CHAPTER VI

EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS IN TRAVANCORE:
A MULTIDIMENSIONAL INTERACTIVE VIEW

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CHAPTER VI
EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS IN TRAVANCORE:
A MULTI DIMENSIONAL INTERACTIVE VIEW

In the last two chapters we have drawn a picture of the Educational History of the princely State of Travancore from 1817-1947, tracing the developments from the Rescript of ‘Mahārāṇī Gouri Pārvathi Bai’ providing for indigenous Education to the citizens at the cost of the State, to the time of independence when a full-fledged educational system in the modern sense had emerged, with Travancore leading the rest of India in many significant dimensions. In that presentation we limited ourselves to a truncate period of time, organized according to the reign of the Mahārājās and Mahārāṇis, and limited mostly to what many progressive educationists would call ‘schooling’ (in contradiction to the broad concept of education). In this chapter it is proposed to interpret the findings in terms of the historical antecedents and in terms of “the intangible, impalpable spiritual and cultural forces which underlie an educational system, the factors outside the School (which) matters even more than what goes inside it”.

Even in terms of schooling it has been shown that the events of the period under study have led Travancore leading in aspects like literacy, women’s education, receptivity to modern ideas, adaptation and accommodation to multi-cultural, multilingual, and multi-religious needs and demands and even in ‘Educational agitation’. The proclamation of the monarch and other administrative measures could be claimed to be effective or immediate cause of these developments. But there can be several invisible predisposing causes woven through the historical, geographic and cultural texture of the State. Why should certain things happen in Travancore and not anywhere else? How is it that a young Mahārāṇī like Gowri Pārvathi Bhāi is able to take so many momentous and wise decisions? How could a

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Hans of course quotes this for the purpose of getting comparative education insights. We propose to use this and some of the other analysis of Hans for getting insights in interpreting education in a total and Historical context.
secular figure like Col. Munroe make bold and frank statements about and even give leadership to missionary role in Education (in a register outside the commands of Wilber force or Grant) and not only get away with it, but be counted among the founders of modern education in Kerala, even by non-Christians? How is it that many monarchs could distinguish themselves as musicians, literati and artists, and that the last of the rulers should continue to be counted as the cultural leaders of Travancore even by non-Hindus, long after laying down political power (in contrast to some Maharajas elsewhere who have distinguished themselves in politics, business and even hoteliering and the large number who have gone into oblivions? How is it that in spite of the acceptance of and even craze for English culture, a distinct Malayalam culture could emerge and get standardised during this period, paving the way for the emergence of the State of Kerala? How is it that love of the soil and local culture and language has been reconciled effectively with National integration sentiments and World outlook? How is it that extremely passive and docile schooling culture goes on side by side with an agitational and jatha culture?

These and several other issues which could be discerned during the period under review and after can be answered only by an analysis of the deeper strivings which go into a national system of educational and the multiple factors which condition it. As Sadler says: "A national system of education is a living thing, the outcome of forgotten struggles and difficulties and of battles long ago.

Han's analyses national traditions underlying education in terms of the racial, linguistic, geographic, economic, religious and secular factors. Among the religious factors he analyses in depth Catholicism, Protestantism (in particular the Anglican and the Puritan traditions) and Eastern Orthodoxy. The influence of Islam (the progressive and fundamental varieties) is also touched. The secular forces analysed by him include Humanism, Socialism, Nationalism and Democracy. It is not possible to interpret educational development in depth with reference to all these

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1 Sir Michael Sadler (1900) in Nicholas Hans. op. cit., p. 3
2 Ibid. pp. 17-25
factors. But, a brief treatment of the data, collected for the study in terms of some of these factors will be taken up in this chapter.

While proceeding with this multi-dimensional analysis, it might be appropriate to dig into past history and make a fleeting presentation of events which might have a relevance for educational developments in the period under review or for the present. This multi-dimensional treatment would also be taken as the occasion for highlighting certain factors not mentioned or lightly touched upon the last two chapters IV and V, that is, the role of the missionaries, the interplay of racial and secular factors, several aspects of non-formal education (in the best sense of the term) including, art and culture progressive and open approaches dating back to the first millennia living in some form even today in spite of isolating and discriminating models of the mediaeval and even modern periods etc. The presentation of some actors behind the drama would also be taken up.

6.1 Geographical factors

The geographical features of any country always exert a great influence on the life, culture and even educational practices of a State. The geographical position of Travancore as a narrow strip of land hemmed in between the Western Ghat on the one side and the Arabian Sea on the other, has considerably influenced the course of its educational history. The State has, from the dawn of history, enjoyed a kind of insularity which has been largely responsible for its independent and individual cultural identity. Travancore seldom felt the impact of the many foreign invasions that took place in the northern part of India from across the border owing to this geographical isolation. Travancore was able to evolve, through the ages its own ways of life, social institutions, art forms, architecture and educational institutions unhindered by excessive interference from outside. Such educational institutions as ‘Saalais’, ‘KaJaris’, ‘Ezhuthupallis’ and innumerable village schools flourished in the State in an atmosphere of splendid isolation. The self sufficient agricultural economy of the State, was very much helped by the rich and alluvial soil of the region from time immemorial, Travancore has been famous for its spices and cash crops. Above all, the climatic condition of the country was also
favourable for its development of a richer and fuller life. Thus, the geographical features of Travancore were conducive to the evolution of a robust culture which in turn went a long way in the development of educational theory and practice in the State.

However, the geographical isolation of Travancore from the rest of the country had its own limitations. While the people of neighbouring States entered Travancore through the mountain passes, its sea coast has attracted foreign traders from Europe and Asia from very early days. From the period of recorded history, Travancore maintained cultural and trade contacts with such countries as Egypt, Rome, Greece, China and Arabia. The people of Travancore never hesitated to imbibe the positive aspects of any culture that came in its way. While interacting with these diverse cultures, Travancore seldom lost its unique cultural identity. On the other hand, the composite culture of Travancore only got strengthened by interacting with these distant cultures. The interaction with these cultures paved the way for understanding their languages, culture, ways of life, traditions etc. It is against this cultural and philosophical ground that the educational history of the State is to be analysed.

6.2 Economic factors

The educational history of Travancore, from remote antiquity, is closely related to the economic life of the State.

The early Saṅgam literature clearly portrays the means of production in the different types of land and corresponding levels of culture. In the ‘hard land’ (Vannilam = Kurinchi+ Mullai) people have a hand to mouth existence (honey, fruits, millets, hunted animals, sheep and cattle) and consequently their cultural resources were limited to the regional folk songs, folk dances (Kuṭevai Koothu) and the medicinal and supernatural lore possessed by their tribal medicine men and women like Velan, Kaṭṭuvvačči etc. In the ‘soft land’ (mennilam = marudam+ neidak) land is tilled and various products are extracted from it. There is division of labour with subordination-super ordination systems. In the coastal areas, cities have also developed with foreign trade. A high level of culture was developed, presented and
diffused Vices like prostitution are also recorded in the higher culture. In Palai (arid tract) which is Vannilam further deteriorated by drought, the chief occupation is robbery on the highway (aralattal). But manly effort which could change even the nature of the land is extolled by Avvaiyar, the court poetess of Adiyaman, a Chēra tributary. The skill of craftsmen like the potter and the carpenter are reported with respect in Sangam literature. Saṅgam poets are drawn from almost all occupational groups indicating that the nature of occupation was no bar to achieving educational excellence.

A content analysis of Sangam Literature, Čilappadikaram (written by the Chēra Prince Ilango) and some of the early shakti literature would reveal aspects of work education, folk education and the intellective loading in occupations. It would also show that formal education was open to people of all occupational groups. This does not necessarily imply that there was Universal literacy or education in the modern sense of the term in Saṅgam times as Elamkulam and historians drawing Saṅgam lessons from secondary Sources¹; seem to conclude. But whereas many Indian historians of education drawing from the smritis and other Sanskrit works seems to conclude that education in ancient India was not open to the workers-and some seem to imply that the workers were not capable of profiting by a sound education even the existence of a model of open and egalitarian education is a valuable contribution to the fund of knowledge in educational history.

The picture of occupation and education presented above covers mainly the transactions within the system. Transactions with other system were also opened out through sea trade and through inland trade through the passes and plains. Teak, pepper, peacock feather and various other articles have been sources of attraction of traders to the Kerala coast for at least 3000 years. Pepper in particular has been a major source of attraction for trading groups as well as a menace from brigandish groups. These trade contacts have led to cultural exchanges with the Hebrew, Chinese, Greek, Roman, Arab, and various other Middle eastern culture

contacts during the early and medieval periods and the various European contacts during the modern period. All these groups have enriched the culture and language of Kerala in various ways. It is said that the Romans had a colony here in the early centuries of the Christian era. Trading groups of Jews, Arabs and Syrians (besides the purely religious missions, like the arrival of St. Thomas) have left permanent colonies in Kerala, and Syrian Christian Population is a dominant group permanently integrated in the life of Kerala.

Trade as well as internal economic needs have stimulated a careful study of useful plants and trees in the area. This process has been recorded even by Strabo. This kind of investigational stimulus seems to have continued in later periods also, the most recent and perhaps the greatest being *Hortus Malabaricus* by Van Rheede, the then Dutch Governor of the Cochin who "with his love for Malabar... perceived that a scientific exploitation of the local natural resources and a compilation of the well-advanced ethno-botanical and ethno-architectural knowledge of the natives undertaken with mutual cooperation would be more advantageous to all. From the point of view of the modern History of science Hortus Malabaricus would be 'first' instead of the 'most recent'. Manilal calls it "the first comprehensive printed book on the 'rich natural plant resources of this region of the world'" and adds, "There is perhaps, no other example in the world, of a book in botany that is so intimately implicated with the socio-political history of a country". This work has been one of the most important source books for European scientists and has drawn very favourable comments from scholars like Linne (1753) Adansen (1763) and A.L. Jussien (1789) who have made valuable contributions to the field of plant Taxonomy. One interesting aspect of this effort is that among the Indian collaborators, the Ezhava physician Itti Achuden is given precedence over the three Brähman priest physicians a point of great significance for an open model of sociology of knowledge in India with

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2. Published in Amsterdam in 1678-1703 (12 volumes).
perhaps the first available historical material after the Saṅgaam literature (which could be treated as ethnosience) that vocational productive groups could contribute to scientific and humanistic knowledge.

While the collection of plant resources and properties a publication in Hortus Malabaricus (1678) was an Indian contribution to the growth of Western science, western science itself steadily grew from the seventeenth century and this knowledge was diffused in India through the British contacts in the early part of the period under review in a limited way in developing natural resources. But applied science began to be approached in a big way towards the close of the period with the leadership provided by Dewan Sir. C.P. Ramaswamy Aiyar.

Incidentally, there are factors related to the social structure and land ownership which are also related to production and the other economic factors in education. In the beginning of the 19th century occupational structure began to change with many of the military clan taking interest in land ownership. The land tenure rules also began to be interpreted more liberally than in Malabar. The complicated land tax rules needed literary and computational skills in citizens and among petty officials. The steps for the liberation of agrestic and other serfs made it possible for the productive class to be educated. These social and economic changes provided a content for the educational reforms.

Steps for Agricultural education were taken, as early as 1895 in the Demonstration Farm at Trivandrum. But the experiment did not last long. Dr. Mitchell took a very progressive step in giving agricultural bias in the Malayalam school (Class V to VII). This experiment did survive for a long time but in a non-functional way "as the teaching is mostly theoretical from book-lore alone". In the twenties three agricultural middle schools were opened. These had a better balance of theory and practice, but the Alwaye school was closed after ten years. The aim of the school was to impart "superior knowledge of the Science and Technique of modern agricultural practice" to children of the agricultural classes. The idea was to turn

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away these trained young men “from the goal of Government Service and other professional careers” and induce them to return to the land. The Government set up a 300 acre agricultural farm and effective work was done at Koni with reference to food and commercial crops. Up to the 40’s the two surviving schools were working effectively. This is one of the Kerala’s pioneering efforts in diversifying education along productive lines—an experiment not adequately taken note of later reformers.

Investment in education took various forms such as industrial education at school level, fisheries education etc. Some of them have been reported earlier. The thrust has been to ensure perpetuation and promotion of Arts and Crafts skills already available in the Travancore in the out-of-school setting, to satisfy specific needs and to provide a diversified channel in education. Engineering education of the lower level provided in the school system was concerned mainly with providing the needs of the PWD as done elsewhere in India. But the idea of Technical Education at the higher educational level had not come up till the 1930s.

The concept of developing and harnessing natural resources through applied science and the corresponding human resources through modernized technical education emanated from two brilliant minds in the early 1930s. Of these the recommendations of Statham regarding an innovative model of higher technical education relevant for the State’s needs free from the fetters of the Madras University and if possible with a charter of its own and the appointment of a Director of Industries who would be competent to hold simultaneously the post of Principal of the new college of Technology have already been mentioned in the last chapter.

Here it would be worthwhile to recount the contribution on and the vision of another brilliant mind, Sir C.P. Rama Swamy Iyer, who also had the onerous task of implementing his farsighted vision in the field of education. But it is also charged that what C.P. conceived with his intellect, he also undid by his poor social relations and through the twin sister of intellect and arrogance.

Ibid., pp. 402-403.
But one cannot forget the contributions of Sir. C.P. Ramaswamy Iyer to the cause of education in Kerala. The confidence of His Highness for Sir. C.P. can be seen from the letter that is sent by latter to Sir. C.P.  

Some of the major breakthrough in applied science and human resource development registered by Travancore in the 30's-what would now be called investment in education-are reported below.

In 1934 Travancore was admitted to the membership of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research. Soon Travancore obtained a research grant for investigating the root disease of the coconut palms. Another project with Imperial Council collaboration is the marketing surveys organized by the Agricultural marketing Advisor.

The University of Travancore was opened on 2nd November, 1937 with a strong technical education vision. This included:

1. A radical reorganisation of Secondary education in the State so that it would provide the base for a well-planned development of technical and technological education, and industrialisation undertaken by the Government.

2. The establishment of a faculty of Technology and the development of a Technical Institute. The type of industries which might grow up in the State on the completion of the Pallivasal Hydro-Electric Scheme and the Diploma course in several branches which would prepare people for these industries were also visualized.

3. The establishment of a School of Architecture.

4. The establishment of a Central Research Institute in Applied Science where Industrial Chemists, Biochemists, Economic Botanists, Entomologists, Mycologists, pharmaceutical Chemists, Water analysts, Food analysts etc. from various Departments of government will work in collaboration with the teaching staff of the Faculties of Science and Technology of the University, and problems

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1 Appendix 42
of a predominantly practical nature will be investigated, with opening of new sections from time to time\(^1\).

While four thermal power stations had been opened in the State between 1929 and 1932, investigation for the first hydroelectric project at Pallivāsal was completed in May 1933 and completed. Surely C.P. with his pioneering hydroelectric projects brought power in a big way to Kerala. Along with power an industrial system, communication system and an adequate technical education were also planned, and much was done. But some unexpected political consequences followed. It is interesting to recall that after installing communism Lenin was pleading for installation of electricity as an essential step to modernization.

6.3 Social Factors

As education is very much influenced by the social surroundings, an analysis of the social fabric of Travancore is quite relevant here. Ever since the stratification of society based on caste system, the Brāhmaṇas and other high caste men under the protection of the rulers enjoyed the monopoly of education and a host of other benefits and facilities. Broadly, society was divided into two groups, the ‘Savarnās’ who enjoyed all the privileges and position as citizens and the ‘avarṇaś’ who were denied of all privileges and treated as untouchables. The Savarnās, by virtue of their access to educational institutions, enjoyed the benefit of sharing all State offices and prestigious professions. The ‘avarṇaś’ as a class, were confirmed ‘social inferiors’ and their educational needs and employment opportunities were neglected by the Government of Travancore. Among the avarṇaś, the lowest section was formed by the slave castes. Mainly the Paṇayās, Pulayās and other primitive tribes constituted this group. They were slaves of the higher castes and were brought and sold like cattle and not valued much higher. These slaves were attached to the soil and their occupation from time immemorial was field labour for which they were paid in kind. When a landlord sold his land to another landlord, the labourers (slaves) were also transferred to the other. Thus, the reality of the situation was that the majority of the population of Travancore were labelled as untouchable avarṇaś. They

\(^1\) Ibid.
were, by law and custom prevented from the enjoyment of even the elementary rights of social intercourse. They were denied social and political rights and political rights on the plea that they were uneducated, unclean, uncivilised and even without inherent ability.

It is against this background the Rāni Gowri Pārvathi Bāi’s Neetu of 1817 as a charter of State responsibility for education of all her citizens should be viewed considering the times, the concept of education of citizens at State expense even in a limited way, is indeed a revolutionary step.

About this time, the missionaries also enthusiastically laboured for the educational upliftment of the downtrodden people. With the active support of the British, the missionaries incessantly carried on their twin objectives of propagation of the Gospel and uplifting the socio-economic standards of the natives. The lower caste people who suffered a lot in the midst of caste segregation were easily brought under the firm grip of missionaries. The missionaries established in Travancore a large number of schools and colleges and imparted western system of knowledge through the medium of English. The missionaries were also pioneers in the field of female education. The educational endeavours of the Christian missionaries exploded the myth that only the higher castes were destined to learn and laid a strong foundation for a ‘cultural renaissance’ in the State. It was this elite group that gave leadership to the movements and agitations. Travancore witnessed subsequently every community striving to establish its own communal organisations which did yeomen services to the educational progress of the State.

The phenomenal improvement of educational facilities in the State can also be attributed to private enterprise. Private enterprise comprised of both individual efforts and those institutions opened and maintained under the auspices of leading communal and caste organisations such as Nāyār Service Society (NSS), Sree Narāyana Dharma Paripālaṇa Yōgam (SNDP) and others. In spite of innumerable pitfalls in matters of management, pay distribution, quality of teaching and enrolment, these institutions on the whole, played a vital role in shifting the educational system of this princely State.
The foregoing discussion of the educational practices, in relation to the prevailing socio-economic factors, calls for an in-depth analysis of the various educational sub-systems that shaped the educational pattern of the country. One may consider these approaches as unique or special to the region, but they formed the basis upon which the educational edifice of Travancore has been built.

In this context, Mathew Kuzhiveli, identifies three categories in the ancient educational system of Kerala. They were pial schools for ordinary people, kaḷarīs for the military training and physical education of the soldiers and Vēdīc schools for the Brāhmin and upper castes. Kuzhiveli further distributes the schools by supposed origin, the pial schools were Buddhist, Kaḷarīs, Dravidian and Vēdīc schools were Brāhminic. Sreedhara Menon also presents a three-fold classification of the ancient educational institutions in Kerala, viz., the Ezhuthupallis or Pial schools, the Kaḷarīs or military schools and the Vēdīc or Sanskrit schools.

6.3.1 Pial Schools

Every village had its own Pial schools. The Ezhuthupallis or Pial schools afforded abundant facilities to pupils to acquire the rudiments of knowledge. The teacher was called the Asān or village school master who was the most venerable figure in the village. There existed intimate relationship between the teacher and the pupil and no regular tuition fee was demanded from the pupils. The village school master appears to have been satisfied with the small dues and perquisites the individual contributions often paid in kind being small in value and irregular in the manner of payment.

The course of study in these village schools consisted first of writing in sand the letters of the alphabet and learning them. After this the student was made to write short sentences on ṟu (palm leaf). He was then made to commit to memory...
short verses of a devotional character. The manuscript books were made up of Palmyra leaves. The writings were made with the help of iron style. The writings were dubbed over with saffron. The book began with an invocation to God Ganēśā. The book contained some lessons in arithmetic and astronomy. Some of the chief precepts for daily conduct known as Neethisāsthaṁ, the thousand names of Vishnu, a portion of Sanskrit Dictionary, every lessons in casting horoscope and the calendar, a few verses of medicine and general poetry.

The boys attended the schools from very early morning. The late-comers were severely dealt with. In village school, boys were in the habit of reading aloud altogether at the same time.

All those learning took about two years and when the student was found to be well acquainted in the three R’s, he went in for higher branches as a stepping stone to the study of Sanskrit.

Some informants regarding the Ezhuthu Paḷlikūṭam say that the method of learning the content matter was largely oral, even though, reading and writing was also given importance. It is obvious that the primary function of the Ezhuthupaljj is to teach the letters which was done by writing with fingers over sand, and later with an iron style on palm leaves. But there was lot of matter to be learnt on matters like religion, ethics, social etiquette, arithmetic etc. Apart from the fact that in the indigenous system, with the limited number of years, taking up these aspects could not wait till pupil had mastered reading skills sufficiently to digest them, the number of copies of the works were limited. With older pupils in the extended Paḷlikūttam reading of higher content could be done through rotation of manuscripts. But with young children the only possibility, given limited resources and a kind of

1 A. Sreedharan Menon, Kerula District Gazetteers, op. cit., p.649.
2 Nagam Aiya, op. cit., Vol. II, p.453
3 The sand table is now being used in many modern infant classes in U.K. and elsewhere not for formal teaching or writing as for pattern making which could serve as pre-reading, writing experiences, and also, for many other cognitive tasks at the enactive level. Sand is almost neglected now by Indian educational reformers (Source: A.S. Nair’s observation following his visit to U.K on British Council Scholarship in 1975. The primary area of study was Science Education at Chelsea.
advanced organizer model of learning is for the teacher or the monitor or an elder pupil, to chant from memory or read from manuscripts while the rest repeat.

It is significant that the great Malayalam poet Thunjathu Ezhuthachan composed “Harināma Saṅgeerthanam” and many other graded materials for children to be taught by the Āśāns (primary teachers) also called by the generic term ‘Ezhuthachan’. These highly rhythmic verses were in fact learnt and recited in the Pial schools for over two centuries. It is equally significant that poet Kumaran Āśān also composed a number of enchanting poems like “Chandamēriya Pūvilum” which were pedagogically designed. These are also usable in the humbler Āśān’s school, but these came at a time when Travancore princes had set up a modern system of education. Some of Āśān’s poems were in fact examined by the Textbook committee of his time and used in schools, particularly the vernacular schools.

The poets Ezhuthachan and Kumaran Āśān are well known. Not so well known is the contribution of a Muslim poet by name Mavanar Mappilai who composed a work called “Kaṇakkathikaran” where many mathematical ideas were presented in enchanting Mappilappattu metre. One may think that this pertains to Malabar, but its significance for our study lies in the fact that this is one of the earliest books published by the CMS Press, Kottayam at the instance of Mr. Schafter, a point which has been acknowledged in the first verse.

The interest in these materials lies in the fact that an attempt was made to bridge the humble offering of the Āśān’s schools with modern system of education using the vernacular schools as the bridge.

Thus the Āśān’s Ezhuthupallikudam provided the rudiments of primary education in the village school at the beginning of the 19th century. The Maharāṇi by the Rescripts of 1817 provided for organised forms of indigenous schools for the Kudiyāns (landless people) north of Quilon. But the problem was that this educational provision in the early 19th century does not seem to have reached all classes of the population. Mateer remarks:
Ilavans, Shānārs, Párias, Pulayās and such like .......... are refused admission into the village primary schools. They are not yet regarded as the mass that are to be educated; they are too humble in the rank to be as yet admitted to the circle of His Highness, who are to be left without any excuse for being ignorant of reading and writing1.

It is in this context that the combination of approaches— the States intervention to sponsor a slightly reformed type of indigenous education which could satisfy the needs of at least its kuliyānumār, the group which incidentally included a big section of the population changing from the predominantly military to civil role. State support to missionaries who were catering to the depressed sections, organization of a type of modern primary education for which the missionaries had given the lead, the gradual build up of a vernacular middle and high school, having some of the relevant components of the English school, for those who might not be moving into the academic higher education has to be viewed.

The vernacular high school was probably an attempt to develop an indigenous form of secondary education based on a common type of modern elementary education which would yet be relevant for local needs. That such a coordinated effort of popular and yet modernisation-prone model was developed in Travancore adds to the number of unique achievements of the State. The vernacular middle and high schools did not serve adequately some of the expected purposes, and were closed following the Statham Report. But perhaps a sympathetic analysis of what was achieved notwithstanding its drawbacks might have helped to reveal a model of modernisation-prone and yet locally relevant school education.

6.3.2 Kālaris

Raghavan is of the view that the word Kālari is derived from the Sanskrit word ‘khaloorika’ which means a military training centre2. But if, as cited

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from certain other authors, kalari is of Dravidian origin, it may not be necessary to search for Sanskrit root for the term. To derive it from the Dravidian word 'kalam' might be equally satisfactory. It is said that when Kerala invaded by the later Chōla's, military training and suicide squads were developed to fight menace. It is also said that it is about this time that the west coast activity sought to cultivate Sanskrit components even in popular speech as a means of establishing separate identity as distinct from the earlier Tamilakam concept.

K.J. Leenose gives an insightful description of the kalari in a presentation made before an All India Educationist's Group.

Another type of school was the Kalari to which the teenagers resorted for physical and quasi-military training after their literacy studies. Every Kara or village had its Kalari generally attached to a temple. Instruction in such items as athletics, aerobatics, wrestling, boxing, archery, sword play, spear-thrust, etc. was imparted by specialists functioning in rotation. The rainy season being the most suited for this sort of training, the kalariis generally started their yearly course in the monsoon month of August. The instructors belonged generally to the Kurup, Panicker or Kaṇiyan sub-castes. Strictly brahmacharie and regular habits were enjoined on every trainee who, after preliminary coaching could acquire skill in the twelve exercises in sword play and the eighteen Payattu Muṟakal scheduled for the acme of proficiency. The kalari enabled the youth of the land to keep up physical fitness and pick-up Pseudo-military training to enable them in due course to take to successful soldiering. Opinion is controversial as to the genesis of the kalari. The Āryan kalaries of the north were of a purely military character. But the kalaries of the south were different in both their curriculum and operational techniques, in which respects they took more after the gymnasium of the ancient Greeks. example, in being more athletic than military in the practice of oil-massaging of the trainee's body prior to exercise and in the preliminary Kāṭi Pooja which resembled the Hellanic Sacrifice of
Arcs (the God of War). For this the kā刹那 in Travancore is taken by many to have been Dravidian rather than Āryan in its origin, more plausibly a Dravidian adaptation of the Greek Gymnasium, not impossible because of the constant contacts which the Dravidians are known to have had with the ancient Greeks. The kā刹那 in this land declined after the 17th century though their late survivals made themselves felt among us, off and on in the shape of athletic, acrobatic and other demonstrations on special occasions like marriage, religious festivities etc.\(^1\)

6.3.3 Sanskrit Oriented Institutions

In Kerala, institutions like Vēkapatākās and Sahamats spread Sanskrit education from the early centuries of the Christian era till recent times. These houses of learning were residential in character. Instruction was imparted according to the traditions of the Dharma Sastras. According to Leenose:

*The Sahamats functioned more or less like universities. Admitted only after his upanayanam and generally beyond the age of sixteen, the student of a mutt stayed on for the duration of the course covering the years and only at the end of it did he pay his gurudakshina or teacher's fee. The daily routine started with early rising and morning ablutions followed by domestic services for the guru and religious ceremonies. Lessons were done in the forenoon. The afternoons were utilised for begging alms for the upkeep of their establishment. Endowments and donations from the rich also proved strong financial props for these mutts. In the first nine years the curriculum covered a vast range of intellectual and spiritual subjects, including the sūtras. While the last three years were devoted mostly to authorship of books as well as participation in controversial discussions and debates held at periodical parishats. The course terminated with an examination and the conferment of titles. One of the high titles was Bhattadiri conferred on an*

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author of merit and debator of repute whose erudition and polemical skills passed muster with the parishats .......... a good many of the alumni used to go far beyond the ghats to slake their thirst for the highest in classical lore .......... all rights and privileges of the mutts were strictly confined to the Namboodiris .......... (Hence, these repositories of ancient Aryan culture (became) inaccessible to the masses).

Śrī. Sankarāchārya (778-820 A.D,) instituted several mutts in Kerala. Suchindram, Bhoothapandy, Padmanābhapuram, Vaikam, Kidangoor and Chengannur are some of the centres with famous mutts.

Among the earliest Sanskrit educational institutions a prominent one is Thrikunanny University near Thiruvanchikulam in the second century A.D. It is perhaps the same which Manuel using the old Tamil epic manimekalai as the source, identifies as a religious naturalistic centre in the words (milai) on the outskirts of the foot at vanji (matilakam). Since the Buddhist women scholar, Manimekhala; is enjoyed to listen to the teaching of several divergent schools at Vanji before going to Kanchi and learn Buddhist knowledge thoroughly. Manuel chooses to call it a multiiversity as against Kanchi which was a university.

6.3.4 Śāla

Very well organised, advanced learning centres of Sanskrit scholarship called Śālas have been recorded in Travancore inscription of the ninth to twelfth centuries. The Śālas at Kāndalur, Pārthivasēkharapuram, Mulīkkulam and Tiruvalla were perhaps the most important. They were residential Universities attached to great temples and maintained by lands donated by generous individuals and rulers. Students were expected to reside at the śālas till the day they completed their studies. They were given free food and clothing and tuition was completely free.

1. Ibid. p. XXI
2. Ibid
Kāndalur is thought to be the most famous of the salas, on which others were modelled. It is perhaps the most frequently mentioned centre because the great Chōla King Rāja Rāja who has inscribed numerous donations and exploits has chosen to assume the title “Kāndalur Sala Kalmaruttarāṭiya Chōlan”. The meaning of the term is the centre of major controversies because the only information we get about Kāndalur Sala beyond the fact that Rāja Rāja did something there, is from Pārthivapuram Sala which was established by Karunandaśakan, the Āy King of Venādu in 866 A.D on the model of the one that existed at Kāndalur¹.

The gist of the copper plate grant is that at this place a sala was established for 95 cattar or scholars with the institution of 95 kalams (implying ‘seats’ in the modern technology). Of these 45 kalams were of Paviliya caranam, 35 for Taittiriya and 14 for Talavakare. The condition for admission of the cattar is that:

1. He must be duly certified an oath by five cattar that he is proficient in Vyakaraṇa, Mimamsa and Pourhitya.
2. He must be free from the fault of forgetfulness,
3. He must have the learning (śītu) necessary to acquaint himself with the affairs of the three kingdoms (trairāja vyavahāra).

From condition (1) Gurumūrti concludes that cattar were all learned scholars probably pursuing higher studies and also imparting lessons. Both teachers and students were all called by the same word.

Almost all scholars who have interpreted this plate have concluded that the cattar were Brāhmin scholars. This is an inference, presumably from the prior knowledge of Sanskrit prescribed in condition one. But in Travancore kings from the time of Kulakshekhara have distinguished themselves as scholars and composers in Sanskrit. Sanskrit culture appears to have been imbibed by the Ambalavāsis and perhaps even by some other groups. The condition about ‘trairāja vyavahāra’ should apply to the princes at least as much as Brahmins.

A number of disciplinary rules were prescribed such as:
1. A cattar should not speak abusively of another within the precincts of the temple (mukkāl vattam);
2. If a cattar strikes or is struck by another, he must pay a fine of one Kāśu and five Kāṇam of gold respectively;
3. He should not go to the assembly armed with the weapons of warfare;
4. Making wound with a weapon was not considered as an act of dharma or aram;
5. He should not practise any kind of deceit;
6. He should not fight within the temple on pain of losing a day’s meal;
7. He should not alienate the lands of salabhōga and devandāna (fine is indicated);
8. He should not appoint any maid servants in the matha.

Sridhara Menon and many others infer from rules that a high level discipline prevailed in the ślās:

“The strict enforcement of such a code of conduct made these ślās ideal educational institutions.”

6.4 Linguistic Factors

The geographical setting of Kerala provides the key to the style of linguistic developments in the State. The Ādivāsīs who inhabited the land from time immemorial were able to find safe abodes in the hilly tracts during the periods of Dravidian, Āryan and later invasions and to preserve their language and culture. The Dravidian – Āryan intercourse itself seems to have taken a unique shape in Kerala. While preserving in a live lingual form the distinct Dravidian sounds and other features of language with extreme care, interaction and synthesis with Āryan forms have also been most liberal. Sea trade over three millennia have resulted in loans and borrowings with several foreign languages especially of the mid-west Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Syriac and Arabic. A large number of Arabic words pass as Malayalam of every day use. In modern times the tendency to assimilate words from other dominant

1 A. Sridhara Menon, op.cit., p.163.
languages, especially English and modern Hindi can be distinctly seen. Among the languages of religious worship, besides Sanskrit, Latin, Hebrew, Syriac and Arabic have had a long history, besides Tamil and Malayalam of various shades and the tribal language in the ceremonies of those groups.

Nossiter prefaces his treatment of politics in Kerala with the following remarks on language:

"Keralaites........ are primarily Dravidian in stock, and their language, Malayalam, is closely related to other South Indian Languages, particularly Tamil. The first surviving text, the Ramacharitam is dated to the early twelfth century while the distinctly modern script came into use in the fifteenth century just as Áryan influence are evident in the population. So the language has been more marked by Sanskrit than have other South Indian languages........ The language involves a wide range of sounds and the script can record almost any sound in the other Indian Languages. Malayalis in consequence acquire other languages easily, including English”

It is not merely that education in Kerala has started with this potential linguistic capital. Education has, in its turn, helped to develop this capital. The Buddhist and Jain paḷḷis have been instrumental in developing literacy among all sections of the people. Saṅgam literature refers to several wandering scholars who cultivated the Tamil language and literature. Of these, Avvaiyar, a poetess of the Pāṇa caste has sung the maximum number of poems compiled in purānaṇūru. She was the court poetess of Ádiyaman, a Chēra tributary. The Āy kings of the old were great patrons of language and literature. Padiṭṭuṭṭu, the typical formal literature of the Chēras, besides containing post war ritualistic material, seems to be deliberately cultivated to develop new forms and phrases in classical Tamil. In Kalittogai which represents the typical popular presentation material among the Saṅgam works, the opening section in pālaikkalli, sung by a chēra king perum Kadum ko2.

Sanskritic learning was also cultivated in Kerala from very early times. The contribution of Sankaracharya is well-known, but even among the mathematicians and astronomers who enriched Sanskrit literature some are believed to have hailed from Kerala. The question of how Malayalam has borrowed from classical Tamil and Sanskrit is one way of looking at the problem, another way of seeing the same problem is to form an estimate of how far Kerala has contributed to the growth of classical Tamil and Sanskrit.

King Kulasēkhara is famous for his Bhakthi poem in Tamil and in Sanskrit. After the twelfth century a number of princes holding sway over the territory covered in this study acquired fame through their compositions in Sanskrit as well as through patronage of Sanskrit, Malayalam and Tamil literature.

There is reason to believe that from the twelfth century onwards, the tendency to part ways from the common heritage of old Tamil and the concern to cultivate Sanskrit and to enrich Malayalam through Sanskrit borrowings began to grow. One possible reason for this was the concern of the west coast to have a distinct identity to fight against the imperialism of the later Chōlas.

In recent times Portuguese was the first European power to invade Kerala. Apart from introducing Latin in Catholic rituals, this contact bred a group of people who were bilingual in Portuguese and Malayalam. The Dutch who came next left a lasting contribution in ‘Hortus Malabaricus’ in which scientific botany was cultivated in the Malabari and Sanskrit languages as well as in Dutch, Portuguese, Latin and Arabic. Since the Dutch and Malayalam investigators could not understand each other, they used the Portuguese- Malayalam bilinguals as intermediaries. Apparently Arabic also has served as an investigatory inter-language.

Coming pointedly to the period under review we see a setting in which Malayalam was the spoken language in most parts of the Travancore State, with Tamil being spoken in the southern taluks. Sanskrit as a classical language to be learnt and cultivated, English as a newly opened window of the world and Persian as an occasional need in Pan-Indian correspondence. We have seen in chapter IV that Rāṇi Gowri Pārvathi Bāi’s rescripts on education covered almost all these needs-
teachers of Tamil and Malayalam at State expense in a slightly modified kind of indigenous education, sharing the royal Sanskrit teacher with the Brāhmans and others who needed Sanskritic learning. Supporting the missionaries' educational efforts which included English education and making provision for the support of a Persian scholar. It was Swāti Tiruvāl, however, who made English education a State responsibility by inviting Mr. Roberts at a handsome salary to start an English school at Trivandrum (1834) and in converting it into the Rājās free school within two years. He was also instrumental in bringing modern astronomy and western education in science, mathematics and humanities, through English into the school system. But credit must be given to his predecessors for giving him a thorough home education in Sanskrit and in several Indian language and in English, along with the sciences mediated thorough it. Even as a boy undergoing this education Swāthi Tiruvāl was able to view western knowledge from the Indian perspective and was able to give Indian art and science a new turn as a result of his multifaceted education. His musical kritis (works) in Sanskrit and other Indian languages, including several unique Bhāsha malikas were taught in schools for several thousands of girls in a few decades and performed in concert halls all over India and thus constituted a high model of non-formal education. So was the library movement initiated by him and the newspapers in Malayalam which were started in the next few decades. Many other rulers of Kerala were masters of Sanskrit, English and other languages.

With the upgradation of the Rājā's free school into a college, English education and English as a vehicle of modern learning got a great boost and the Travancore State produced some of the greatest scholars in both these aspects. Towards the close of the 19th century Prof. A. Raja Raja Varma made very valuable contribution to teaching Sanskrit and Malayalam on modern lines. Prof. Sundaram Pillai of Philosophy Department in the Mahārājā's College made parallel contributions to Tamil. His epic poem Manonmaṇiyam is structured on Shakespearean lines, but gives a high weightage to a naturalistic scientific philosophy.

1 V.S. Sharma op. cit.
Extracts taken from his preface of Tamil-ttai-vañakkam (worship of Mother Tamil) constitute the “Tamil Anthem” sung in functions in present Tamil Nadu.

Besides the indigenous education in Malayalam and Tamil, learning of English and of modern knowledge through English, and cultivating Sanskrit, Malayalam and Tamil as scholarly languages, by adding modern principles of criticism and language development to the old, another problem also had to be tackled that of developing the vernacular languages as media of modern thought. This was done in the second half of the nineteenth century through the starting of the Vernacular Middle and High schools. Very valuable works by way of translation and adaptation seem to have been produced to convey modern ideas in geometry, algebra, arithmetic, geography, history and philosophy. In 1867 the Text Book committee was constituted under the chairmanship of Kerala Varma Valiyakoil Tampuran to encourage these efforts. But side by side and even before this, very interesting creative exercises seem to have been conducted, combining indigenous approaches and creativity with modern knowledge. One of the earliest such efforts was discovered and preserved through the efforts of Professor Moosad. He discovered a very old print book published in 1880 at the CMS. Press, Kottayam where mathematical ideas are stated in an enchanting Mapillappattu (song of the Malabar Muslims) rhythm. It is started in the prefatory verse that the work was composed as early as 1038 M.E (1863 A.D) by Mavanar Mapillai on the advice of Shafter Saheb.

In a small State with horizontal mobility orientation, and with the British Indian norm where English was the dominant educational and administrative language, Travancore also saw the spectacle of the English schools drawing in the best or at least the prosperous sections of the population with the vernacular schools being treated as poor relatives. The attempts at upgrading and integrating the indigenous school system into the vernacular school system also contributed to this dual perspective. This dichotomy had hardened to such an extent by the 1930’s that the Statham Committee recommended closure of the Vernacular Middle and High

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Schools. The committee had also recommended a genuine integration of the two systems. commended some of the worthy efforts noted in the Vernacular High schools and recommended that all education up to the High school level is best conducted in the mother-tongue.

The movement for the spread of Hindi all over India met with a favourable climate in the Travancore State. The result is that today Kerala is one of the very few States where the three-language formula, a linguistic prescription for national integration is seriously followed.

The brief overview given above shows that the Travancore State followed a pragmatic and sensible sequence in meeting the problem of vernacular-classical linguistic dialectic, without any sense of linguistic chauvinism. Some of the aberrations noticed especially with reference to the English-vernacular rankings were probably a fall out from British Indian educational norms which began to influence the State from the later half of the nineteenth century.

It would therefore be interesting to compare how Travancore faced its language education problem with the controversies and resolutions of the problem in British India. Kalyan Chatterjee says, "the nineteenth century saw not only an alien tongue become the language of the Indian Government, with a more far-reaching consequence, it made higher learning impossible in the native languages(s)"\(^1\).

By the charter Act of 1813, parliament provided for a lakh of rupees to be spent on improving Indian education. This set the scene for the controversy about how it should be spent. The classical orientalists wanted that it should be spent for Sanskrit and Arabic/Persian. This soon evoked a storm of protest. the orientalists supporting vernacular education and the Anglicists supporting English education.

Macaulay's minute (1835) countered the arguments of the orientalists with brilliant rhetoric. Bentinck's acceptance the minute in 1835 marked the inauguration of the era of English Education in India. It was also decided that this education would be given to the 'classes' and in turn would filter down to the masses.

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Contact with English stimulated the rise of a literate middle class of nationalism and of a new vernacular literature. Wood's despatch in 1854 emphasised the importance of the vernaculars. With the establishment of the Universities of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay (1957) in the elitistic western model, English education became the sole content and medium of higher education. Further Reports called upon the social evangelism of diffusing the benefits of European education to the masses below (1882) and eloquently spoke on the evils of imitative and aspiring English education and calling for preservation of Indian culture and its relics (1902) but "no ritual of exorcism would make that influence go away"

Thus the language policy in education in British India has shown itself in various hues and colours and expressed itself in polarised controversies and resolutions. The story of language education has been less polarised and has taken a relatively smooth and natural course-encouraging indigenous education through the vernaculars, cultivating Sanskrit education, encouraging English education as a window of the world and gradual build up of official English education system which turned out to be the coveted stream, genuine attempts at developing a parallel vernacular system which would present effectively the content of modern western education to the masses, and finally an attempt to integrate the two systems at least at the school.

The contrast between the approaches in British India and Travancore State is largely in the aspects of size, diversity, number of parties involved in the dialogue and in the continuity of cultural traditions.

In the race of the languages in the curriculum (which originally meant a race course) English emerged as the winner in Travancore also, as in British India. English education also spread disrespect of traditional values, and nurtured radicalism, liberalism and nationalist ideas in the State. But on the whole Travancore had a balanced, broad-based, pragmatic approach to language education and language in education.

\[Ibid., pp. 28-31\]
6.5 Political Factors

The programme or otherwise of education of a given country is very much influenced by its political system. So it would be quite appropriate to get a view of the historical antecedents necessary for understanding the operation of the political factors in education during the period under review.

The first few centuries of the Christian era present before us famous Čēra kings like Cenkutuvan and the lineages of the kings who patronised Padiţupatţu poems. The early Āy kings find mention in Ptolemy (140 AD) as well as in contemporaneous purānanūru poems—Āy Aṇḍiran who ruled in the podiyil hills being perhaps the most important.

Aṇṭuvan Čēral Irumporai is another celebrated in Purānanūru. Ādiyaman, also of purānanūru fame, can be associated with the Āy-kingdom on the strength of place names like Atikanur (Neyyattinkarai Taluk and Atiyannūr (Tovalai Taluk). But K.K. Pillai is inclined to the view that the chief in question was Adiyamān of Takaqūr.

Taking the early Čēras and Āys as typical of the kings and chiefs of the territory in saṅgam times, it may be possible to derive some political factors relevant for education. While much of social life was controlled by customary procedures and beliefs, the kings and chiefs had to exercise residuary controls and had to support their administration and military establishments through various social, economic and religious forces.

Apart from military process the kings and chiefs had to maintain a lot of diplomatic activities. They had to maintain some kind of commercial and diplomatic relations with Yavanas (Greeks) and other sea-faring groups at points like Muciri, Neleynda, Komari etc. a type of activity which the ruling king had to carry on till the days of British supremacy.

The exact nature of the process of education for such stately duties is not clear, but the saṅgam literature, especially puram literature seems to represent a


2 Ibid.
cross-section of the product. It also seems to have served as learning material, which accounts for its being preserved over the centuries. These works were composed by pulava, a term which denotes poets as well as scholars or wisemen. The pulava fearlessly gave advice to kings and chiefs on state craft as well as on variety of social and moral issues. Avvaiyar the court poetess of Adiyan even went on diplomatic missions for him. The study of social life and nature in different parts of the kingdom is very well reflected in Aham and Puram poems especially the longer ones. This reflects a lot of wandering on the part of the scholastic and cultural troupes-pulavar, pāṭar (minstrels) and kūttar (dance drama artistes) in the different natural regions of the country. They used to present their scholarship periodically in the royal courts and in the festivals-especially the spring festivals. Though the preserved Saṅgam literature has for its overt justification the aim of literary appreciation, the rigorous norms governing pretextual or latent similies based on nature and social life to accentuate literary affects lends support to the belief that even the codified aham or love literature did in fact serve a pragmatic social purpose. Apart from informing the kings, chiefs and scholastic groups involved in the socio-aesthetic concern, the diffusion of such literature and the popular presentation of collateral material by the Pāṭar and Kūttar helped in the education of the people. It enabled people from one region to acquire important information and sentiments relating to the other regions. It helped kings and chiefs to spread information on achievements and issues of common interest and importance all over the kingdom. The use of songs specially composed or adopted on folk song generic in Čilappadikāram, especially those at the close, are a clear proof of such use. Čilappadikāram is also of interest to the student of historiography, since in writing historical or quasi historical literature, a Čēra prince (who chose to live as a Jain monk) writes objectively about the achievements of his brother Čenkuttuvan (who was apparently a Saivaite) and is very fair to the chōla and pāṇḍya kings, while the might of the chera king is well depicted even up to the successful Himalayan expedition, the final call is for peace, conciliation, understanding and prevention of conflict.
After the Saṅgam Age, there seems to be a dark period for a few centuries. The stage lights up in central Kerala by about the ninth century—now in a religious or multi-denominational light. Cheraman Perumāl of Kodungallur (Cranganore) is shown as a close friend of saint Sundarar and himself a Saivaite Saint in the Tamil Peria puranam. Other legends show him as a Muslim Saint or at least as a patron of Islam. The Kodugallar mosque of the early ninth century in Kerala style architecture is a concrete evidence of this, as the Saivaite temple at Thiruvanchikulam is evidence of the Saivaite connection. It would be reasonable to believe that one or more Ceremans patronised Arab traders, scholars and saints and that Islam came to Central Kerala in peace.

From about the ninth century we get a glimpse of the Āy-kings through various inscriptions and copper plates. The kings are shown in repeated power struggle with pāṇḍya, chōla and occasionally Čēra kings and at a later stage with the Vijayanagar kings and the Nayaks of Madurai. Brief mention of the points of some educational relevance is attempted here.

The kings made it a point to record in inscriptions in important temples or in copper plate or cudgan leaves some of their military feats or accomplishments of social significance. Popular literature also tends to perpetuate such accomplishments. Literature of the closing period for the last few centuries are extant. Sometimes the parties in the dispute tend to maintain different versions in popular literature as in the case of the Vijayanagar and Travancore versions of the same event.

The Āy-kings of the ninth century appear to have been patrons of learning as seen from the endowment of śalas by Karuṇān daṇḍakkan (857-885) and others. It is obvious from the Travancore Archeological series that besides Sanskritic learning, military and political importance also seems to be attached to them, knowledge of trailoka vyavahara was one of the conditions for admission to the partivāpuraṇam śalas, and presumable to its model at Kantalur.

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1 Kerala District Gazettes. op.cit., pp. 107-115.
From the tenth century the cholas started sacking military centres at Kantalur and Vizhingam and along with political operations, the Sanskrit learning institutions were also interfered with. The institutions were apparently re-endowed presumably under conditions which might ensure allegiance to the chola power. Venad till then was only a petty principality between Quilon and Thiruvananthapuram, but the disappearance of Ayas as a major political power in the tenth century synchronized with the emergence of Venad as the major power in south Kerala.

Marthanda Varma (1729-1758) also called the maker of Modern Travancore, was a great patron of Arts and letters and his expensive exploits helped to bring literary giants of the calibre of Ramapurathu Variar and Kunjan Nambiyar to his court. His dedication of the kingdom of Sri Padmanabha Swami (1749) was obviously an act of devotion, but it does not seem to be a bad move in terms of internal diplomacy. As the first among the Padmanabha Dasas, he obtained the moral and spiritual right to control and excesses of the Yogakkar and Pillamar. Thereafter civic reforms with socio-religious implications by this Dasa could be done on the auspices of Padmanabha himself and the Yogakkar and other religious pressure groups did not have the monopoly in interpreting matters religious. Marthanda Varma was succeeded by Rama Varma (1758-1798), also known as Dharma Raj.

After Balarama Varma there seemed to be some uncertainty. Gowri Lekshmi Bai (1810-1815) ascended the throne as Regent. In her time an able British Resident, Col Munroe, took over and advised the queen in introducing progressive reforms.

Gowri Lekshmi Bai was followed by Gowri Parvathi Bai (1815-1829). Munroe continued to advise her and some momentous reforms in education and social uplift followed. Of this the famous Rescript of 1817 is considered to be the inauguration of modern education or at least the prelude to it, and of the first State concern for the education of its citizens and hence taken as the initial cut-off point for this study.

Ibid.
Because of the presence and 'advice' of dominant personalities like Macaulay and Munroe as Residents, some would wonder whether the Travancore rulers should be given any credit at all for the educational reforms, especially after the treaty with the company in 1805 with such disadvantageous terms to the State. In the view of this investigator these terms relieved the ruling monarchs of many of their powers as well as preoccupations with external defence and foreign relations problems. In fact, through the centuries the rulers of Travancore, and earlier, Venad, the Ay- kingdom and Čera kingdom have done this. Only, the earlier educational decisions were of the 'non-formal' type and inscribed in places of worship and in copper plates. The decisions starting in early nineteenth century regarding formal schooling and its progressive modernisation naturally took the forms of Rescripts. Of course the idea for it obviously came through British contacts. But the decision itself could have been only that of the nature rulers.

Col. Thomas Munroe was resident for nine years (1810-1819). Rāṇi Gowri Pārvathi Bāi who succeeded to the throne in 1815 invited him to be her Diwan and for four years and a half Munro held both offices. He corrected several abuses with thoroughness and energy, though sometimes his approaches seemed high-handed. Munroe did a lot for the Syrian Christians. He freed them from the custom of giving compulsory free labour and monetary contributions to Hindu temples and festivals. Christian judges were also got appointed in civil courts.

An enquiry conducted by him in 1813 showed that the Syrians including their clergy were in need of education. He developed a plan to establish a college at Koṭṭayam, linked to fifty-two parish schools. The younger clergy were to be the chief target group to be educated in the college seminary. The Rāṇi gave the site, timber and grants of money. Munroe wrote to the CMS for a missionary and Norton was sent (1816) who was followed by others. This is a unique case of a CMS mission to Christians in a land like India, on the behest of a civilian with support from a Hindu queen.

2 Ibid., pp. 9-13.
Munroe took a personal interest even in the curriculum of the college, which though primarily as a religious institution, was regarded by the sirkar as an institution of general education. Munroe’s letters indicate a concern for religion, British power and academic depth. A course of English instruction is very much wanted at the college”, Wrote he, “it would be eminently useful in enlightening the minds of the kattanars (priests) and would have great influence on the early and substantial establishment of the Protestant religion in India and on the confirmation of the British power... several branches of instruction which may be considered foreign to a missionary’s office and objects had to be undertaken; but these branches of instruction, while not essential to the direct objects of a missionary, are yet, as a means to an end, in this case so important and so inseparably connected with the great purpose of the Mission that any attempt to dissolve this connection would be attended with great risk to the benefit expected from the institution”. So we find that not only Syriac was taught and Sanskrit, but also Latin, Greek and Mathematics.1 Munroe went to the extent of arranging meetings between the Syrian metropolitans and CMS missionaries and even between the Rani and the missionaries. Munroe’s retirement, the passing away of an understanding Metran, (Bishop) the arrival of more reformist missionaries and the Syrians, recollection of their earlier partnership with Catholics and the synod of Diamper led to the dissolution of the partnership between CMS and the Syrians in the college in 1837.

With so much open advocacy of Christianity and Christian influence in a Hindu State which the missionary supporters in the British Indian policy like Grant, Wilberforce and Duff could not advocate, one might again wonder whether these decisions were taken by the rulers under pressure from Munroe. The probability is that they were free decisions of the Maharanji with the Resident only selling the idea of the ‘Renaissance’ to her. It is true that Munroe was a “Christian Philanthropist. He was also a statesman, an officer of the British Raj at a time when ..... sentiments of hostility to the British power and hopes of its instability were common”. But the

1 Ibid. p.60.
reasons for believing that the pro-missionary Rescripts were not issued under Dewan are:

1. Travancore royalty believed that British alliance was the least of the evils.

2. They were aware of some of the evils in Hindu socio-religious practices, and had themselves introduced reform in this sphere earlier.

3. As a Hindu Dewan said, in supporting the missionaries the Government had taken into account its self interest.

4. The rulers who were also Padmanabha Dāsās were confident that Hindu faith cannot be so easily shaken. In fact Swāthi Thirunāḷ acceded to the condition of Mr. Robert that Christian scripture will also be taught in the English School.

It is in the social and political setting described above that the educational reforms in Travancore (1817-1947) have to be considered. We find the Royal Rescript of 1817 a genuine attempt to provide an education to the citizens (kudiyānmār) to fit them to the new roles in society. Later rescripts provided for some parity in judicial system by appointing Brāhmins, Nāirs and Christians, English education to meet the needs of modernisation, attempts to gradually restore the depressed classes to their due place in society and also to give educational concessions to the depressed and backward classes to equalise opportunity.

While formal education in the modern sense was provided in relation to felt or anticipated civic needs, these seemed to be cognisance of the 'conscientising' and even revolutionary potential of modern education. The effect of English education in developing liberal, radical and nationalising trends in British India had been discussed in the last section on Linguistic Factors.

Besides the demonstrated unrest in campus, political education was taking shape in several ways not planned by the formal educationists. The education provided in the English schools and colleges turned out graduates far in excess of white collar needs. Since the education was dysfunctional from every other point of view, it was turning out a large number of unemployed and unemployable youth cut off from their moorings. This was a threat to social stability and the established order, secondly, Malayalam novels and news papers were providing effective non-formal
education in the sense of developing an acute political consciousness among wide sections of the population. The relatively high literacy base of the State created an avid clientele for the new material in print. Thirdly just across the border, in Malabar, where social and economic disparities were wider, communistic and congress socialist forces were gathering momentum poised to invade the south. The nationalistic forces in Travancore were relatively sober and even innocuous, but were in the early phases provoked by suppressive actions like the deportation of the journalist Ramakrishna Pillai and latter precipitated into the violent fray by C P's high handed way of dealing with the problem.

Nositter makes the following insightful remarks:

*Education, agitation, government action and the media have in complex combination, contributed to the integration of Kerala as a political system..... The leaders of the major political movements and major parties have tended to take Kerala as their platform from the 1930s onwards, while the few jathas (processions) were brought south from Malabar in support of the struggle for responsible government in Travancore*¹

The real spadework for communism was conducted in Malabar. In 1934 EMS became Joint National Secretary of the Congress Socialist Party. The educated young with paper qualification and no prospect of employment were attracted by the movement. “Inside a year the C S P activists had established a ‘congress’ committee in almost every village in Malabar outside the Moplah zone, backed by reading rooms where local activists taught the illiterate to read socialist books and pamphlets and conducted study classes”. Youth work, football matches, competition, socialist dramas, were non-formal devices to attract the youth².

“In Malabar socialism developed within the organisational frame work of the feudal struggle, in Travancore and Cochin within the frame work of the struggle for responsible government”. Though socialism was slow to develop in

Travancore, the communist task was facilitated by the higher levels of literacy, the greater caste opportunism and other factors. As early as 1928 the Travancore unemployment Enquiry Committee called attention to “the growing fascination which socialistic and communistic ideas..... exercise upon the minds of the young men educated in our colleges”\textsuperscript{1}. It is in this climate of educated discontent and the play of communal forces that there entered a major personality factor in the arena of the educo-politics of Kerala. Nossiter says that Sir. C.P.

\textit{was to become the last of the modernising Dewans of Travancore. A towering, at times arrogant figure, with a formidable intellect, CP’s economic achievements were legendary major public sector enterprises in aluminium, fertilizer and titanium, the modernization of the port of Cochin in collaboration with the neighbouring state, and an airport at Trivandrum built in a matter of months. He was also instrumental in the decision to open the temples of Travancore to all castes in 1936 and in the creation of the University of Travancore in 1937. There were it was said, few fields open to an upper-class Victorian Indian in which he did not distinguish himself..... From 1936 ..... he was Dewan of Travancore till 1947 when in the course of an obstinate attempt to establish an independent State of Travancore an attempt on his life led to his retirement from politics. He was one of the earliest to perceive the possibility of a communist Travancore-at times his concern with communist ‘threat’ to India bordered on the obsessional-but by his antipathy to the movement for responsible government and his skilful exploitation of communal conflict, C.P did much to make his fears a reality}.\textsuperscript{2}

Thus we see here a number of related trends: education designed to fit certain social political changes, education unleashing certain liberal and radical forces leading even up to the first elected communist government. So many other trends and

\textsuperscript{1} \textit{Ibid.} p.72
\textsuperscript{2} \textit{Ibid.} p.39
overtones could also be seen—the rightist strategy to meet the leftist threat, leftist counter strategy etc. All these have left a high level of non-formal political education which has no parallel in any other part of India, including west Bengal.

6.6 Religious Factors

One of the dominant features about Kerala which has struck several shrewd observers is the happy co-existence of several religious forces in very close proximity.

In an extremely insightful study of the Centre de Researchers Socio-Reliquieuses, universite catholique de houvain, Lemercinier¹ has pointed out some rare Socio-religious phenomena observed in Kerala.

In Kerala we find ourselves faced with a plurality of religious systems, and not only religious as such, but also of plurality within each religion. We are faced here today, in a society only lately introduced into the capitalist system, with the existence, without conflict, of different religious groups; with the relationship between religious-belonging and social belonging castes and ethnic groups; and finally with the importance of the religious factor as a component of the culture of each of these groups. Hence we may put forward the hypothesis that, in Kerala religion has never performed the function of providing social identity.

In contrast, a more straight-hit and less scholarly approach is reflected in the doctoral study of a Keralite catholic scholar working at the Pontifical Gregorian University, Rome. The following extract² from Nurulla and Naik’s History of Education is cited to develop the case for the investigation.

After the visit of Vasco da Gama (1498) and the establishment of Portuguese power on the western coast of India the Roman Catholic Mission and on the advent of the English in the 18th Century the

¹ Genevieve Lemercinier. op.cit., p.2
protestant Missions and the London Mission Society in 1806—all put their efforts together in the field of education and thus 32 percent of the population, originally Hindu converts, an educationally advanced community, was a double asset to the country, partly because it reduced the magnitude of the problem of educating the backward classes and partly because the higher attainments helped in raising the educational standard of society as a whole.

Reverting to the Nurulla Naik citation of Dr. Pudichery, there are misleading implications in starting the history of Christianity with the Portuguese. Syrian Christians started their history in India from 52 AD when St. Thomas, direct Apostle of Jesus Christ, converted some Brāhmins to Christianity by a display of miracles and preaching. In the sixth century a Christian traveller, Cosmos Indicopleustes came to Malabar and has recorded the presence of Christians there receiving bishops from Persia. “Other travellers, coming at far distant intervals during the Middle ages, testified to the continued existence of the Christians, some of them referred to them as Nestorians, and some spoke of St. Thomas Shrine at Mylapore.”

Among the missionaries who followed on the trail of the Portuguese were the Franciscan and the Carmelitas who did real missionary work. Among the earliest of the Jesuits who came to India was St. Francis Xavier, one of the greatest missionaries who ever lived. His lasting contribution was in the south, in Quilon and in Kanyakumari. His pious and saintly life has been remembered by Christians and Hindus alike. The typical missionary concern is shown by the speed with which he got the catechism translated into Malayalam in a short time, learnt it and taught it to the poor Christian converts. The iconography and the associated art and architecture brought in by the Catholics is one of the standing monuments for their contribution. These icons, processions, festivals and the miraculous powers claimed and believed in

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2 W.S. Hunt, *op.cit.*, pp. 33-34.
3 *Ibid.*. Chapters, “Churches and Mosques of Kerala”. 
by the local population contributed in so small measure in conversions to Christianity. The diplomatic role of Francis Xavier and later missionaries and the fact that the converts to Catholicism from the lower castes constituted one of the reliable and manageable section in the Venad/Travancore army in the Vijayanagar encounters were also favourable factors. But let us revert back to Central Kerala for a darker episode in the religious encounters in the Portuguese period.

The Bishops and other missionaries who came in the trail of Portuguese power found to their surprise and dismay that the church in Kerala had not heard of the Pope or of St. Peter, or of the Latin language. So they needed 'education'. A seminary for syrian ordinants set up by the Franciscans at Cranganore in 1549, soon proved a failure and the educational efforts of the Jesuits in this direction too was not very successful. It would be worthwhile to follow the narrative of Hunt

In 1598, when the Portuguese Indian empire was at the Zenith of its splendour and squalor and when the Roman church was firmly established all along the coast, with cathedrals, churches and convents there came into Malabar an absolutely fearless, iron-willed prelate, Alaxo de Menezes. Archbishop of Goa, who was resolved to reduce Syrians to the obedience of the Holy Roman church. And this he did, after a struggle that would have daunted a less resolute person. At the synod of Diamper (udayamperur) fourteen miles from the capital of Cochin state on June 20-26, 1599, he compelled 153 Syrian clergy and 660 lay delegates by the sheer might of his overpowering personality to pass a number of decrees practically admitting their church to have been heretical and schismatic but now purged and submissive to the papal sect. He caused their devotional and other books to be amended or burnt, but allowed them to retain their syriac liturgy of St. Addai, in an expurgated form, until the Pope should express his will in the matter. And he placed at the head of the syrian church a Portuguese bishop.

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1 W. S. Hunt, op.cit., p 35.
Any way, it would be worth while to review some of the missionary and educational efforts of the CMS missions, particularly because much of it falls with in the purview of the period covered in this investigation, and also because even after discounting the purely religious part of this missionary enterprise, there were rich outcomes with a secular significance in terms of literacy and cultural levels, uplifting the downtrodden, humanising influence adaptation, printing and diffusion of modern knowledge etc. probably one of the reasons why Hindu rulers deliberately supported the missionaries. It is not proposed to give a detailed or even a brief account of all aspects of missionary effort but only present brief profiles of significance.

The unique case of attempting to educate the leaders of another Christian group through the Kottayam College has been discussed already under the profile of Col. Munroe. The Franciscans had already tried it in a way and failed. But then it was a case of Latin and Catholic doctrines. In Kottayam there was a high general education component including English, Sanskrit, Syriac, Latin, Greek and Mathematics and “branches of instruction which may be considered foreign to a missionary’s office and objects John Robert who took up work in this College later moved to Nagercoil” where he conducted the English seminary, which has developed into the Scott Christian College. A Maharaja who visited Nagercoil in the thirties was so pleased with the seminary that he invited Roberts to open a similar school in the capital of the State. The invitation was accepted on the understanding that scripture should be taught. This was conceded, and that was the beginning of the Maharaja’s College.”

Thus though Munroe’s Project of educating and evangelising the Syrian Kattanar failed in the avowed purpose, it turned out to be the first experimental English Education Institution in Travancore. The Kottayam spirit, via Roberts, passed through Nagercoil to Thiruvananthapuram and helped to develop the leading English education system in the State, gradually shedding its religious dimension. Thus what

\[1\] *Ibid.*, p 61
Munroe sowed Swāti Tirunāḷ reaped in an entirely unexpected way and distributed the benefit to the entire State, including future Syrians in a form which they would demand and get.

A missionary has a mission. He has an urge to communicate something. For that reason he puts in any amount of effort to learn the peoples language and communicate his message in it. The Serampore missionaries did it in Bengal for many languages. The Tranquebar missionaries developed Tamil. The Travancore missionaries developed wide communication systems through Malayalam. In every one of the cases this communication system was available for secular knowledge also, and in many cases, the missionaries themselves gave the lead for it.

Buchanan was one of the earliest evangelists to visit Travancore (1806). He got into touch with Syrian Bishops and other leaders and advised them to translate Syrian scriptures into the Vernacular. His book ‘Christian Research in Asia’ has been the source of inspiration to many missionaries and others to come to the help of the Malabar Syrians.

Buchanan had suggested to the Metran in 1806 that the clergy sent out in future by the Church of England might be permitted to preach in the numerous churches of the Syrians and aid them in the promulgation of pure religion. Norton was the first missionary to avail himself of the privilege. He settled in Alleppey in May 1816, and col Munroe’s suggestion in the midst of the medley of races and religions, eager to evangelise them. He wrote, “I long to see streams of salvation flowing through this sandy desert”. After seven months of work he was able to speak Malayalam little and after two years he wrote, “As now, by Divine mercy, I can write a Malabar sermon and, when written, can deliver it as readily as in English”. His first Malayalam sermon was preached in November, 1818, first in his own church at Aleppey and repeated soon in the Syrian church at Mavelikkara. Bailey, Fenn and Baker soon followed his example. “Naturally this caused no small stir. Not only was it a strange experience to the Syrians to hear Englishmen preach in their own

Ibid., p.9
language, it was a novel experience to them to hear sermons at all and it was much appreciated by them and their Metran.1

Norton and Bailey translated parts of the Book of Common Prayer. The former used it in his services in his house, school and then in his church. The first Malayalam services in Kottayam was conducted on September 20, 1818 with Mr. Bailey's translation. The Metrans and some priests who heard it were very much struck by it.2

Benjamin Bailey is described by Mr. John Tucker as not of brilliant talents or peculiar gifts. Yet this man with his perseverance and prudence has left three enduring monuments—his translations, his printing press, and the church he built at Kottayam. Bailey like many other English missionaries felt the need for books to instruct an Englishman in the Malayalam language, books on grammar and a dictionary. Without all these he mastered the language and even commenced translation of the scriptures. He wanted for five years to start printing and before a suitable one arrived from England, he himself had improved a wooden printing press. Still there were no fonts of Malayalam type. Type cast at the Government foundry at Madras was unlike the Malayalam character and had to be discarded. Though he had never seen a type foundry or its apparatus, he used 'an inferior and cyclopaedia and a small book on printing' and the services of common native carpenter and two native silver smiths and succeeded in producing a print that was pronounced to be "extremely beautiful and correct".

From that press have issued two complete editions of the Holy Scriptures and two of the common prayer books in the Malayalam language, both translated from beginning to end by Mr. Bailey alone, and afterwards revised by him with the assistance of missionary brethren, a large Dictionary of Malayalam and English and another of English and Malayalam wholly of his own productions.3 The Raja paid the whole cost of printing the Dictionary. Sarah Tucker adds, "still there was

1 Ibid., pp. 133, 135, 71-72.
2 Ibid., p 151
3 Ibid., p 122
no printer; but not disheartened, Mr. Bailey so efficiently instructed an orphan boy whom he had benevolently brought up that this want was soon supplied. The CMS missionaries' work with Syrian kattanars was a typical case of adult education. Apart from English and classical language they used Malayalam, the medium of communication in church services. Adult education opportunities in absolutely open situations came in street preachings and festival preaching.

As early as 1818 the Kottayam CMS missionaries found the Hindus ready to converse and held that the best evangelical method is to ask them questions 'having a tendency to lead to inquiry and awaken conscience, rather than to enter into any prolific discourse or argument'.

Formal education was one of the important services rendered by the missionaries. The first CMS missionary, Norton, was able to start a school very soon after his arrival. Already in 1817, he ran a school in the Mission Compound with 44 scholars. He had an orphanage also supported by local contributions, with 26 inmates. "In August 1819, he opened another school in the Great Bazaar, the Resident having secured for him a place of land there. It began with two pupils. Others had promised to come, but had been frightened by a rumour that the missionary intended to baptise them by force and ship them off to England. Norton was then getting into the bad books of the Roman Catholics who were active in spreading this equally preposterous but temporarily effective rumours". Some feel that Norton drew this upon himself because he strangely denounced image worship, was not gentle in controversy over Roman Catholic tenets and he was receiving 'converts' from Romanism.

But Norton plodded on and by 1827 had seven schools with a hundred children in them. A few years later he had eleven schools with 301 boys and 57 girls. One of the schools was meant for Nayar children and supported by Col. Munroe's son, but most of the schools were mission-supported with an 'Alleppey school Fund'. Norton also started two boarding schools, one on each side of the mission compounds. One for boys and the other for girls. The latter, supervised by Mrs. Norton had 18
girls in 1829. They were taught spinning, plain needle work and dress making, the 3 R's and moral and religious truths. In the case of the 'more intelligent', English was also taught. Norton had practically no precedents to guide him. Similar educational work took place in other CMS and LMS centres also. When the State wanted to develop an educational system providing general education, the missionaries had already established a model.

The Catholics appear to have done some missionary work with the Paravar and other depressed classes in the coastal areas. But, for the slaves, hill tribes and the depressed classes living in land very little seem to have been done. As early as 1819, Norton describes the depressed state of the Pariar, and states the need for their enlightenment and education. In 1835 he did get an opportunity of establishing a school for instruction of their (Janda Pulaya's) children, themselves desiring it and (had) nearly completed a room for it to be kept in. After listening to his preaching with avidity twenty fisher folk of Vaikom were baptised in 1839.

A more intimate case of Association with the slaves attached to the soil was forced on the missionaries with the grant of a tract of land at Kallada near Quilon (Munore Island) in support of the Kotthayam College. A hundred slaves had also been given along with the land. Joseph Fenn wrote that, I cannot but indulge the hope that ere long they will posses the noblest freedom.

He proposed to build on the island a church and a school (and a hospital) so that "the slaves as well as the other inhabitants, who were Ezhavas, might obtain that perfect freedom, the liberty where with the Christ hath made us free". Thus arose the idea of evangelising the outcastes. But so long as the slaves were not freed in the worldly sense, "It must have been irksome to the consciences of men who had sat at the feet of Wilber force to find themselves, if not actual slave holders, connivers of slavery". On 31st March 1835, the missionaries were able to formally liberate the slaves. This was about twenty years before the Travancore Government

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1 Ibid. pp. 138-139
2 Ibid. pp. 147.
freed its slaves and longer before all slaves in the State where declared free. But the awareness of their freedom was slow to come from the erstwhile slaves.

Substantial work among the Paṣayās and Pulayās began in 1850. Rev. T.G. Ragland is the missionary who initiated it. According to one account, a number of these outcastes were gazing at the missionaries from a distance. “They were asked if they would like to be taught the true Vēdām”. A ready response on their part led to the opening of the first slave school and this was soon followed by others. Another version is that “Ragland was attracted by learning the Pūlaya women signing as they weeded the rice fields (an event which) happened presumably somewhere near Mallapally” (near Tiruvalla).

Ragland’s plan was that Mr. Mattan should open a school for the slaves of the neighbourhood in some unfrequented spot (Kalpatta was chosen) and induce them to attend with a promise of Rs. 5 a piece to the first few who learnt to read the new Testament. The school master himself, Mr. Pothen passed through some vacillation before the programme was launched effectively.

Some of the emotional side lights in the education of these slaves have been cited by the CMS Missionaries. While addressing God as “Our Father” many of them would be overpowered by emotion. While the slaves were erecting the school for themselves a member of congregation told the missionary, “Sir, I believe these poor creatures will become far better Christians than we have been”. While it was found that many of the older people could not get into their heads the most rudimentary truths, the insightful missionaries found that they showed true, ‘heart knowledge’ when it seemed almost impossible to instil ‘head knowledge’ into them. After some years many of them were baptised. But the converted were soon persecuted and their prayer-house burnt to ashes and even Rev. G. Mathan who taught them and his congregation were considered defiled, even by Syrian Christians. But all this persecution helped to strengthen the movement. During the decade 1850-1863

1 Ibid., p 193
2 Ibid., p 198.
five thousand adherents were added, to the church, the great majority being out caste converts.

Perhaps the most romantic episode in the education of the outcastes comes from Anamudi Hills, the centre of the Hill Arrians (Arayans) with Mr. Baker Jr. as the leading light. It appears that following the synod of Diamper, two Syrian Kattanārs were sent as missionaries to these hill areas. But beyond the headmen and others being baptised and a church being built, no follow-up work seems to have been done. Nearly one and a half centuries later a deputation of Arrians from five hills suddenly turned up in Mr. Baker's house at Pallam inviting him to preach to the people and open schools for them. But Baker was already overworked and was not sure whether he could take up the work (unallotted by that mission) just then. But they visited him five times and made their demand. This was a rare case of the flock calling the shepherd. Baker could not resist and he went into the hills. When he did take up the assignment, among the several criticisms of his own co-workers one was that it was an attempt to satisfy the scientific-aesthetic carvings of the Baker couple. He (Baker Jr) had a quick eye for natural phenomena and studied with sympathetic zest the ways of beasts and birds and of all jungle creatures; he was later, an active corresponding member of the Royal Zoological Society. But above all, he was from his youth up, 'a simple minded, devoted servant of our Lord'. His wife possessed unusual artistic gifts, and they collaborated for several years in producing an illustrated vernacular magazine, "The Treasury of Knowledge".

The primary call in this case has been spiritual, but the scientific and artistic rewards were to be added unto it. The Arrians were apparently immigrants from lowlands who settled in the hills to preserve their independence.

After a very long tramp through stuffy jungles and even along an elephant track, Baker arrived at the appointed place. "By night fall some two hundred men and lads had assembled on a piece of level ground outside the village. At each corner of this muidan- the village parliament house- were piles of firewood, which were lit and flared like beacons. Here backer delivered his message. He promised to follow it up by sending them teachers. The training of such teachers itself was a
stupendous task. Conversions and persecutions followed. “More than once they had
to climb up trees with all possible speed out of the way of wild elephants”. By 1851,
the success, not withstanding the hazards and persecutions justified the setting up of a
Mission at Mundakayam.

They cleared the jungle and built the parsonage, namely two
huts, one at the foot and one in the branches of a great tree. The latter,
reached by a bamboo ladder, was the missionary’s bedroom ‘out of
reach of the elephant and tigers, then very numerous’. Similar huts
were built for the agents. The place was beautiful and romantic, with
the river rushing noisily by over granite boulders, the profuse
vegetation, and the high hills to the east. It was central and in other
ways, suitably, but malarial

But all this work in the hills was an ‘extra’ for the Bakers. They had to
keep a store of rockets in readiness to scare away the intruding animals. First a tent
was pitched for the church. But soon the place attracted visitors and churches and
schools were built. In 1860, after seventeen years in India, Mr. And Mrs. Baker went
home on furlough enfeebled by malaria and other maladies. After accomplishing so
much in so little a time, Mr. Baker left behind him an organised church with 900
adherents

This profile of the CMS has been given in detail not only because it
took place during the period under study, but also because it helped to rejuvenate
Indian society and education on the model of Indian Renaissance (vide Linguistic
Factors) and many of the conquests into the new domains in social reform and
education, have been mapped out, into the domain of secular common education too.
But the Christian missions today hold control over the majority of the educational
institutions- of course in a spirit and setting different from what the early missionaries
had to face

*Ibid.* p 188

*Ibid.* pp. 189-191
So the Pudicherry citation of Nurulla-Naik over which much of the present discussion had dilated, was given so much attention because it seems to be a case of *supressi veri suggesti falsi*. The Catholic Missionaries have in fact made valuable contributions, though not in the form suggested in the citation. As indicated earlier, this is not typical of Nurulla-Naik presentation either. In an attempt to make the book comprehensive they seem to have used highly secondary material to cover the princely State of Kerala. Pudicherry’s main purpose in his thesis was to make a case for the Church Militant and the Church Triumphant (in the socio-political rather than purely religious sense). He refers in his thesis to the church’s agitation against the Kerala Education Bill (1957) as the Second School War. The phrase in the citation that “all (the churches) put their efforts together in the field of education” might not have been true with reference to missionary or first schooling efforts (competition and conflicts have been cited), but in the ‘school wars’ the churches probably did put their efforts together, though in different degrees, with the evangelical churches probably maintaining the lowest profile.

The Pudicherry discussion of the topic and the Nossiter-Lemercenier perception of Religions in Kerala seem to be contradictory in that one represents a militant posture: the other a peaceful, accommodating posture. Perhaps throughout the history of religion in Kerala, both these postures could be discussed. For instance, early Tamil literature shows Buddhism, Jainism and even Brahmin scholars in their transaction with the people as egalitarian, missionary, eager to share their knowledge with others. On the other hand, evidences like Parthivapuram inscription (866 A.D.) reveal the cream of Brāhmin students in their militant, agitational pose, even without a cause. Similarly, Buddhism and Jainism also could have displayed domineering (if not agitational) and diplomatic trends in their heydays. Islam has come to central Kerala in peace. The contribution of various Muslim *Pulavars* in the Travancore area, the grave monuments of Muslim saints all over the State, with significant place names like Peermade reflect the positive phase. In the north of Kerala, agitational phase could also be very well discerned. With Christianity also the peaceable,
accommodating and positive phase can be seen simultaneously with the possessive and agitational phase.

But then the agitational and conflict-prone phases are displayed not so much with religion as such, but with the socio-political carriers of religion. With reference to religion per se, the observations, of the scholars who have admired the coexistence and co-operation of different religions seem to be correct. Where differing practices of religion need to come together as in the case of the shouting Ayyappa Bhaktas having to pass in close vicinity to a Muslim mosque, a brilliant Raja at Pandalam found an easy solution by enacting a ‘Treaty’ between Lord Ayyappan himself and Vavar (the Arab chief), insisting that Bhaktas must first worship in the mosque before coming to Him, enabling the Muslim trustees to earn considerable amount in the process, and ensuring that at the time of the silent prayer in the mosque the Hindu Bhaktas also maintain silence on Ayyappa’s command. This is a unique masterpiece of ‘inter-religion-education’ in history.

Various folk religions and folk education models have been incorporated into Hindu religious practices in Kerala. The Pulluvar, Mannar, Malayarayar, Malavedar, Pulayar, Velar and others still continue the folk education leadership through forums provided in temples and in home worship. Similarly Tiruvatirappattukal seem to provide girls (particularly Nair girls) the ground for non-formal education on lines similar to what Kalari provided for men. In Kerala the Muslims and Christians also seem to have incorporated many of the non-formal education devices from Hindus. The Chandanakkudam festivals of Muslims, particularly in the Bhimappalli of Trivandrum are typical examples. Catholics are extremely strong in adapting these folk education devices from the Hindus and in some aspects they have overtaken them.

Another important aspect is the deep aesthetico-spiritual form of education implied in the Art, Architecture and Sculpture in places of worship. Folk

education implied in Kajamezhuthu should be given at least as much importance as the attention given to geometry which the Brāhmins have cultivated in drawing their sacrificial forms. The Christians, particularly the Catholics have also contributed in the graphic arts associated with worship. It is in this area that perhaps Portuguese contact has made a lasting impact. In the Hindu temple this is a crucial aspect and the existential and aesthetico-spiritual educational aspects of it have been analysed very ably by Induchudan, Cousins, Stella Kramrisch, Bernier and others.