437.

- 165/ 'Rep. of the Ver. Ed.Dent. 1854' in CSF No.290: GAD(E) Rs.
- 166/ CSF No.949: GAD(R)Rs.
- 167/ 'Nagercoil Dist.Rep. 1906' in IMS 95: ICHA, 'South Indian Missionary Conference, Ootacamund, April 1858, Rep. of the Travancore Tamil Mission by Rev.F.Sayles of Neyyoor in IMS 97. ICHA.
- 168/ C.P.Mathew and M.M.Thomas: (1967) Chs.V, VI and IX, Robin Jeffry: (1976), Ch.IV., Pp.118, 122.
- 169/ Lt.fr.K.I.Varghese Mapilly to the Dewan, dt.21st Nov., 1896, Trivandrum, in CSF No.3322: GAD(L)Rs. Though better than the early record of Catholics the non-catholic Syrians' record in starting schools, was not very commendable, till around 1875. They started some vernacular schools during the period of litigation with the new Syrian church, which seems to have been the beginning of their concerted activities in the field of education. They are supposed to have started 3 'English' High Schools, 3 'English Middle Schools, several 'English' primary schools and 'no fewer than 250 Vernacular Schools.' See E.M.Philip: (1908), Ch.XXIV, p.356.
- 170/ J.Ferrolis: (1951), Ch.VI, p.157.
- 171/ 'Rep. of the Sec.CMS, 1835' in CMS 38-40: ICHA, App.XX, Pp.114-15., It may be mentioned that Catholics were considered to be most backward in educational progress, among Christian denominations, till the end of the 19th century. See E.M.Philip: (1908), Ch.XXIV, p.404.
- 172/ F.R.G.Nair: (1978). In the Report on the Census of 1881. Nagam Aiyar mentions that the bulk of Christian schools are run by Catholics. Ch.IV, p.157.
- 173/ N.K.Jose: (1979), Ch.VI, p.73
- 174/ Ibid. See also Abraham Nidhiry: (1971), Ch.XXVII, Pp.312 - 13.
- 175/ M.O.Joseph Nedumkunnam: (1971), p.9.
- 176/ N.K.Jose: (1979), Ch.VI, Pp.69-71, and Abraham Nidhiry: (1971)
- 177/ Ibid.
- 178/ Lt.fr.Dewan Peishkar to the Dewan, dt.15th Aug., 1900, Kottayam, (Strictly confidential), in CSF No.7189, GAD(E)Rs.
- 179/ See C.P.Mathew and M.M.Thomas: (1967), Ch.V, p.70 and 'Statement of the Kottayam Conference 1857' in CMS 59: ICHA.
- 180/ V.Nagam Aiyar: (1906), Vol.II, Ch.XI, p.445.
- 181/ See Table IV. With reference to religion; the Christians had a higher percentage of literacy - 15.7% - than Hindus and Muhammedans who had only 11.7% and 8.6% respectively. Moreover the Taluks of Kottayam (36.8%), Tiruvalla (35.5%), and Minachil (34.5%) which topped in male literacy and Farur, Kottayam and Changanacherry, which topped in female

literacy, were all regions having considerable Christian population. - See V.Nagam Aiya: (1906), Vol.II, Ch.V, p.35.

- 182/ in CSF No.13399: GAD (B)Rs.
- 183/ The neglect of indigenous systems of education - deliberately or otherwise - created a situation in other parts of India; at a time when adequate number of modern educational institutions have not come up, a severe lack of educational facilities. Such a situation do not seem to have existed in Travancore, considering the demand for education that existed here. - See J.P.Naik and S.Nurullah: (1974).
- 184/ This was a point of contention among Syrian Catholics in 19th century. This demand as well as their efforts to revert back to some of the age-old practices of their community were part of a general awakening in the community.
- 185/ N.K.Jose, (1979), Ch.VI, Pp:72-73
- 186/ 'Enforcement by the Dewan, dt.21st April 1891' in CSF No.1744: GAD(E)Rs.
- 187/ C.P.Mathew and M.M.Thomas: (1967), Ch.V, p.47
- 188/ Revenue Manual: (1915), Vol.IV, p.229.
- 189/ T.K.Velu Pillai: (1940), Vol.II, p.536.
- 190/ T.C.Varghese: (1970), Ch.II., p.35
- 191/ S.Velu Pillai: (1933), Introduction, p.2.
- 192/ Ibid; Appendix A: 'The Royal Edict of 1005 ME'.
- 193/ Ibid; Appendix B: 'The Royal Proclamation'.
- 194/ For details see K.S.Pandalai: (1912)
- 195/ For a comprehensive discussion of the Reforms and their economic implications, See T.C.Varghese: (1970)
- 196/ Scaria Zachariah: (1976), p.XXX., C.V.Cherian: (1973), Ch.IV, p.153, and K.P.Velaudhan: (1981), Pp.67-78.
- 197/ T.C.Varghese: (1970), Ch.III., R.Jeffry: (1976), Ch.IV., p.118
- 198/ V.Nagam Aiya: (1884), Ch:IV, Pp.157-58
- 199/ Parishes (1981), Ch.VI, Pp.155-157 and Ch.VIII, Pp.187-188. As late as the 19th Cent; CMS Missionaries in Kottayam had to say the following in this regard: "Suggest the possibility that the Committee may have formed wrong impressions from the terms Parish and Diocese. The country is not subdivided into Parishes as in England, but each church has so many families attached to it. The base act of residing at Kottayam does not

Place us in the Bishop's (Bishop's) Diocese, or the Parish of Cottayan,
 as it would be in England". - 'Rep. of the Sec. CMS 1835' in CMS 38-46:
 ICH.

- 200/ See Joseph Pulikunnel: (1979) and N.K.Jose: (1977), Pp.144-154.
- 201/ C.P.Mathew and M.M.Thomas: (1967), Ch.VI, p.76.
- 202/ U. P. Mathew (1932), Ch.I.
- 203/ The Government had by 1931, four English High Schools, four English
 Girls' Schools and four Vernacular Schools. Journalist (1932), p.94.
- 204/ P. Naik and S. Nurullah (1974), Anil Seal: (1968), Ch.1. p.20.,
 The effort at promoting primary education which was in the policy recommen-
 dations of the times, did not succeed, as it was claimed, due to lack
 of funds.
- 205/ J.P.Naik and S.Nurullah: (1974)
- 206/ V.Nagam Aiyar: (1906), Vol.IV, Ch.1, p.513.
- 207/ Reference is to the Malayali Memorial Movement of 1892, which is generally
 considered to mark the beginning of organized political activity in the
 State.
- 208/ 'Malayali Memorial - Memorandum', p.3, pa.9 in CSF No.1744: (GAD(E)Rs.
- 209/ The increase in selection posts based on educational qualifications and
 how it happened to effectively replace patronage and religions tests in
 selections to jobs in England' in the 19th century, is explained in
 Stephen Cotgrave: (1932), Vol.III, Pp. 33-41.
- 210/ No.126: KSA
- 211/ V.Nagam Aiyar: (1906), Vol.I., Ch.VI, p.488
- 212/ Circular No.10, dt.29th March 1062, Gazette Notification dt.29th March
 1063, Gazette Note dt. 28th April, 1867, and Circular No.1749,
 dt.22.8.1063, in Old Records: (1935).
- 213/ Lt.fr.E.Thomas called to the Dewan, dt.5th Feb.1894, Confidential, in
CSF No.13402: GAD(E)Rs.
- 214/ Memo fr.Dewan to Heads of Dewan to Heads of Depts., n.d., and Lt.fr.
 Dewan to Sarvadhikariyan, dt. 26.5.1894 in CSF No.1524: GAD (E)Rs.
- 215/ 'Reply Memorandum', p.22, in CSF No.1744: GAD(E)Rs.
- 216/ As late as 1926, at the lower levels of Government Service a large number
 of posts like those of Police Constables, Peons and Petty Officers were
 left to be filled without reference to educational qualifications. It
 was stated that not less than 20,000 posts existed for which no educational
 qualifications were fixed. N.Kumaran: (1976), Vol.VI, No.19, October 1.

- 217/ T.K.Velu Pillai: (1940), Vol.II, Ch.IV, p.27c. For details see Ibrahim Kunji: (1973), Vol.I, No.1.
- 218/ See P.T.Chacko: (1945), p.74 (Quoting Sir C.P. Ramaswami Aiyer).
- 219/ Dewans like Madhava Rao were trained in English educational institutions in Madras, and they were interested in the spread of modern education. (See V.Nagam Aiya: (1906), Vol.I, Ch.VI., Pp.523-24 and Maharashtrians (1937), P.87). Their personal interest was certainly a factor in the spread of educational development. (See University Committee: (1925), Ch.II, Pp. 14-15)
- 220/ See Table XX.
- 221/ 'Endorsement' by T.Rama Row, Dewan, Nedumgolam, 21st April, 1891, pa.7. in CSF No.1744: GAD(E)Rs.
- 222/ 'Memorandum', p.1, Pa.1, in CSF No.1744: GAD(E)Rs.
- 223/ For details see K.K.Kusuman: (1977)
- 224/ Order R.Dis.No.894/Govt. dt. Trivandrum, 25th June, 1935, 'Part A. Transitional Orders', Recruitment Manual. (1937), Pp.41-11
- 225/ Ibid.
- 226/ Ibid.
- 227/ Lt.fr.John Lowe to Madhava Rao, at Neyyoor, 22nd Sept. 1865, in CSF No.135: GAD(E)Rs.
- 228/ R.Ramakrishnan Nair: (1973), Vol.I, No.1., July
- 229/ See C.J.Fuller: (1976), Ch.II, Pp.20-21, and Ch.VI.
- 230/ This was a phenomenon common to all parts of India. Anil Seal put it as "from ancient times the higher castes of India had been the administrators and literati of their communities. Since higher education under the British was primarily a course offering its pupils the new qualifications now demanded for just those employments which were traditionally theirs, the new elites moved unswervingly down these two (services and professions) avenues of advancement". - (1968), Ch.III, p.115.
- 231/ See J.Puthenkalam: (1977) and R.Jeffry: (1976), Ch.IV.
- 232/ See M.P.Joseph: (1918)
- 233/ Mannath Padmanabhan: (1964).
- 234/ P.Natarajan: (n.d), Ch.X, p.158, and R.Jeffry: (1976), Ch.IV, Pp.139-141.
- 235/ V.Nagam Aiya: (1906), Vol.II, Ch.VII, p.34.
- 236/ Lt.fr.P.Palpu to the Dewan, dt.13th May, 1895, Bangalore, in CSF No.3234: GAD(E)Rs.

- 237/ For details see P. Mookerjee and G. Lemencier: (1978), and G. Rajendran: (1974), Ch. III
- 238/ V. Nagam Aiyar: (1906), Vol. II., Ch. VII, p. 34, Table.
- 239/ The effort taken by parents in Kerala for sending their children to school had been commented upon, at a later date, as follows: "The family budget shows the willingness on the part of parents to spend sometimes more than they can afford, on the education of their children." Banking Report: (1930), Vol. II., Ch. II., p. 16.
- 240/ See E. N. Komarov: (1965), and Irfan Habib: (1975)
- 241/ This agreement provided for (a) No duty to be levied by Govt. of India on goods produced in the two States on their import into British Indian territory, (b) free trade between Travancore and Cochin (c) Travancore to levy export duties not less than what was obtaining in British India (d) the two states to adopt British Indian tariffs and rates of import duty; etc. - For details see Trade Convention: (1927), and Enquiry Committee: (1932), Ch. VII, Pp. 88-89.
- 242/ The total value of exports from Travancore increased from Rs. 3,544,653 to Rs. 7,276,200 between 1861-62 and 1868-69, See V. Nagam Aiyar: (1906), Vol. III, Ch. XV, P. 136. For further details see P. G. K. Panikar et al: (1977), Ch. II.
- 243/ Para. 137: KSA., No. 100: KSA. A similar possibility in the case Sri Lanka which also had pre-independence history of educational development of creditable proportions, is indicated in Paul Tseman: (1980), Vol. VIII, No. 3, March, P. 238
- 244/ Mill Seal: (1968), Ch. I, p. 17.
- 245/ For details of Travancore's settlement pattern see P. Narasimha Aiyar: (1938), and P. Narasimha Aiyar: (1950)
- 246/ In literacy the castes and communities descended more or less in the same order as their position in social hierarchy, as the following table will show:

Table: 246.1: Order of Literates among some of the important Communities
Madrassore - 1901

(Literates per 1000)

Name of Community	Males	-	Females
Eurasians	761.3	-	662.5
Brahmins	691.7	-	90.3
Malayala Brahmins	662.6	-	191.4
Ambalavasis	576.2	-	156.4
Kanians	518.7	-	55.1
Konkanies	490.5	-	29.8
Vellalans	434.2	-	31.4
Mairs	375.8	-	57.1
Marans	354.4	-	53.2
Native Christians	257.1	-	51.0
Izhavas	137.1	-	9.8
Palayans	2.9	-	.6

(Source: V.Nagam Aiyar, 1901, Vol. II, Ch.VII, p.34)

247/ For a description of the relation between education and the development of an innovating class, see John Vaizey and Michael Debeanvais: (1961), pp. 21-22.

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