It was the modern institutions that brought about a break-through in the habitus of the women. In a way modernity came to India through the intervention of the British as traders, administrators and missionaries during the end of eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The events of nineteenth century is accounted in two chapters, this chapter deals with the overall changes in the social space and the fifth chapter contains the changes in the space of women due to the modern institutions.

As mentioned earlier the Portuguese intervention does not succeed in inducing major socio-cultural changes in Keralam, although some of the caste practices, especially those related to the caste practices of Syrian Christians were challenged. This was mainly due to the lack of institutions to perpetuate the changes they introduced here. The Roman Catholic missionaries worked among the depressed classes, mainly the fishermen of the coastal region. They were not able to penetrate deeply, or were able to induce a cleavage in the strong hold of the caste based social system. The Portuguese missionary activities came to a halt by the arrival of the Dutch. The Dutch captured the strong holds of the Portuguese. The Dutch company assumed the entire management of the churches in the territories
of the Raja of Cochin and they acquired the right of collecting the revenues due to the Raja of Cochin from the Christians. But they failed to represent their demands properly before the kings. The Dutch ignored especially those who resisted the Roman sea. They were rather sympathetic to those who were in the Roman Catholic fold. Whitehouse points out that the Dutch manifested very little sympathy with this fraction of Syrians, even an audience was unceremoniously refused to Archdeacon Thomas, though he brought a letter of introduction from the Raja of Thekkencore. They were unable to retain their power for long and they lost their commerce to the British East India Company. The Dutch also failed to bring about any major change in the social formation of the region during their brief stay here.

At the social level the caste system, which was hierarchical and based on hereditary rights, still continued. This division according to the birth was visibly established by strict regulations on spatial distance and by the practices of pollution each caste had to maintain. The Rajas enjoyed only very limited authority over the petty kings and chieftains. William Logan's observation about the Raja of Travancore at the time of British settlement supports this fact. Each community had its hereditary right on the produce of the land. The caste specific and hereditary division of

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200 Augur C.M., Church History of Travancore, A.E.S., p 27.
201 P. Cherian: The Malabar Christians and the Church Missionary Society 1816-1840, C.M.S. Press, Kottayam, p 46.
labour, in the traditional system decided the functional space of the various castes and communities. So there was no space available for caste mobility. It was the duty of the elders of various communities to impart the functional skills and knowledge and the elders were respected and obeyed. The customary practices were passed invariably from generation to generation. Violation of caste customs and practices were the most heinous crime of the traditional period, for it was against the community as a whole and punished severely. It was the duty of the state to guard these customs that when the community was unable to proceed against the offender, the state stepped on behalf of the community.

The major victims of the Portuguese intervention how ever were the traditional native St. Thomas Christians, for their attempt was to bring these native Christians, outside the ritualistic space of the developing Hindu religion and under Roman catholic religious hierarchy. As mentioned earlier, they were divided into two groups, breaking their solidarity as one community, questioning the authority of their social and religious leader, the Archdeacon, there by sawing the seeds of dissent and unrest, from which the community was never able to escape.
Political space at the time of British arrival

Marthanda Varma Maharaja (1729-1758) is regarded as the founder of modern Travancore. He strengthened his power by crushing the feudal elements like the Ettuveettil Pillamar and expanding his border by conquering the neighbouring chieftains and adding the conquered territory to his domain (which was not the practice in the past), establishing a centralised monarchy. Marthanda Varma obtained indirect support of the British east India Company to expand his territory by reorganising his army in western standards. He established centralised monarchy, consolidating the power of the monarchy with the religious support. Religion and state was not separated in the new state, but complementary to each other. The significance of the local community in the traditional system was replaced by that of the state but in the same time retaining the caste system as such, without much change, especially that of the lower strata. The power of the local chieftains mainly belonging to Nair community was curtailed, strengthening the central monarchy but the administration mainly in the village level was entrusted to them, making them the representatives of monarchical power among the common people.


\[204\] Shangoonny Menon (1878), History..., A.E.S pp 118, 136-37, A. Sreedhara Menon, A Survey..., p 221, V. Nagam Aiya, Travancore..., Op. Cit., p327, William Logan, Malabar..., Op. Cit., Vol. 1, p 350, When Marthanda Varma ascended the throne of Venad, it was only a small principality reduced from its former glory to a near anarchic state. The Ettuveettil Pillamar and the Madampis and the ‘Yogakkars’ (the body of managers of the Sree Padmanapahapuram Temple) usurped much power and the king was constantly in fear of his own life.
He introduced structural changes based on Brahminism in the traditional political system of Travancore, which in turn influenced the neighbouring state of Cochin also. The organization of an army under the Flemish Captain De Lanoy, into cavalry, infantry, artillery and irregulars, composed of Nairs, Sikhs, and Pathans, was entirely a new phenomenon in the history of this region. He strengthened his artillery with efficient weapons, purchased from the English merchants. He also sought the support of the ‘Nayakars of Madurai’ to suppress the rebellion of Nairs. These endeavours vary from the traditional feudal force supplied by the local chieftains in exchange of absolute jurisdiction over the land possessed by the chieftains, also strengthened the King’s power as he became independent of these chieftains. Dependable Tamil Brahmins as administrators of the conquered territories replaced the defeated local chieftains. The Nairs who were the protective force in the past were reduced to salaried, disciplined and uniformed employees.

The Revenue system was reorganised under Ramayyan Dalwa and the land was surveyed for the first time in the history of Travancore (1750-55). The administrative system was reorganised under the Dalwa or

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206 Nagam Aiya, *Travancore...*, Op. Cit., p 328. The land was classified as dewaswam, brahmaswam, danam and pandaramvaka. All the land except that which belonged to Brahmins and temples were the property of the state. A pattah signifying the tax levied on each property was given to every land owner.
Consolidation and centralization of power was complete up to the village level. Nairs were the administrative officers and they wielded much power in the changing social formation. (In fact Syrian Christians without any position in the administrative system were at the mercy of these Nair administrators. By monopolising the pepper trade they lost their position as merchants also).

The state was reorganised as a ‘Hindu state’ by Marthanda Varma by dedicating his kingdom to Sri Padmanabha and ruled the kingdom as the servant or representative of the deity (establishing the ‘divine kingship principle). Brahmins also wielded much power as advisors of the king in religious matters. Thus a new tradition as a Hindu state was created legitimized by several customs. Religion and monarchy were fused together in maintaining the caste system, the main deciding factor of the social and political space of various communities.

The neighbouring state of Cochin was also undergoing major changes in the traditional monarchic system. Some historians pointed out that the alliance of the Raja of Cochin with that of Travancore helped to

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207 Ibid, p 329 under the Dalwa were ‘neettezuthu pillai’, ‘rayasom pillai’, several ‘rayasoms’ (clerks) and ‘kanakku pillamars’. Sarvadhikaris had jurisdiction over districts. The village under the ‘pravathikars was the lowest unit of administration. The pravathikar was the man of all work attending to all affairs that required the attention of the state at the village level. A number of villages constituted a ‘Mandapathum Vathukkal’ and Karykar was in charge of administration.

208 Ibid, p. 361 Maharaja convened a meeting of all the learned Brahmins of Malabar, Madurai and Tinnevelly to remedy the sins incurred by wars and annexation of many petty kingdoms, started many state ceremonies like the ‘bhadradeepam’, ‘murajapam’, ‘hiranyagarpha’ (coronation ceremony), ‘tulapurusha danam’ etc by their advice.
control the privileges and power of the petty kings and Madampis and to curtail the power of the Nair assembly or ‘kuttam’\textsuperscript{209}. In 18\textsuperscript{th} century, Saktan Thampuran suppressed the power of the Madampis and established central feudalism in the Cochin State. Cochin came under the colonial rule of the Dutch, followed by the British.

It was the Mysorean invasion that brought about major socio-political changes in Malabar. A. Sreedhara Menon pointed out that the Mysorean invasion resulted in the disappearance of the feudal system of administration and its replacement by a centralised form of government. The Nairs lost their position of pre-eminence in the body of politics of the state. Most of the Naduvazhis and local chieftains left their subjects at the mercy of the invaders and sought political asylum in Travancore. He further commented that the British administration built up the administrative and political system in Malabar on the foundation laid by the Mysoreans.

**Changes in the Social Space in the nineteenth century**

The West itself was undergoing a great transformation of ideas and institutions in the nineteenth century under the influence of French revolution which upheld the ideas of “Liberty, Equality and Fraternity”, the ideas of renaissance which proclaimed the right of the individual, and renovation of Christian religion by the reformation. It was also the period, which saw the birth of socialism and communism as well as the

development of working class and the liberation of the slaves. The British ideology was marked by the humanisation of renaissance and motivated with colonialism and imperial capitalism.

By the end of eighteenth century and the beginning of nineteenth century, the British became supreme power in Keralam. From the beginning the activities of British East India Company was not restricted to commerce only. They took an active interest in the political affairs of the region as well as in the rest of India. By the treaty of 1791 the Raja of Cochin became a tributary ally of the English East India Company. Travancore also became an ally of the British by the treaty of 1795 and 1805. In 1793 the British declared Malabar as its province and it was transferred to the Madras Presidency in 1800. Travancore was never annexed to the British Empire, but it got the status of protected state with military assistance. A British resident was appointed for the states of Cochin and Travancore in 1800. It was through the office of the residency that the British involved themselves with the political affairs of the country.

Christian missionaries followed the East India Company. They were pioneers of modern education in Kerala. By early nineteenth century (1813) C.M.S. Missionaries started educational institutions for Syrian Christian priests (seminary) and schools in 1819. At a time when the state had no organized system of education they took the initiative in organizing
the system of English education. Women's education also commenced in and around Kottayam by 1827. It appears that Syrian Christians made the maximum use of this new educational system. The educational institutions of the missionaries were not restricted to the Syrian Christians and the upper caste alone. They turned their attention to the education of the lower caste and the so-called ‘untouchables’. It was through this, the Christian missionaries were able to initiate changes in the traditional social space.

Disposition of the Syrian Christians

Eighteenth century documents show that Syrian Christians and Muslims communities were becoming landholders of various kinds. Syrian Christian churches acquired land in various places and they were mentioned among the tenants of various Jennmis in central Kerala. They were not bounded by caste regulations and had considerable choice of occupation and social mobility. Ward and Conner says that Syrian Christians were already spreading as cultivators in central Travancore by eighteenth century and some of them owned large garden lands. Syrian Christian communities were concentrated around central Kerala and Kollam in the south and they extended their economic activities, particularly as landholders in the river valleys and the low-lying coastal regions. They were involved in bringing into cultivation large tracts of land in these areas, particularly in and around Kuttanad. These specific features aided the economic initiative displayed

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by Syrians in agriculture during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

However, the socio-political condition of the Syrian Christians as a whole was extremely low at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Majority of the Syrian Christian families, with the exception of a few who lived in Thiruvancode, lived in central and north Travancore and Cochin State during this period. Before the consolidation of power by Marhanda Varma, the people in general were loyal to the chieftains or the petty kings where they resided. The Christians may not have been an exception. Some historians are of opinion that the Christians with their proverbial loyalty might have fought along with the respective chieftains against the invader. Shangoonny Menon reported a few instances of support given by the Christian soldiers to Marthanda Varma. Nagam Aiya assess the position of Syrians in the kingdom of Marthanda Varma as follows: “since Marthanda Varma died shortly after he completed his conquest of the northern principalities where the Syrians largely lived, it is not probable that his newly acquired Christian subjects attracted much of his attention or sympathy. Like many others they also must have suffered from the

212 Shangoonny Menon, *History...*, Op. Cit., pp 151, 154. ‘he had a Christian corps to defeat the Ampalapuzha Raja, when a panic seized the Nair Soldiers’. ‘the signal service rendered by a few companies consisting of Christians Mappilas and fishermen, when Nairs were found unreliable in attacking the Brahmin soldiers whom the enemy had brought up to fight with the king’.
oppression that usually follows a foreign invasion, there is no reason to suppose that because of their religion they may become special objects of oppression”. As one historian comments, “owing probably to consciousness of their weakness through internal dissensions, and a feeling that under the new sovereign they were not enjoying royal favour to the same extent as under their own former princes, the Syrians felt inclined to withdraw from all share in public activities of the country in which they had played so distinguished a part in former days”\textsuperscript{214}.

The situation in Keralam as a whole was not favourable for trade and commerce during this period due to Marthanda Varma’s endeavours to expand his kingdom and Tippu’s invasion. The state monopoly of pepper trade introduced by Marthanda Varma may have affected them adversely. Moreover in a cast society where the king was considered as the representative of God, participation in government service carries much authority and power as well as prestige. The Roman Catholics had the support of the Dutch and their own missionaries and hence fairly easy accessibility with the political authorities. The Jacobite Syrians with inadequate representation in the government, with minimum social capital, were an easy prey to oppression by the caste Hindus in power and the Romo-Syrians as well.

Col Munro in a letter to the chief secretary\textsuperscript{215} stated about the condition of the Syrian Christians that they have not much of the privilege and estimation they enjoyed in the century and that they were reduced to the lowest state of poverty and depression. They were destitute of religious books, pastors and instruction. They had lost, by the union of Jesuits, the pure system of religion and morals, and the high spirit by which they were formerly distinguished and the Dutch whose policy was marked with perfidy and meanness abandoned them to their fate\ldots\ldots. The Syrians were exposed to still greater calamities, in the conquest of their country by the Raja of Travancore. \ldots\ldots they were reduced to the lowest state of poverty and depression”.

**Religious space**

At the beginning of nineteenth century the Syrian church had become a byword of disharmony and split. Social, political and ecclesiastical issues played a major role in placing the church in a morbid state. One of the major factors of the deteriorated condition of the Syrian Christians was the religious dissentions induced by the Portuguese among them. The division weakened the solidarity their community. After the ‘oath of the Coonen Cross’ in 1653 AD, 84 congregations returned to the Roman obedience and came to be known as the ‘Pazhayakoottukar’, only 32 remained with the

\textsuperscript{215} Appendix 8 to the 12\textsuperscript{th} report of the CMS. *Proceedings of the CMS for 1819-1820*, pp 333-340.
Archdeacon Thomas (Mar Thoma 1)\textsuperscript{216}, generally known as the Syrian Christians in the later period, due to their adherence to Syriac as the language of worship. Following Mar Thoma 1 eight other bishops with the same title from Pakalomattom family served the community from 1655 – 1751. After that the community was divided into two groups, each had their own prelates. For a period of 50 years before the synod of Udayamperoor and for 70 years after that the Malabar Christians were passing through an epoch of serious ecclesiastical trouble and disquiet\textsuperscript{217}. The incessant dissent and schisms, caused mainly by the arrival of many foreign prelates and their attempts to seize the control over the various factions reduced the power of the Archdeacon among his folks. William Logan describes the condition of the Syrian Christians before 1800 that, “it was a period of unrest, as the presence of foreign prelates was superfluous, side by side with that of the native Metrans, and party split was fostered by the former to the distraction of the church. This community was tormented, victimized and disorganized by so many ceaseless troubles from friend and foe alike”\textsuperscript{218}.

The main cause of their deterioration was the reducing the power of the Archdeacon due to the split. The lack of proper leadership for the church as well as for the people was well evident. In the earlier times the

\textsuperscript{216} Most probably he was consecrated by Mar Gregorios of Jerusalem sent by the Jacobite Patriarch of Anticch, in 1665, commencing the Jacobite connection of the Syrian Christians.

\textsuperscript{217} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{218} William Logan: \textit{Malabar... Vol. 1}Op.Cit., p 207.
Archdeacon represented them before the kings, redressing their grievances and the sole spoke person of the community as a whole. Any matter of dispute, with in the community was decided by the archdeacon. He was the only connecting link of various independent churches of the country. Fr. Thomas Paremackkal correctly observed in the latter part of eighteenth century that the cause of deterioration of the community as a whole was the lack of proper leadership and unity as in the past. When they had a common leader from among them, the whole community was acting as one body with consensus of opinion and direction. The Portuguese influence on the native kings favoured the Syrian fraction in association with them and the Dutch also supported them. So the archdeacons influence on the native kings considerably weakened.

Moreover the unquestioned authority of the Archdeacon was challenged, as the Kattanars (priests) were free to join either group and naturally they might have chosen the one from which they obtain more favour. This attitude of insubordination was continued in the later periods also. Even after the revolt from Rome, marriage of the clergy continued to be unusual among them. Col. Munro found many of them leading immoral lives. Ward and Conner say that the clergy were generally ignorant, the Puthencore priests were however, said to be better educated.

less turbulent and less dissipated from the Romans. They merited a higher reputation though they did not reserve any praise for any greater purity221. The fallen state of the priests were pointed out by many observers, the priests who ministered its congregation were ignorant and uneducated, ... and it need hardly be said that the laity were not likely to receive much help or guidance either from the teaching or from the example of a set of priests of this sort222. But there were individual priests here and there who honestly attempted to live worthily of their social calling223.

Their churches were in a very bad state. In the word of Mar Dionysius224, “the Syrian churches have no other property besides the vestments etc, even these all churches have not got. The income from the people are the burial fees and 75 chakrams or one hundred panamidas of gold for every marriage, of which one half goes to the priest and the other half to the church. There is no other income for the church, there are churches that cannot be maintained with this income. There are also churches in a dilapidated condition for want of funds. There are also churches whose trustees appropriate the income and do not account for the same”.

221 Ward and Conner. p 151.
223 ibid
224 Mar Thoma 8’s reply to certain questions send to him by the Madras Government was produced on the side of the plaintiff, Mar Dionysius. Printed case book of seminary case, Vol. 3, pp 155-161.
The C.M.S. missionaries, Benjamin Bailey, Joseph Fenn and Henry Baker reported to Col. Newall\textsuperscript{225} about their condition. According to this report there were only 88 churches during this period, 55 of which belonged to the independent fraction. From the then available records they estimated the number of families belonging to these 55 churches as 13000. The majority of them was poor and supported themselves by daily labour, the others employing themselves in merchandise and agriculture. Although there were none who could justly be styled men of property and that there were very few among them possessed of a property to the amount of Rs 5000, many among them were most highly respectable, especially the ‘Taragans’. In brief they were the people who lost their former grace and numerical strength.

According to the missionary records, there were 144 officiating priests, commonly known as Kattanars. They were wholly supported by the offerings of the laity on festival days, and on the administration of the occasional rites of the church, which for the most part afforded but a very scanty support, and in a very few instances only the monthly offerings received by a Kattanar exceeded Rs 5. They further added that the Kattanars were generally of the elite families and consequently upon their

\textsuperscript{225} Appendix 5 to the 23\textsuperscript{rd} report of the C.M.S., \textit{Proceedings of the C.M.S. for 1822-1823}, p 236-241.
character as to morals and information, depends in a general degree that of the districts in which they reside.

The continuous conflict with the Romosyrians further weakened their position. As Col. Munro observes, “The real Syrian Christians, on their separation from the Roman Catholics, were exposed to powerful enemies and serious dangers. The Roman Catholics, regarding their succession as an act of both apostasy and rebellion, persecuted them with unrelenting animosity.”

Lack of political influence was followed by the oppression by the king’s officials and they were not able to present their redresses to the king. The reasons for this degenerated condition, according to the senior priest in the Chengannoor church, as reported to Dr. Buchanan, was the Portuguese domination and the oppression of the native princes and the encroachment of their property by the nobility of the country, although they recognize the native Christian’s ancient personal privileges and rank them as that of the Nairs. Some sort of oppression and extortion by the king’s servants against the Christians was reported by foreign observers of this period. As Paoli remarks, “the cause of external disputes between the Indian Christians and the pagans was hatred on the part of the inhabitants and

226 Appendix 8 to the 12th report of the CMS 1819-1820, p 333.
avarice on the part of the sovereign's ministers. Col. Munro stated that the princess of the country, seeing their defenseless state, considered them fit subjects for plunder and insult. He also referred to the sufferings of the Syrians from most oppressive burdens, to their recent relief from the contributions for the service of the pagodas and Hindu festivals, personal service of the most laborious kind, and from arbitrary imposts of all sorts, in addition to special taxes on their festivals.

Paoli observed that, the continuous discord in the church led to constant dissensions among the people in purely social matters also. The pioneer British administers and missionaries pointed out that the incessant internal dissensions as the main cause of the degradation of the Syrians. Col. Munro 'deeply lamented that the endeavours which he has never ceased to employ for the benefit of the Syrian Christians have very much defeated by the division and dissentions which have prevailed among themselves'. Mr. Fenn in his address to Mavelikkara synod in 1818 refers to the existence of disunion as the foremost evil among the Syrians.

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228 ibid., p 193.
229 Appendix 8 to the Proceedings of the CMS 1819-1820, p 333.
230 ibid.
The Syrian metropolitan of the time, Mar Dionysius reported the condition of the Syrians to Buchanan. He mentioned the hardship they were suffering from the native princess. Mar Dionysius in a letter to the Church Missionary Society, dated 1821, described the miserable condition out of which the Puthencore Syrians under him were fast emerging. He stated that the sirkar servants oppressed the Syrians, but there is not much obstruction in the case of religious matters. P. Cherian says, “from being a compact body, forming either separate principalities of themselves or aristocracies considerable to number and influence among the petty states through which they were distributed, they now form but a small integral part of a large community in which consequences was left to depend solely on the reputation which the former influence had created.”

Due to all these repressing condition the Syrian Christians were unable to secure their formal position in the changing circumstances of political turmoil and unrest. The missionaries found the passiveness of these people very disgraceful due to the absence of all manly exercises and the ignorance of the use of every weapon in spite of their tradition. It is

234 Claudius Buchanan: Cited by P. Cherian, The Malabar..., Op. Cit., p 115. “about 300 years ago an enemy came from the west, bearing the name of Christ, but armed with inquisition and compelled us to seek the protection of the native princess. The native princess have kept us in a state of depression ever since. They indeed recognize our ancient personal privileges, for we rank in general next to the Nairs, the nobility of the country, but they have encroached by degrees on our property till we have been reduced to the humble state which you find us in”

235 Printed Case Book Seminary Case, p 172.


237 Ibid. p 153.
well evident that their internal conflict and dissentions, lack of proper leadership, and oppression by the ruling aristocracy accelerated the social and political deterioration that had already set in among them.

It can be suggested that the Syrian Christians during this period had only their dispositions to depend upon, which was based on the formal traditional social position, retained by the collective memory. The missionaries commented that they were “a people in short, who identify themselves with the subject of the above tradition”\(^{238}\). Many foreign observers commented about their higher dispositions through which they can be distinguished from the newly converted Christians and other communities of the region. Benjamin Bailey and other missionaries noticed that “every person of observation discovers a race of Christians, differing widely from their general manner from the later specimens of later converts, who from the time of the Portuguese settlements have been so numerous on the coast, bearing indeed undoubted marks of their Syrian original and of the high dignity to which in former times they were raised” and “a body of people, separated by its religious and social customs from other classes of the community may naturally be expected to possess a peculiarity of moral feelings and impressions and the state of Syrian Christians will be found to justify this expectation”\(^{239}\). Dr. Kerr reported

\(^{238}\) Appendix 5 to the 23rd report, The Proceedings of the CMS, 1822-1823 p 238.

that, “the character of these people is marked by a striking superiority over the heathen in every moral excellence and that they are remarkable for the veracity and plain dealing”. Ward and Conner notes that the general condition of these people were not appreciable by any standard. they were remarkable “for their mild and tractable disposition, their obedience to rulers in return for their religious toleration granted by them and their peaceful and law abiding nature”. Benjamin Bailey et-al remark, “it is remarkable that under all the causes of deterioration, the character of the Syrian Christians should still present so many points of superiority”. “they may be said to possess, in no small degree the virtues of honesty and plain dealing accompanied with a peculiar simplicity of manner, which distinguishes them from in the eyes of the stranger, from the other inhabitants of the country”. In another occasion they remarked that, in themselves they are sunk and degraded indeed, ...... and yet in this wretched condition they were several degrees above other castes”. Bishop Hough also reported that, “not withstanding all the degradation, they are greatly superior, in point of moral principles and feeling, to the neighbours; and instances of dishonesty, a vice of which all other classes of the native are particularly addicted are rare among them”. Col. Munro commented that, “not withstanding the misfortunes they have suffered and the

240 Buchanan, p 145.
243 Hough, History... OP. Cit., p 376.
disadvantages of the situation, they still retain some of the virtues by which they were formerly distinguished and they were remarkable for their mildness and simplicity of character, honesty and industry and that they were respected on account of their integrity and rectitude of character". He further stated that the Christian judges, though less able were more honest than the non-Christian judges\textsuperscript{244}.

**Interaction with British and the development of modern institutions**

The transformation from the traditional era to that of modern era initiated by the contact with the British was the cumulative effect of a number of factors, involving far reaching changes in the political, social and economic fields. The changes were multi-facial, covering almost all fields of life. Side by side with the modern institutions, several traditional structures continued. The caste space remained as such, the British involvement in the initial stages only succeeded in removing the most inhuman practices. The new administrative system introduced by col. Munro initiated changes in the existing style of administration. The beginning of plantation of tea and coffee in a large scale, and the development of roads provided jobs for a large number of people devoid of castes consideration. This started a new work culture, breaking the age-old practice of the division of labour based on caste. Missionaries like Benjamin Bayly (1791-1871) and Herman Gundert (1814-1893) provided the basic tools for language development in

\textsuperscript{244} C.M.S. Missionary Register, 1816, p 38.
their attempt to translate the bible to Malayalam. By establishing the printing press, Malayalam books reached the masses replacing the prominence of Sanskrit and the authority of Brahmins. English gradually took the place of native languages of business and administration, and knowledge in English was inevitable to develop one's prospects in the changing social formation. The English missionaries, on their part introduced modern education by establishing seminaries to provide leadership especially for the native Christians, schools for mass education (though these educational institutions were associated with churches, admission was not restricted to the Christians alone) through which modern ideologies reached the people of all walks of life, even to the outcastes. The Basal mission along with schools started technical education, thus introducing industrial technology in northern Kerala, which had widespread socio-economic implications. All these activities resulted in creating a dent in the strong hold of caste system and the customary practices based on that system.

**Changes in the Political space**

The chaotic state of Travancore due to a weak central monarchy headed by Bala Rama Varma (1798-1800)\(^{245}\), a very weak and vacillating king, resulted in widespread corruption. This led to the insurgence of Velu

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Thampi Dalwa. The ways by which Col. Maculay, the resident of the period, suppressed the rebellion made him unpopular. But this enhanced the process of acquisition of power by the British, by making a new treaty with the Raja. By this treaty the Raja was obliged to obey the advice of the Governor General ‘regarding regulations and ordinances for the internal management, and collection of revenues, the administration of justice, the extension of commerce, or any other objects connected with the advancement of his highness’s interest, the happiness of the people and the mutual welfare of both states’. Thus the British succeeded in obtaining direct access in the administration of the state.

The British ideology was marked by the humanization of western renaissance and was motivated with colonialisation of imperial capitalism. By this time in Europe the separation of religion from state had already taken place. So the British authority never supported the missionary activities in the beginning, for their main interest was the establishment of power as evident from the administrative registers of the British and the missionary registers.

The reforms introduced by Col. Munro was based on the principle of ‘humanity and justice’, giving emphasis to the right of the individual (Bala Rama Varma was succeeded by Gouri Lakshmi Bhai (1811-1815))

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246 Ibid. p 420.
247 Report to Madras government dated 7th March 1818, In Col. Munro’s own words, “getting the affairs of the country on principles of justice and humanity”. 
and then by Gouri Parvathi Bhai (1815-1829). Col. Munro was resident during this period (1811-1819) and Diwan for some time. Both Rani's kept cordial relationship with Col. Munro. When Col. Munro took charge the administration was in a chaotic state. The central power was weak and subordinates very corrupt. Kariakars were the principal officers who came into contact with the people in the exercise of several functions, fiscal, magisterial, judicial, and military who ruled as they wish, subject to nominal control of the superior officers. With very small salary to be obtained by authorized extractions by themselves, not given from the treasury, paved the way for corrupt practices. Col. Munro's letter to Madras Government reveals this fact clearly. He pointed out the helpless nature of the people in this letter.

The reforms initiated by Col. Munro, marked the advent of far reaching changes in the social formation. It can be said that the traditional space was remodeled and a gradual diffusion of modern ideology took place through these reforms, even though Rani Lakshmi Bhai insisted, “all the systems established by my ancestors for the maintenance of various

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Extract from Col. Munro's letter to the Madras Government, dated 7th March, 1818: "No description can produce an adequate impression of the tyranny, corruption and abuses of the system, full of activity and energy in everything mischievous, oppressive and infamous, but slow and dilatory to effect any purpose of humanity, mercy and justice. The body of public officers, united with each other of fixed principles of combination and mutual support, resented a complaint against themselves as an attack on the whole. Their pay was very small and never issued from the treasury, but supplied from several authorized exactions made by themselves. .......... The Rajah imposed no restraint on their rapacity, aware that their plunder would be transferred to his own treasury", "on the part of the people, complaint was useless and redress hopeless, .......... there were also still more efficacious means of injury, and their universal use produced an extraordinary spirit of avarice in the country".
charitable institutions, as well as the protection and advancement of the welfare of my subjects, I request that the Col. will see conducted according to mammol and without the least difference. He remodeled the administrative system based on the British secretarial pattern, establishing order and regularity in the administration. The revenue department was restructured under the Tahasildar in each district.

A system of corporal punishments was introduced in the case of erring public servants. (Huzur court) thereby bringing them under the law. The most important reform that helped to bring about changes in the traditional system, perhaps was that of the establishment of the Judiciary system, appointing judges from various communities (selected from most respectable Brahmans, Nairs and Christians), including the regulations of the British Judiciary side by side with the laws prevalent in the land. (In the traditional system violations of caste regulations and the offence against the community was the most heinous crimes and punished severely.

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250 ibid. Vol. 1, p 460. The offices of the Sarvadhikari and and Valiya Sarvadhikari were abolished. The formation of a separate department, for the exclusive superintendence of the accounts and finance of the government, the rules with regard to payments both laid down for the collection of revenues and the mode of account keeping, the appointment of Valiyamelezhu Pillai (Accountant General), and Melezhuthu Pillai (Deputy Accountant General), the excessive supervision over all three departments of treasury, revenue and finance, collectively termed 'Jambundy Department' headed by the 'Shroff' or treasurer. The Kariyakars were reduced to the position of mere collectors of revenue.
251 ibid. p 462 A court of appeal and 5 Zillah courts were established for judicial and magisterial functions. The appeal court was stationed at the seat of the government, presided over by four judges including the Diwan. Each Zillah court had two judges and a sastri. Regulations for the guidance of the British courts were included in addition to the 'Sattavariolas' based on the procedures and laws prevalent in the country and the Dharmasastras for the guidance of the courts.
By introducing British judiciary system, the right of the individual came to be accepted.

The administration of the Devaswoms was reorganized, under the direct control of the sircar, giving allowances for the performances of religious duties and the supplies for the institutions were bought from people, giving adequate prices, rather than arbitrary extractions. New rules were framed for the management of these institutions (destroying Brahmin hegemony)\textsuperscript{252}, thus paving the way for the separation of religion from the state. Darogas of Police under the direct order of the Diwan to maintain the law and order and two battalions of Nair sepoys and one cavalry under British officers to escort the Royalty was established. A number of chowkeys or customhouses were established replacing the old custom revenues for farming. Pepper, tobacco and salt were made state monopoly. The bazaars were reorganized under the supervision of the ‘Cotwall’.

The price of grain was fixed in consultation with the merchants thereby enabling the people to avail fair price for their produce and buying essential items at reasonable price. Several vexatious taxes such as the tax on inheritance of property, the capitation tax on all males from 16-60 except for Nairs, Moplahas, and artisans, the tax on the nets of fisherman, tax on Christian festivals, the tax on slaves etc were abolished (Brahmins

\textsuperscript{252} ibid. Before the expenditure for religious performances like ‘murajapam’ was from state treasury. Similarly charitable institutions (for Brahmins) such as ‘Oottupura’ were under the direct control of the government.
who were the land owners were exempted from all the taxes and it appears that the bulk of the incidence of taxes was on the common man due to their lower caste status). This can be considered as the main social reform that paved the way to modernity, for through these laws and regulations equality of all the subjects irrespective of their birth came into practice. The purchase and sale of slaves were banned by a royal proclamation in 1812, although the total abolition of slavery and their enfranchisement was enforced in 1855. In 1817 the Christian ryots were relieved from the oozhiam service (forced free service) of all descriptions connected with Hindu religious ceremonies and exempted from attending to public work on Sundays (this was due to the relentless work of the Christian missionaries).

Coffee cultivation was started during this time\textsuperscript{253}. The development of plantation of coffee and tea providing jobs for many irrespective of castes breaking the division of labour according to the caste status. Another major development was the introduction of English education. The missionaries started vernacular as well as English schools with ample support from the government.

Col. Munro was Dewan only for three years but he was able to initiate major structural changes in the existing traditional system, which in turn directed social changes. In the administrative report to the Madras

\textsuperscript{253} Ibid. vol. 2, pp 462-63.
government he wrote, "in less than three years, although I encountered far greater difficulties than I had anticipated, I succeeded in paying besides the current subsidy, debts of about 18 lakhs of Rupees to the company and nearly 6 lakhs to individuals; in abolishing the most oppressive monopolies and taxes; in getting the affairs of the country on principles of justice and humanity."

**Interaction of the Syrian Christians and the British**

In the early years of their administration in India, the British policy was to give prime importance to trade and commerce. Indian governors were careful not to jeopardize the feelings of the native rulers to safeguard their trade interests. So they were against missionary activities and forbade their entrance into the country for some time. The Church Missionary Society was founded in 1797 but sanction to work in India was given only in 1813. Lord Wellesley, the then governor general who heard about the so-called ancient Christians and their resistance to papal supremacy, sent Claudius Buchanan to report about them. The first resident of Travancore and Cochin, Col. Macaulay (1801-1809) and Col. Munro, resident (1810-1819, Diwan 1811-1814 (Travancore), 1812-1818 (Cochin), his predecessor, were also interested in the fate of these people.

Buchanan and Macaulay assisted the Syrians with money, for economic support was the most essential factor, since most of them were

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poor as mentioned earlier. Macualay obtained through the Travancore
government a sum of 21000 rupees as compensation for some severe acts
of oppressions committed against the Syrians and divided the amount
equally between the two fractions, and both these sums were at the special
request of the religious heads of two sections invested with the East India
Company as perpetual loans. The proceeds of the investment were to be
utilized for charitable purposes. Bishop Hough reported that a loan of
money without interest was given to the Syrian traders\footnote{255}. In the words of
Mar Dionysius, Metropolitan of that period, ".....the Lord beheld our
afflictions and there have been sent to us an illustrious leader named
Macualay and Mar Buchanan, the illustrious priest and when they came to
us, and saw our subjugation and sorrow and poverty, they brought us forth
from the house of bondage, and consoled us with kind words, and assisted
us with money"\footnote{256}.

The structural changes in the caste oriented social formation of the
period induced by the reforms, social political as well as judicial
introduced by Col. Munro, gave more chances for the development of the
Syrian Christian community. Selection of some judges from the Syrian
Christian community (although the practice was discontinued later), helped
to raise the status of the community.

\footnote{256} From the letter of the Syrian metropolitan to CMS, Missionary Register for 1822, p 431-32
Col. Munro’s interest in the uplift of the traditional Christians is a well-known fact. Col. Munro as a devote evangelical Christian (common in England in the first half of nineteenth century), giving equal importance to humanity and justice as that of the diffusion of Christianity, aimed at the religious, social and political renovation of the traditional Christians. So he devised plans for the religious, moral, intellectual social and political betterment, in a period before the awakening of a social conscience here. The first step he took was to free them from the disabilities they were labouring under by proper innovations in the administration and constituting new laws and tried to improve their social status by admitting as many as possible in the sirkar service especially as judges. The appointment of Christian judges added the respectability of the community and made it less difficult for their fellow Christians to resort to public office whenever needed, thus reducing the high handedness of sirkar officials over them. He also attempted to provide proper leadership by strengthening the institutional structure of the Syrians and by educating the clergy. For this a college was started at Kottayam under the superintendence of a native priest, Ramban Joseph and British

257 W.S. Hunt, The Anglican Church in Travancore and Cochin 1816-1916, C.M.S., 1920, p 57. Col. Munro was a Christian philanthropist, a statesman and an officer of the British Raj at the same time. W. S. Hunt opines that in helping the Syrians he looked forward to ‘the support of a respectable body of Christian subjects, connected with the mass of the people by a commonality of language, occupation and pursuits and united to British government by the stronger ties of religion and mutual safety’.


missionaries on the land donated by Rani Lakshmi Bhai in 1813. His sole interest in erecting a college was the diffusion of genuine Christianity in India, as a measure equally important to the interests of humanity and the stability of British power.

Missionary enterprises are always connected with the spreading of the religion moved by humanitarian consideration. Although various persons viewed the purpose of the establishment of the college differently, it had far reaching consequences in the existing traditional social formation, by providing an inlet for modern ideology for the plan of the college was also intended, “to comprehend a system of instruction in Malayalam to the priests and the laity, and of translating the scriptures and religious books into that language for general circulation and use”. The establishment of the college side by side with that of the schools attached to parishes in many villages introduced modern system of education. This resulted in bringing about major changes in the social formation of the region. (The role of education in bringing about social change is dealt in detail later).

260 Missionary Register for 1816, p37: “Major Munro, the Company’s Resident in Travancore, conceived and now executed the benevolent design of erecting a college for the instruction of Syrian priests and laymen at Kottayam in Travancore, which he proposed to place under the superintendence of the Ramban Joseph, one of the most pious and respectable priests in Travancore”. Col. Munro also desired to have a missionary attached to the college.

261 Missionary Register for 1816 p 452-454: the principal object of the establishment of a college according to Col. Munro, was to instruct the Kattanars and officiating priests among the Syrians in a competent knowledge of the Syrian language in order to inculcate with effect the motives of religion, ought to evidently understand its principles and believe its truths.

262 Col. Munro’s reply to the Madras Corresponding Committee of the CMS, cited in Missionary Register for 1816, p 452.
By this time the influence of renaissance and reformation had spread widely in Europe. The Church Missionary Society was based on ‘Low church values’ giving equal importance to the clergy and the laity. They came as a ‘mission of help’ for the declining Syrian Christian community’ at the request of Col. Munro and concentrated their work among them, hoping that these people in turn will help to evangelize the rest. Their institutions were open to all class and castes without any discrimination, giving more attention to the lower castes, thereby initiating changes in the caste oriented social formation. This was against the higher caste people, including the Syrians.

Unknowingly the British, administrators as well as the missionaries equipped the Syrians to secure their position in the ongoing social reorganization due to the impact of modern ideology. The missionaries’ policy was to strengthen the already existing institutional framework rather than introducing a completely new system. It is reported in the second annual report of the corresponding committee of the church missionary society that, “the great principle on which it is proposed to conduct the mission is to make them (the Syrians) as much as possible instrumental to their own improvement, by means of their own respected authorities, the Metrans and Kattanars; to alter as little as possible, that the character and the individuality of the Syrian church may be preserved and of such reformation as truth and conscience demand, the execution to be committed to the Bishop and the clergy”. It is with the co-operation of the then
Metropolitan and the people that they started schools attached to the churches. In a letter to col. Newall the three pioneer missionaries, Fenn, Baker and Bailey explained their plan for the improvement of the Syrians with the direction of the Metropolitan. The Metropolitan suggested four steps for the same: the circulation of holy Scriptures in the Syriac and vernacular tongue with other works of religious and general information, the general instruction of the youth, the special instruction of the clergy, and the erection and enlargement of the churches. For the instruction of the youth, they suggested foundation of parish schools in every parish and Grammar schools in three districts and for the college was intended for the education of the clergy mainly, some other students also were included.

The missionaries were interested in the socio-political development of the Syrians, for they considered it their duty 'to adopt every measure which is calculated to make the Christian religion respected and loved by the government and the people'. The missionaries tried hard to remove the internal dissention among them and their insubordination to the elders, which was the main cause of their deterioration. They tried to reform the clergy by reintroducing the marriage of the clergy and reemphasizing their duties- acquainting all the people with the scriptures, going from house to house, warning, comforting and visiting the sick, superintending the

264 Address by Joseph Fenn to an assembly of Kattanars and elders of the Syrian church at Mavelikkara, on the 3rd December 1818. Missionary Register for 1819, p 428.
education of the young etc. They laid down the duties for the elders also, to raise funds for the repair and erection of churches, the establishment and support of schools, to take care that no Christian child grows in ignorance, the maintenance of the sick and infirm, and the support of the Kattanars.

The missionaries also tried to make them aware of their social responsibilities, to be aware of the oppressions to which they are subjected to and take measures of its redress and to treat all the Christians alike including the newly converts. To the heads of the people, they asked to collect information about their traditional rights and privileges (may be to reestablish their position in the caste hierarchy, for they may have been aware that it was not easy to change the caste system suddenly).

Seeing the reluctance on the part of the Christians to do government jobs, Rev. Fenn admonished them at the Mavelikkara Synod of 1818 to fulfill their political duty considering it as a part of Christian calling in this address. He severely rebuked the extreme apathy to manage menial labour. Thus introduced a new work culture, to overcome the caste notion attached to labour. In the same address he also pointed out the

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265 Rev. Fenn’s address in the Mavelikkara synod in 1818, cited in Missionary Register 1819, p 429 “The governments of Travancore and Cochin have been lately calling on the Christians to fill up several important stations as judges, collectors of revenue etc: and by every possible means render themselves qualified to discharge the arduous duties required of persons filling those stations: and to conduct themselves, when to the exercise of such employments, with ability, uprightness and activity. Whatever be the duties, which the government calls on any of its subjects to discharge, Christianity requires that the subjects so called on should cheerfully obey the call. This rule knows only one exception- when the employment is contrary to the duties required by God”

266 Ibid. He pointed the unwillingness of the Syrians to do the commonest kind of tillage, even those who own a little property employed ‘Chowagars’ or ‘Parriars’ for the same.
advantages of the cultivation of pepper, ginger, turmeric, sugarcane all species of dry grains, coffee together with many kinds of trees besides paddy, coconut and betel nut. Introduction of modern education, agricultural practices, government employment, financial support etc might have helped to the community to improve their conditions. The changes in the laws of revenue system made possible for the Syrians also to acquire land ownership, thereby bringing them into the field of agriculture on large scale. The introduction of plantation crops during this period further encouraged some daring Syrians to enter this field. Another factor that favoured the advent of changes was the introduction of cash economy by the East India Company. With the support and the direction of the missionaries who were sent at the request of Col. Munro, the Syrians were able to have a safe footing in the new system. Rev. Joseph Fenn’s reference to Col. Munro’s retrospect of the activities of the mission is revealing, “Col. Munro, the British resident in Travancore found it (the Syrian church of the sect of Jacobites) in a state of great degradation, the priests and the people alike illiterate, poor and oppressed: he took them under his fostering care, redressed their grievances and raised them to the rank in the society to which they were entitled. In consequence of his application to the committee, missionaries were sent among them.”

267 Missionary Register for 1827, pp 600-01.
The missionaries showed a keen interest in the overall development of the Syrians and they encouraged the Syrians to participate in the political activity of the land, to enhance their economic position by trade and new methods of agriculture and cultivating cash crops and to improve their status through education. All these helped to strengthen their institutional structure. This in fact is contrary to the common notion of colonial development. A very close union existed between the missionaries and the Syrians and their prelates. It seems that this relationship was neither of domination or exploitation as evident from the retrospect of Rev. Fenn, "the Missionaries have identified themselves with the Syrian community and have lived on that closer and intimate footing with the prelates of the church that all the affairs of it came under their notice and not a single act would the Metropolitan will do without their sanction"\textsuperscript{268}. The early missionaries were careful to force changes upon the Syrians. Rev. Fenn pointed out about the approach of the missionaries that, "they wished, by a prudent and diligent course of conduct, to turn this influence to the best account; without effecting a change themselves, which might be premature and eventually of temporary benefit" and they hoped that the dissemination of intellectual and religious knowledge will induce a reformation of the church on her own endeavours\textsuperscript{269}. Although the college was supported by the missionaries with funds procured from the British

\textsuperscript{268} Missionary Register for 1827, p 600.
\textsuperscript{269} Ibid.
public and books and instruments liberally supplied by them, it was the college of the Syrians and acted as the source of strength to induce changes in the Syrian Christian community as well as the society as a whole, for the admission was not restricted to the single community alone.

The attitude of the missionaries even after the split with the Syrians can be observed in the instruction of the CMS Committee to Rev. Richard Collins in 1854, about the administration of the college: "the Committee adheres firmly to their avowed mode of operation among these fallen churches . . ., but a practical difficulty presents itself as to the class of peoples whom you admit to the college. The original promoters of the endowment contemplated the spiritual renovation of the Syrian community by the instrumentality of the college in conjunction with other measures then set on foot. . . . the committee therefore have no hesitation in saying that they are faithfully discharging the sacred trust confided to them, in admitting to the college all children of Syrian parentage whether they or their parents are in actual communion with the Syrian church or the church of England, i.e., they will endeavour to reclaim those still in error and to build up in faith those reclaimed . . . . the main body of the pupils will be drawn from these two classes"270.

270 Missionary Register for 1855.
Education as a Means of Social Change

Col. Munro's grand objective of the religious, social and political renovation of the Syrian Christians was done by means of education, religious as well as secular. It was not the Syrian Christians alone, but all the communities including the lower castes were benefited by these educational institutions. It was through modern education that the individuation process, the formation of an individual identity with individual rights and responsibilities initiated. The establishment of the college for them is to be a center for raising up a number of missionaries. The Rani regarded the proposed College "as a place for general education, from whence any demands of the state for officers to fill all departments of Public service would be met".

Munro's plan of the college was 'intended to comprehend a system of instruction in Malayalam to the priests and the laity, and of translating the scriptures and religious books into that language for general circulation and use'. Although he was deeply concerned with the stability of British power here, he regarded the Syrians as instruments for the more enlarged diffusion of Christianity. Therefore he invited the attention of the missionaries to take notice of these extended views in their endeavour to

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271 Missionary Register for 1819, p 428 Rev. Marmaduke Thompson, the secretary of the Madras Corresponding committee of the CMS hoped that, "the college might be the happy means of raising up a host of the most important missionaries of our society that could be possibly be desired".

272 Missionary Register for 1816, p 37.

273 ibid. pp 452 – 454 Col. Munro's reply to the corresponding committee of the CMS.
reform and enlighten their minds. For nearly half a century, the Church Missionary Society had the distinction of being the only organized agency that undertook the task of spreading general education in central and North Kerala. In the beginning they organized educational institution with the co-operation with the Syrian Christian authorities, starting schools attached to churches. The friendly co-operation between the Syrians and the missionaries was terminated in 1836. After that the Missionaries started schools of their own which were superior to the parochial schools. For a number of years the Grammar school started by the Missionaries was the sole institution to train teachers, even though the purpose of this institution was only as an intermediary state before the college. Mr. Fenn reported that the primary importance in imparting the education was to "promote in pupils habits of study, reflection, and investigation as well as to inspire them with a certain degree of confidence in their own natural powers rather than to import any particular quantity of general information of any subject." This statement is contradictory to the general notion that the education imparted by the colonial agents was to produce men for clerical work.

The traditional type of education consisted of tracing the letters of the alphabet in dust on the floor, promoted to writing upon 'olas' and

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committing to memory after the teachers verses, learning the arithmetical
tables in a sing song chat, under the direction of ‘asan’- the teacher whose
office was hereditary. The education was completed for normal students
when they were able to read and write, and do arithmetical calculations.
Missionaries found that memorizing verses was easy for the students and
‘thinking was not their best quality’.

The missionaries introduced the western type of education, a four
folded system. Parochial schools were started at the village level in early
nineteenth century it self. These schools were attached to the parishes in
the beginning276. Among other communities, Nairs were the first among
other communities here to make use of the opportunities for the new
system of education as evident from the missionary registers although they
were reluctant to attend the schools conducted in churches277. A central
Grammar school was erected at the residence of the Metropolitan at
Kottayam. The annual funds of the grammar school amounting to 1000
Rupees were supplied entirely by the Church Missionary Society, sufficient
for the support of 50 students. Best students from the parochial schools

276 Appendix 5 to the 23rd report of the CMS, letter to Col. Newall, dated March 13, 1822,
from Benjamin Bailey, Joseph Fenn and Henry Baker. Proceedings of the CMS 1822-
1823, pp 236-241 ‘Parochial schools have accordingly been formed for 37, out of 55
churches, subject to the Syrian Metropolitan; some of the Parochial schools are
supported by the Syrians themselves, partly from the contributions of the individuals and
partly from the church properties of the parishes to which they belong; others are
supported by the contributions of the Church Missionary Society; and the reminder,
constituting the greater proportion, from both these sources jointly, but principally from
the latter. The sum allotted to this purpose by the society is 800 Rupees annually’.

277 Ibid: ‘but no building hitherto had erected – a circumstance much required on account of
the heathen children in the schools, as the Syrians and the heathens have an equal
aversion to their being instructed with in the walls of the church’.
were admitted in the Grammar school. Some students from this were appointed as teachers and most proficient scholars were transferred to the college for higher education. Female education was initiated by the lady missionaries without any formal suggestion from any one in authority.

The college in Kottayam was started by the Syrian Metropolitan Mar Dionysius under the patronage of the British Resident Col. Munro, and endowed with extensive grants of land and money by Rani Lakshmi Bhai in 1817. The course of the study in 1822 included study of Syriac, taught by two Malpans well versed in Syriac, Hebrew by a learned Jew of Cochin, Sanskrit by two native teachers and English by a master and his assistant. Later more subjects were included. Translation of the Bible into Malayalam was undertaken with the co-operation of some of the principal clergy of the Syrian church and with the assistance of some Brahmins and Nairs well skilled in Malayalam. Translation of some other books principally such as required in the college and schools, were also taken up by the college management. A very valuable library was started, along with a printing press with a fount of English types and later Malayalam types.\(^{278}\)

**Parochial schools**

The Anglican missionaries laid the foundation for widespread elementary education in Travancore and Cochin. It was Dr. Buchanan who suggested the establishment of schools in each parish for Christian instruction. under

\(^{278}\) Ibid.
the direction of chief elders of each parish and the Bible to be the principal text book. The character of the mission of help to the Syrian church was (necessarily) entirely educational. They took up this Herculean task as a challenge, for the Syrian churches were scattered over a great extent of the country, in valleys between hills, some of them 5 or 6 miles from the church, and some places were flooded during the monsoon which extended to 6 months in a year. In hilly regions it was unsafe even in the daytime for the children to travel alone due to the presence of wild animals. In addition to this the missionaries had to face many obstacles like the lack of funds, learned teachers and students. Moreover they had to overcome the prejudices of the people to the new type of education and the reluctance of the people to spend for the schools. They did this most unwillingly and by the compulsion of the Metran. The missionaries at the beginning paid 2 or 3 Rupees per month to anyone who can bring in thirty children to any school and one more rupee for every additional 10 children. Rev. J Peet, as later as 1834, found that parents had a prejudice against printed books because they doubted if a ‘suitable education could be accomplished unless olas were used. the books of the Malayalis from time immemorial’, not so much from religious or superstitious scruples. By 1829 there were 35

280 Ibid p 66.
281 Ibid p 70.
schools with 1042 students. In the beginning native mode of teaching was followed. Mr. Baker was in charge of the parochial schools. He traveled extensively to supervise these schools. In 1821 two schools were opened by the request of members of the Nair community. Girls were also admitted in these schools. By 1834 there were 25 schools with 27 teachers, of which there were only 2 Hindu teachers. There were 780 scholars of whom 100 were Syrian girls. (When they started these schools the missionaries appointed a number of Nair teachers due to the limited number of learned persons among the Syrian Christians. This factor may have induced the Nair students to attend these local schools. It seems that by 1835 the missionaries were able to obtain more teachers from the Syrian Christians, for the Grammar school, meant mainly, if not exclusively for the Syrian youths. Gradually teachers of a high rank became available. It can be suggested that the successful functioning of these parochial schools for about two decades was due to the efforts of the CMS missionaries, especially that of Mr. Henry Baker, giving directions, training teachers, supporting with funds and so on. At least the pupils in the parish schools learned to read and write and to reckon the basics of arithmetic, with the

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282 Ibid pp 67-69. In 1820 there were 10 schools and 253 scholars, at Kottayam, Munro Island, Mulamthuruthy, Niranam, Chengannur, Tumpamon, Manarcad, Mavelikkara, and Puthupalli. In the following year there were 35 schools, 13 maintained by the parishes themselves. In 1826 the schools were reduced to 29. Some schools moved to more convenient sites, some closed on account of their attendance and failure of contribution from the churches.

283 Ibid p 88. Report of Col. Digby Mackworth: Diary of a tour through South India, he visited in 1821, 'one of Mr. Baker's schools' and was pleased with it. He observed several boys of marked intelligence and two girls among the boys, 'quite a novelty in India'.

elements of their religion. The number of parochial schools and scholars declined after the split with the missionaries.\textsuperscript{285}

**The Grammar School**

Mr. Henry Baker commenced this in 1821, at Kottayam, the expense of which was met entirely by the missionaries. The purpose of this school was to give more instruction to the more promising boys from the parochial schools and to enable them to become leaders. In 1826 there were 70 boys and in 1834, 31 boys of whom 16 were Hindu day scholars. The best and most forward boys from the parochial village schools were admitted to these schools. Some of the boys prepared for the college. Mr. Peet reported that some of the boys from the Grammar school were appointed as schoolmasters. The dull students were sent away. Mr. Woodcock introduced the ‘circular class’ or ‘the bell system’- a kind of pupil teacher method in which the tutor gave instructions to the most advanced students and these students taught the rest, in the Grammar school. Mr. Woodcock reported that this system was to induce the thinking process of the students, for they were very quick in getting their lessons off by heart, but they appeared to be naturally averse to thinking.\textsuperscript{286} He also reported that the Grammar school masters were tolerably efficient.


\textsuperscript{286} W.S. Hunt: *The Anglican...*, Op. cit., p 74: Mr. Woodcock’s report, “My English class is going on very satisfactorily. Most of the boys, - Syrians and the Nairs, are very quick in getting their lessons off by heart, but they seem naturally averse to thinking. The system of mutual instruction through circular classes now introduced necessarily induces thought; the benefit of this is already apparent”. 
Church Missionary Society Schools

After the split of the Syrian church with the missionaries that is from 1835 onwards, Mr. Henry Baker ceased to visit the Syrian churches and probably the schools. They started schools of their own and these schools grew in number and efficiency. By 1850 there were about 68 mission schools and were superior to the parochial schools. Mr. Baker reported in 1845 that mission schools are progressing, except the school for slave children. The owners of the slaves were much opposed to having them taught and are constantly calling them away to work and sometimes beating them. “Besides the solitary school, I am not aware that there have the slightest means of institution any where

The College

The inception of the college like the parish school is traceable to Dr. Buchanan, for the better instruction of the Syrian priests. The missionaries were acting according to the request and need of the people in establishing the college and translating the Bible. Original purpose of the college by Col. Munro were, the deacons and priests might learn Syriac and Christian doctrines in it, lay students must study Malayalam and the translation of the Bible. Since the primary objective of the college was the instruction of

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287 Ibid. p 70.
288 Proceedings of the CMS for 1841- 42.
289 Ibid. p 74, A Syrian elder at Ranni deplored his clergy's lack of training to Dr. Buchanan, in 1817 "for want of a college, the young priests are sent to teach us before they are taught themselves".
the clergy, much importance was given to the proficiency in Syrian language, 'in order to inculcate with effect the motives of religion, to understand its principles and believe its truth'\textsuperscript{290}. Col. Munro insisted that the students should transcribe the Syriac scriptures, to familiarize them with the scriptures and to provide the churches with the copies of the Bible of which most of them were lacking. The translation of the scriptures and religious books into Malayalam for general instruction also was added to the curriculum, which in later period may have helped for the availability of books, religious as well as secular, for instruction. It may have helped to acquire knowledge. Fenn introduced a translation of Dr. Watt's Catechism, which though so simple contains the rudiments of Christian faith. Mr. Fenn was the first principal of the college. He did not interfere in the mode of learning in the beginning, followed the old method used by malpans and Munshis. He reported in 1820 that the progress has been fast, of the 40 students 21 had passed, 5 initiating orders for Syrian deaconate, some students were able to read in English, Sanskrit and Malayalam\textsuperscript{291}.

English was added to the curriculum from 1818 onwards. Although it was intended for 'the enlightenment of the minds of the Kattanar', the resident looked at the college as a source of English knowing persons to fill

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{290} Ibid. p 76 Col. Munro about the establishment of the college. \\
\textsuperscript{291} Ibid. p 78.}
the vacancies of officials in Travancore as well as British India. It is reported in the proceedings of the CMS for 1819-1820 that the college was regarded by the Travancore government, 'not only as a seminary for the priests but as an institution of general education, from whence any demands of the state for officers to fill the department of their public service are to be met'. Therefore the missionaries explained apologetically, 'several branches of instruction foreign to a missionary's office and objects must be provided'. This reveals the fact that the education provided by the missionaries was not entirely religious. In 1824 Mr. Fenn stated as the reason to introduce the study of Latin, 'the great desideration which has ever kept in view, have been the promoting of habits of study, and reflection and investigation as well as the inspiring of a certain confidence in the natural power'. The study of Latin was expected to promote thinking as opposed to memorising. Col. Welsh observed the surprising proficiency of the students in the grammar of the languages equally foreign to them. The subjects 'foreign to a missionary's office and object' introduced into the curriculum in the college was in fact those constituted 'polite learning' at the beginning of nineteenth century in Europe. Col. Welsh mentioned Virgil and Caesar, Mr. Fenn referred 'Scott's Essays and Milton. Besides Latin, Greek, Hebrew were taught in addition to Sanskrit and Malayalam. Various reports of the persons in charge and the early

292 Ibid.
293 Missionary Register for 1819 p 428.
visitors of the college reveal the progress in the curriculum, and of the students. Mr. Peet reported in 1834, the number of students 75, of these 50 learn English—from the alphabets to works of the highest order, 12 learn English and Geography, 15 Malayalam and Geography (for whose use a Malayalam globe was constructed and preparations were going for a map in Malayalam), 9 or 10 learning English and Arithmetic—from addition to the cube root, the rest Malayalam and arithmetic, 4 read letters in chemistry accompanied by such experiments with the available apparatus. Arithmetic, astronomy, geography, Indian History, Conic section, optics, Sanskrit, Malayalam, Syriac, English Greek are mentioned by Peet as subjects studied in 1836. Col. Walsh reports about a very good college library: “on the second storey is a library containing 2250 elegantly bound volumes of theology, astronomy, mathematics, history, and in short every science in English, French, Latin as well as a repository of scientific instruments containing globes, orreries, telescopes, an electrifying machine, air pump, magic lantern, microscope etc, all of best quality. Archdeacon Robinson in 1830 observed a great progress both of sound learning and religious feeling among Syrian youths that are destined for holy orders and a great desire for

294 Mr. Doran’s report in 1826 about the college: Class 1 (the highest) 5 students aged 17-20, who were in the institution from 1819 or 1820. 2 of them deacons. Subjects taught: Virgil and Horace, Greek, St. John’s Gospel, Xenophon. They already studied Syriac, English, Euclid and History. Class 2. There were 7 students, studying Virgil, Greek, Grammar, Sanskrit, English, Arithmetic and Geography. Class 3. There 4 students, all of them were deacons, studying Caesar, Syriac and English. Class 4, the subjects taught are not mentioned but it is shown that the leading student out of four was a Nair boy of great talent and good disposition. Class 5 & 6. There were 6 and 22 students respectively, who learned Latin, Sanskrit, English, Arithmetic, and Geography. There were a few deacons among these who studied Syriac and English only.
education, which has spread throughout the country. So it can be said that a new horizon of knowledge was open for the people. Mr. Fenn's comment, "the conduct of the students has been remarkably good. They behave with the greatest respect while they are entirely free from all servility. Their natural dispositions, their desire for learning, their ability and application are not at all inferior to what is found among the youths in Europe."

Whenever strict measures, or that contrary to the existing practice were introduced students were withdrawn from the college. Rev. J.B. Morewood, flogged some of the deacons and almost all students were withdrawn from the college. Mr. Doran reported that a heterogeneous lot of students were suddenly promoted to the college from Grammar school and parochial schools to take the place of students who had struck against a new rule as to their dress. In 1839 a new site was selected for the college but the original objects of the college remain unchanged, the only difference being that the majority of the students were lay boys whereas at first the bulk of the students were deacons. Mr. Peet reported in 1848 that there were 70 students in the college and all were boarders. They retained in every respect their native habits of dress and food, sitting on the floor at

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296 32nd report of the CMS.
297 32nd report of the CMS.
meals, and eating like the countrymen and not adopting English apparel, not even shoes and stockings. In the first half of nineteenth century the education was completely free, for the main purpose was the instruction in Bible. But by the middle of nineteenth century, there was more need for English educated personals and the students preferred highly paid secular jobs in government and commercial offices. So the missionaries decided to introduce fees. The attitude of the people towards education was also changing, for they were willing to pay for their children’s education. Missionaries recorded a growing desire among the Syrians for the education of their children. It continued to be a second grade college up to 1937 with F. A. classes. A quarterly magazine “vidyasamgraham”, a miscellany of general instruction and information was published from the college from 1864 onwards.

The students who wished to continue their education had to go to the Madras Christian College started in 1937, to continue their higher

299 Conference minutes of April 11, 1860: “owing to the great number of young men educated at the Kottayam college taking secular in preference to mission employment, and the prospect of a greatly increased demand for English speaking youths in government and commercial offices, it be a question whether those here after educated at Kottayam should not be made to pay the expense of their education’. In 1855 students of the college “had to pay a quarter of a Rupee to be devoted to scholarships. In 1856, boarders had to pay four chakrams.
300 Mr. Andrews in 1856: “the rich Syrians are being alive to the benefits of education and no longer consider sending their children as a favour to us. I have six children of the chief families here. They board and lodge themselves and the last comers pay a small monthly fee.”
studies. A considerable number of Syrian Christians availed this opportunity, and could hold very important positions in all walks of life.

The Cambridge Nicholson Institution

This Cambridge Nicholson institution started in 1850 by Henry Baker was a new step towards job-oriented education. Before this the students coming out from the college selected either teaching profession or were deacons. As said before owing to the preference of the English educated youths highly paid job opportunities in the secular field, there was an increased need for qualified teachers. The medium of instruction was Malayalam.

Schools for technical education

Then came the schools for technical education. The boys in Alleppy School were taught carpentry and masonry in 1854 and most of them got jobs in Cochin. In 1894 a Technical school was started for poor boys at Kottayam.

Government schools

The Travancore government invited Mr. Roberts, a teacher of the college to start an English School at Trivandrum in 1824. Rajas Free School at Trivandrum started in 1836 was the first government English school in South India, but this was meant only for the higher caste. Government appointed 2 superintendents of schools in 1855. in 1860 there were 18 district schools. Vernacular education at government level started only in 1867. In 1891 there were 1300 such schools in Travancore and 50.000
pupils\textsuperscript{301}. The whole system of education was brought under one authority in 1894. Primary education was made free for all irrespective of caste and creed, both male and female in 1904. Mr. J. Andrews I.C.S. the British resident commented in 1903 that Travancore was far ahead of Madras and other Presidencies, as well as of other native states in the matter of education, both male and female\textsuperscript{302}.

**Impact of British intervention and education on the social space of the region**

The introduction of a new ideology had far wider implications on the traditional caste- varna society than anticipated. The formation of a new habitus was initiated by introducing new practices in the social and political field. These practices were reproduced by modern educational institutions. This in turn helped the creation of a new subjectivity, based on the rights of the individual rather than the group. Primarily the caste hierarchy was challenged by the introduction of British judiciary system, based on the right of the individual, disregarding social and political privileges entitled by one’s birth, reducing the symbolic authority of the Brahmins. By bringing the administration of the Devasoms under the revenue department and removal of tax benefits of the land owned by the temples and Brahmins further reduced the autonomous nature of the institution thereby reducing its power. The position of the Nairs who were


\textsuperscript{302} Ibid. Vol.2, p 443.
‘the eye’, ‘the hand’, and ‘the order’ of the land and responsible for
‘preventing the rights of all castes from being curtailed or suffered to fall
into disuse, was lost in the new system. Some of their influence was lost at
the village level also. Even then they wielded considerable power as palace
officers and occupied several major post in the Huzur court and as
Pravarthikars who supervise the land revenue, registration and assessment
and their numerical dominance in the sarkar service.303

It was the Avarna castes and slave caste those who were most
favourably influenced by these reforms. The Rani by the influence of Col.
Munro, in a proclamation304 in 1815 abolished several vexatious taxes
levied from the lower castes who were as a consequence reduced to
poverty, while the higher castes who were the land owners enjoyed many
tax benefits and social privileges. Rani in her proclamation agreed that
there were no such taxes upon the poor people of any other country and
several offices that were oppressive and injurious to the lower caste people
were discontinued.305 She is trying to bring about some changes to improve
the status of the lower castes within the existing caste system (‘all the
people should be treated according to their respective religion’). So this
proclamation side by side with that of the prohibition of the sale and
purchase of the slaves alone was not able remove the social disabilities of

304 Augur, C.M. Church..., Op. Cit., Appendix No.18: Proclamation dated 1st Kartigay 990
(1815).
305 Ibid.
the lower caste people, mainly due to the resistance from upper caste people. Col. Munro tried to enforce the freedom of slaves in the beginning of nineteenth century itself. It took several decades to bring about some significant changes in the cast structure by the constant and relentless efforts of the English Missionaries. Slavery was abolished by Travancore Durbar in 1855 only. The conversion of the lower caste people to Christianity\textsuperscript{306} and their accessibility to western education accelerated these changes. The introduction of cash economy provided a space for a change in the functional role of various castes. The Christian converts refused to work on Sundays and perhaps this was the starting point for the assertion of the right of the individual. The influence of the British, the administrators as well as the missionaries, in bringing about the wind of change cannot be denied.

By introducing universal scientific education, the exclusive right on education of the Brahmins and higher castes was removed. It can be observed that education helped to bring about changes in the caste customs, directly and indirectly. Direct effects were due to the opportunities made available for all especially the lower castes for education, which hitherto was the birthright of the higher caste. Then opportunities for jobs for the qualified persons irrespective of caste introducing a new work culture,

\textsuperscript{306} Robin Jeffrey, 1994 p 9. The civil disabilities for the Ezhavas of the north and Shanars of the south of Travancore, were same for they shared same caste status. The L.M.S. converted 7000 Shanars in 1806 itself. The C.M.S. started their evangelical work among the lower castes only after their rift with the Syrians in 1836.
changing the division of labour based on one’s origin. Educated persons of the higher caste, especially some Syrian deacons, influenced by the attitude of missionaries, worked relentlessly for the removal of the evil practices of caste system, mainly in converting the attitude of their own fellow Christians towards untouchability. A gradual change in the attitude towards the pollution of lower caste people was observed. In 1883 they were allowed to use public roads by law. The moral conduct of the slave converts also improved much, compared to their neighbours, as observed by others. Drunkenness, adultery, polygamy, thievery, and other vices formerly so common among them were almost banished, like the fear of evil spirits, there by many superstitious practices.

A new dress code also was established- not intentionally, by the missionaries. The women Christian converts from the Nadars by the efforts of London Mission Society in the south of Travancore, from 1816 onwards, started to wear jackets by the instruction of the missionaries, and this was copied by other women of the same caste, which was violently objected by the upper caste people. The order of the Rani issued in 1829, forbidding “the wearing of clothes on their bosoms as do the Nayar women”, clearly indicates the endeavour of the ruling class to continue the customary practices to safe guard their social position. Before that, women

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of the untouchable classes were forbidden to wear anything above the waist by unwritten laws, for each caste had its own dress code, especially for women. The right to wear gold ornaments was an exclusive right of upper caste (Brahmin women used to wear bronze ornaments). The lower caste women could only use stone ornaments. Any violation of this was considered as an offence against the rights of the upper caste and opposed by them. The Christian converts were exempted only because of the influence of the missionaries and there was no such restriction in the dress code for the women of the traditional Christian community.

The agitation was renewed in 1859. New law was needed to establish the right of the lower caste women to cover the upper part of the body. The Raja by a proclamation abolished “all rules prohibiting the covering of the upper parts of the person of Shanar women, with the simple restriction that they do not imitate the same mode of dress that appertains to the higher classes”. From both these proclamations it is clear that the upper caste women used to have covered the upper part of their body, at least when they go out in a public place or religious place. The caste practices and caste distinction were embodied with the different dress code for various castes. Even when the lower caste women were allowed to cover their bosom, the emphasis was on preventing “the wearing of clothes on their bosoms as do the Nayar women” (order of the Rani issued in 1829).

Later known as the ‘melmundu samaram’.
and "that they do not imitate the same mode of dress that appertains to the higher classes" (The Raja's proclamation in 1859), to keep the caste status as such. The struggle was against this practice of caste distinction and for the improvement of the position of lower caste within the caste system, like that of the upper caste.

It can be suggested that the visible changes in the practices of caste system commenced with the dress code of the lower caste women. As mentioned earlier the caste identity was inscribed more in the attire of women rather than men. With the development of modern educational institutions, a public space was evolving. In this space, persons were acting as individuals with an identity of their own, even though the individuation process was in the initial stages only. So the transformation of the caste body into a public body, properly attired, capable of moving in a public place was inevitable, in the changing social formation. There was instruction from the Christian religious authorities from time to time to attire themselves properly to move in a public place without blindly imitating the western dress. In his circular in 1934, the then Mar Thoma Metropolitan directed women to wear long sleeved 'chatta' (traditional jacket of Syrian Christian women), instead of the modern short sleeved
variety, and long skirts and shorts for children above five, in public meetings, prayer meetings etc.\textsuperscript{309}

Many historians observed the gradual transformation of the social formation with the contact with the modern ideology and modern institutions, initiated by Col. Munro\textsuperscript{310}. K.P. Padmanabha Menon stated in 1914 that within 120 years some major social changes would take place due to the interaction of the people of India with the British and by the introduction of British ways of administration. He also commented that the caste and religious practices were not so rigid as in the past\textsuperscript{311}. Mr. Oolloor. S. Parameswara Iyer reports: “Munro brought peace and prosperity to the country and started her on the road to progressive government. ... he brought the country lasting good and all that sir Madhava Rao did to secure the proud appellation of ‘the model state’ for Travancore was to build upon the foundation so well and truly laid by him”\textsuperscript{312}. Sankunny Menon stated that, “though Col. Munro did not appear to have taken any undue and unfair advantage of his position to act detrimentally to the interests of the people, he all the same paved the way, and some of his

\begin{footnotes}
\item[310] Travancore Land Revenue Manual: vol.4, p 216, Dewen Nanoo Pilaai’s verdict: “he (Col. Munro) carried on his duties of the minister with a measure of success unparalleled in the annals of Travancore and which posterity looks back upon with the deepest feeling of gratitude”. Nagam Aiyar, Travancore..., Op. cit., p 472, “he has kept an imperishable name in the Travancore population for justice and probity. Everything good is attributed to him. He worked with a single-hearted devotion to the interests of the state.
\item[312] Mr. Oolloor. S. Parameswara Iyer, Kerala Society Papers, series 7, p 62.
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successors afterwards strengthened the foundation for a different order of things which neither Col. Munro nor any of his successors foresaw at that time \textsuperscript{313}. In Gandhiji's own words, "the work of the missionaries quickened the efforts of the Hindu reformers to set our own house in order – to work for the uplift and integration of the downtrodden sections". Arun Shourie a severe critique of the missionary enterprise in India stated that the people were made more quickly aware of the defects of our society than they might otherwise have been unaware and generations of men and women have received modern education, many of them endowed with ideals of service and uprightness and rectitude and lakhs have been saved and restored to health by hospitals set up by church affiliated organizations. \textsuperscript{314}. He also appreciated the service of the Christian Medical College at Vellore for setting a new norm of service in the country \textsuperscript{315}. It is through the educational institutions that Christian missionaries became the agents for spreading modern ideology here, although their primary intention was to spread their religious principles.

The queen Victoria Proclamation in 1858 by which the Indian Administration was brought under the direct rule of the queen, was a landmark in the field of social changes. Equal rights to all "subjects" was

\textsuperscript{315} Ibid. "the Christian Medical College at Vellore has long been a norm in our country. Even more than the direct service which the institution has rendered is that through decades and decades, in the face of wide spread breakdown, they have maintained high standards, in that they are a lesson an example for our country."
ensured by this proclamation. Although Travancore was not annexed to the British Empire, people became aware of their caste disabilities, a civic sense was formed, resulting in the struggles to improve their position in the social space first and then to change the caste space. By the second half of nineteenth century it self, movements started within almost all religious communities of the region, to reform themselves from the caste practices which were detrimental in improving their position in the evolving public social space. The depressed classes also became aware of their disabilities and there were isolated resistance to the caste practices (the upper cloth struggle, first by the Nadar women, and then for the Ezhava women in 1859, and the right to wear gold ornaments by the Avarna castes, and the struggle of the agriculture labourers 1866, that also for the right of women to wear proper dress lead by Velayudha Panikkar belonging to Ezhava community\textsuperscript{316}.  

In the lag end of nineteenth century all communities started organizations with membership rights and constitutional procedures, in contrast to the traditional family membership- the eldest male member representing the whole family. In 1891 a ‘Memorial’ was presented to the Maharaja by all communities together, (except the lower castes, and later known as the Malayali Memorial) for proper representation in the

\textsuperscript{316} ‘The unwritten name’ (Ezhuthathe poya peru), Gigo John, Puthezhathu: Malayala Manorama, February 15\textsuperscript{th} 2004.
government service. In 1896 the Ezhavas presented a memorial, signed by more than 13,000 for their rights.

**Conclusion**

The formation of community organizations with individual membership, indicate the formation of an individuation process different from corporate and relational membership of the traditional social space. The people, irrespective of caste and community considerations, became aware of their equal rights with regard to government jobs. In the socialisation process the evolvement of a new subjectivity, that of "Malayalee" is observed, (the demand of the ‘Malayalee Memorial’, “the denial to the Malayalees a proper share in the government of the country and their systematic exclusion from the higher grades of service”). Side by side with this the individuation process giving more responsibility and freedom of expression initiated by the modern education paved the way for the genesis of the civil society and a new social space. The civic sense created by education can be considered as the initial step towards the struggle for a civil society in Travancore.

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317 The Malayala Manorama, July 11, 1891.