CHAPTER - VII

EDUCATION OF SUBALTERN CLASSES

The word, ‘subaltern’, according to the Concise Oxford Dictionary, means inferior rank. The Subaltern People are variously designated as ‘common people’, ‘bottomline people’ and the ‘downtrodden people’. Subaltern Classes generally refer to the mass of the Labouring Class and the Lower Strata of the Society. It includes the Depressed Class, Women, Labourers, Tribals and Prisoners. This Chapter attempts to highlight the History of Education of the Helpless People. There was Advancement of Education in the case of Women, Depressed Class, Kallars and Prisoners thanks to the colonial measures. In this regard, the Role of the Christian Missionaries, the administrative measures of the Colonial Administrators and the Labour Department was remarkable. Education was made accessible to the common people due to the over all progressive measures.

Education of Depressed Classes

The problems of Scheduled Castes have always been a matter of controversy. The so-called 'Untouchable' was renamed as the "Scheduled Caste" in the Constitution of India. There is no generic name of common acceptance that actually describes this large group of people. They are described by different names and expressions.\(^3\)

J. T. Marten, the Census Commissioner for the year 1921, was asked to prepare an estimate of the "Depressed Classes" population on February, 23, 1928. M. R. Jayakar once observed “... by 'Depressed Classes' I mean those who suffer from social disabilities like untouchability.”\(^4\) On the request made by a number of associations of the socially backwards, the term "Depressed Class" was politically or statutorily accepted. However, the "Depressed Class" leaders like B. R. Ambedkar did not favour this term. He went on to argue in the Round Table Conference that his people should be called "Exterior Castes" or "Excluded Castes".

Meanwhile, in the Tamil Land there was strong protest against the use of words like "Paraiya", "Panchama" etc., from this group of people. The "Scheduled Caste" leaders like M.C. Rajah made a powerful speech advancing valid arguments

in support of this plea. He said: "We are the original inhabitants of this land and we never submitted to the yoke of caste. We are the true descendants of the original inhabitants and preservers of the original Adi-Dravidan Civilization".\(^5\) Hence they started calling themselves "Adi-Dravidas". However, that dispute did not end with the change of nomenclature.

The British Government listed all the hereditary Untouchable Communities under a special "Schedule" in the Government of India Act of 1935 and finally they came to be designated as "Scheduled Castes".\(^6\) In that list, 439 castes were included for special treatment by the Government of India. In Madras Presidency, 86 communities came under this category. The word “Scheduled Caste” has been incorporated in the Constitution of India.

**Role of the British Government**

In the traditional Hindu Society, the Scheduled Castes were the 'Backward' in education. They had no opportunity to read and write. This was one of the reasons why the other castes were not only able to suppress them but also to allot and assign menial jobs to them. Education was monopolized and taken away by the Brahminised Upper Caste Hindus. Having been regarded as the outcastes for

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\(^6\) *Joint Committee on the Constitutional Reform, 1933-1934*, Delhi, 1934, p. 70.
centuries, Educational Opportunity was denied to the Scheduled Castes. The Scheduled Caste Parents were not aware of the gains of educating their children and did not send them to school. Instead they sent the children to Upper Caste Hindus to tend their cattle or work in the fields. Some were kept as Bonded Labourers by their parents due to their Pecuniary Position. They were too poor to pay the fees or buy books. Though some people were able to acquire education, Caste Hindus prevented them from entering into schools. The Parents of the Caste Hindu Pupils refused to send their children to schools where the Scheduled Castes were admitted. The School Masters also shared this discrimination making the Scheduled Castes sit outside the schools and teaching from a distance. The Scheduled Caste Children were not allowed to sit on the benches provided in the class-room. They were not allowed to pass on the streets of the Hindus where the schools were situated and therefore, they had to remain illiterate. Many cases were reported from all over the Madras Presidency on the question of admitting Non Caste Hindu Children to Schools situated in Caste Hindu Streets. The extreme case was thrashing of a Scheduled Caste Boy by a Brahmin by his foot wear for the latter's entry into the Aghraram, the Brahmin Settlement. In those days, even the

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7 Tremenhere, *Note on Pariahs of Chengleput*, Saidapet, Madras, 1892, p. 32.
8 *Kudiarasu*, 24 April 1926.
School Teachers belonging to Scheduled Caste Community were not allowed to travel in a common vehicle.\(^9\)

However, in the year 1858 the British Government issued an order that educational institutions should be open to all classes without any discrimination after the Transfer of Power from the East India Company to British Crown. It was considered the beginning of the Government's Direct Intervention in the Education of the Scheduled Castes. Grants for Private Schools were also given for admitting the Scheduled Caste Students.\(^10\) The Christian Missionaries came forward and helped the Scheduled Castes in the educational front. They admitted Scheduled Caste Children in their schools.

To circumvent the opposition of Caste Hindus, it was suggested that Separate Schools should be started for the Scheduled Caste Children. Promoting this idea, ‘The Hindu’, by way of an Editorial in 1891, observed that it was impossible to expect the Caste Hindu Children in the same school where scheduled Castes were admitted. The Government was perfectly justified in showing Special Consideration to a class whose conditions must be a blot on any civilized social system.\(^11\)

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\(^9\) Ibid., 19 December 1926.
\(^10\) G. O. No. 329, Education Department, 17 March, 1919.
\(^11\) The Hindu, 3 June 1891.
British Administrators took keen interest in the Education of the Scheduled Castes. This interest became the starting point of a Policy Shift of the Government towards the Educational Improvement of the Scheduled Castes. More schools were established for them separately.\textsuperscript{12}

Both the British Government and Voluntary Organizations found difficulties in maintaining even Separate Schools because of the discriminative attitude of the Caste- Hindu Teachers and Officials. There was scarcity of Trained Scheduled Caste Teachers to be appointed to the Scheduled Caste Schools.\textsuperscript{13} High Castes refused to enter and inspect the Schools at the Scheduled Castes’ Settlements where Separate Schools for the Scheduled Castes were situated.

**Ameliorative Measures**

The Government of Madras conducted an enquiry which revealed that ignorance, poverty, oppression and exploitation were the causes responsible for their miserable condition and that the remedy was Educational Opportunity and good direction.\textsuperscript{14} The Madras Provincial Government undertook the work of the amelioration of the Scheduled Castes. In 1881, the population of the Scheduled Castes in the Madras Presidency was 44, 39, 233 and in 1891, their number was

\textsuperscript{12} G. O. No. 68, Education Department, 1 February, 1893.
\textsuperscript{13} Dhananjay Keer, *Dr. Ambedkar Life and Mission*, Bombay, 1962, p. 5.
\textsuperscript{14} G.O. No. 1675 and 1676, Home Department, 2 September, 1919.
51, 62,086 under the title of 'Depressed Classes'.\textsuperscript{15} The Government realized that Education was the only panacea to improve their condition and status.

**Christian Missionaries and Depressed Classes**

The work of the Christian Missionaries in the field of education was significant. Though the Missionaries were guided by religious motive in their educational activities, they nevertheless worked indefatigably for the regeneration of India. The Christian Missionaries realized that the spread of English Language would help the spread of Christianity in the Country. Though some British Officials took keen interest in the Education of the Scheduled Castes during the Modern Period, the credit goes indeed to the Christian Missionaries who came to India.\textsuperscript{16} Conversion was their main intention and the Indian Social Condition gave them enough scope and space. They stressed on humanitarian service and through this, they facilitated the Spread of Christianity. However, they were the first agency who tried to give Educational Opportunity to the Scheduled Castes in their settlements and developed them as organized communities.\textsuperscript{17}

Red Letter Day

It was found that as per the 1871 Educational Census of Madras, considerable number of children belonging to Scheduled Castes availed the Educational Opportunities provided by the Missionaries.\textsuperscript{18} The Government Order No. 68 of the Educational Department on 1\textsuperscript{st} February 1893, which was considered the Red Letter Day in the History of Education of Scheduled Caste, was the result of the efforts made by the Christian Missionaries like Adam Andrew.\textsuperscript{19} The Missionaries were the first in removing the Educational Disabilities of the Scheduled Castes. When they were prevented from entering the schools by the High Castes who monopolized everything, including education, because of the social ostracism, it was the Missionaries who helped them by opening schools and provided them education to promote their welfare.\textsuperscript{20} While the country was neglecting a section of people in the name of Untouchability, the Missionaries mixed freely with the Scheduled Castes as they believed in the Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood of Man.

\textsuperscript{18} \textit{Educational Census of Madras}, November, 1871, Madras, 1872.
\textsuperscript{19} Mohan, P.E., \textit{op.cit.}, p.12.
Labour Department

The Montagu Chelmsford Reforms was a turning point in the History of Education of Scheduled Castes. In the year 1919, the Labour Department was entrusted with the task of looking after the Depressed Classes and the Scheduled Castes. For the first time, systematic Governmental efforts were made. Both the Government of India and the Provincial Government began to show their interest in the Education of the Scheduled Castes to some extent. The Government made institutionalized efforts to promote Education among the Scheduled Castes only after the formation of "Labour Department". The amelioration work under the Labour Department was started by the Justice Party which had proclaimed the ideal of championing the Cause of the Non Brahmins. But the Scheduled Caste leaders like M. C. Rajah stated that the Justice Party had not done justice to the Depressed Classes and the Scheduled Castes. However, the Labour Department undertook progressive measures to promote the educational condition of the Scheduled Castes.

Labour Commissioner

The educational activities of the Labour Department for the benefit of the Depressed Classes were the following. (1) Taking steps through the Education

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Department to get Scheduled Caste Pupils admitted in the existing schools. (2) Maintaining Hostels. (3) Sanctioning of Scholarships and Stipends and (4) Grants / Subsidies to Philanthropic Bodies working for the Educational Uplift of the Scheduled Castes.\textsuperscript{22}

A Separate Officer was appointed to look after the problems of Scheduled Castes. He was designated as "Protector of the Depressed Classes" and he later became the Labour Commissioner.\textsuperscript{23} The Labour Department started separate Schools for the Scheduled Castes called "Labour Schools" and maintained the policy of assisting Children of Scheduled Castes to get admission in public schools. But it could not achieve desirable advancement by passing the caste factor in educational institutions.

During the Pre-Independence Period, the Madras State was dominated by two political parties, ie., Justice Party and the Congress. The Justice Party was in power for 13 years. In 1937, the Congress formed the Ministry in the State. The issue of Education of the Scheduled Caste gathered greater momentum only after the attainment of Independence. The Harijan Welfare Committee was appointed

\textsuperscript{22} Marimuthu, E., 'Education of the Scheduled Caste Under the British Rule' in \textit{Proceedings Volume of the Twentieth Annual Session of South Indian History Congress}, Warrangal, 2000, p.145.

\textsuperscript{23} G.O. No. 748, Revenue Department, 22 March 1919.
The Committee met on July 10, 1947 and appointed a Sub-Committee which submitted its Report on October 6, 1947. It suggested the Bifurcation of the Labour Department and recommended a Separate Department for the Scheduled Castes. The Harijan Welfare Department is still looking after the welfare measures, including Educational Upliftment of the Scheduled Castes in the name of Adi-Dravida and Tribal Welfare Department.

**Education of Kallars**

As a Prime Reform Measure, the Government ventured on starting Schools to Educate the Kellar Population in Madura District. Special emphasis was given to identify youths rather than adults to get the benefit of education. Young Boys and Girls were attracted towards Schools because Education was the only panacea to reform the Kallars from their age old Criminal habit. Primary Education for Kellar children is an initial measure in the pursuit of Reclamation Activities.

In the second decade of the Twentieth Century, the Government had started Kellar Reclamation Primary Schools in villages which where exclusively inhabited by Kallars in order to wean the Kellar Community away from their evil practices. The chief feature of the Reclamation Work was imparting of Elementary Education

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24 G. O.No. 2628, Development Department, 16 June 1947.
25 G.O.No.447, Home Judicial Department, 1 March 1921.
26 G.O. No. 1902, Law (General) Department, 8 August 1922.
to the Kallar boys and girls.\textsuperscript{27} Some of the schools were under the direct control of the Labour Department and some were under the Missionary Management.\textsuperscript{28}

**Formation of Kallar Reclamation Schools**

The Government had initially invited various Christian Missionaries to start Schools in the Kallar Region of Tirumangalam Taluk of Madurai District. The American Mission, the Swedish Mission, and the Roman Catholic Mission were persuaded to start schools for Kallar Reclamation.\textsuperscript{29} Moreover, T.E. Moir, Commissioner of Labour, held discussion with the American Madura Mission at Pasumalai. Rev. Father Julee, Supervisor of the Roman Catholic Mission, was contacted by Mr. Saunders, the Inspector of Schools. The Swedish Mission also was contacted to find out about their willingness to start Schools for the Kallars.\textsuperscript{30} The Christian Missionaries readily agreed to impart education for both the Teachers of Kallar Schools and the Kallar Pupils. The Government paid the salary of Missionary Teachers. On the whole, all the expenditures were met from the

\textsuperscript{30} G.O.No.596, Law (General) Department, 16 June.1921.
Collector's Discretionary Grant. A sum of Rs. 1306 - 5 anna - 6 paisa was granted for equipment was granted from the Budget of the Commissioner of Labour.\textsuperscript{31}

**Primary Education of Kallars**

The Kallar Schools were opened exclusively for the Kallar Boys, as it was one of the primary objectives of the Reclamation of the Kallars.\textsuperscript{32} The exclusiveness was to concentrate on the Young Kallars rather than on the old ones who had been brought up in a spirit of idleness and in an atmosphere where thieving and highway attacks were looked upon as a natural vocation.\textsuperscript{33} Hence the hopes of the Reclamation of the Community were laid on the Younger Generation. Vigorous propaganda was undertaken by the Kallar Special Officer to make them send their children to Kallar Schools. He also emphasized that the parents had to send their children to school compulsorily and any failure would be punished.\textsuperscript{34} The Kallars were apathetic to this approach and they would rather prefer to have their children roam at large in trading cattle and idling away their time.\textsuperscript{35}

In 1920, New Schools were started in Twenty-Seven Kallar Villages. The Schools were under the Management of the American Mission, the Swedish

\textsuperscript{31} The Annual Administration Report of Kallar Reclamation, 1921, Madras, 1921,p.82.
\textsuperscript{33} Administration Report of the Kallar Special Officer, Madura, for the year ending 31\textsuperscript{st} December 1921, Madras, 1921,p.13.
\textsuperscript{34} G.O. No. 1048, Labour Department, 6 July.1921.
\textsuperscript{35} G.O.No.1902, Law (General) Department, 8.August 1922.
Mission and the Reclamation Department. Soon, within a period of two years, the number of Kallar Schools increased and the Management of these Schools was placed under various heads.\[36\]

Direct Control – 88 Schools

Rev. Mr. R.A. Dudley - 40 schools

Rev. Mr. N. Alungre - 40 schools

Rev. Fr. I. Prince SJ. - 34 schools

Rev. Fr. B. V. Mathews - 14 schools

Rev. M. P. Elwood - 5 schools

Rev. Mr. Himmel Stand - 3 schools

There were 6356 Boys and 431 Girls in all these 155 Schools. They were given Free Education.\[37\] Fourteen Schools were opened in Ramnad District too. Six Supervisors were employed to inspect the Schools periodically and for supervising the work in Madura and Ramnad Districts.\[38\] In the year 1923, Books and Slates were purchased at wholesale rates and provided to the poor Kallar Pupils.

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\[36\] G.O.No.447, Home (Judicial) Department, 1 March 1921.
\[37\] G.O.No.2683, Law (General) Department, 8 November 1923.
To divert the energy of the Kallar children in the right channel, three Sports Meets were conducted among the Kallar Schools in 1921. The first was held under the auspices of the American Mission in Madura. The second was held at Usilampatti. The third meet was at the Madura Reserve Police Parade Ground under the Presidency of the Honourable Mr.K.Sreenivasa Ayyar.39 Similarly in 1922, Carnivals of Sports were held at Checkanurani, Usilampatti and Tiruinangalam

Kallar Elementary Schools were opened exclusively for the benefit of the Kallar Children, with financial help from the Government. The Government in 1921 considered it desirable that every Kallar Village should contribute 25 percentage of the expenditure of the School and the Government would meet the rest of the cost.40 The reason behind this measure was that the Kallars were generally reluctant to send their wards to School. But when they were asked to pay for their wards, they would become responsible in sending them to Schools.41

In the 1922-1923 Budget, the Commissioner of Labour estimated that the cost of running each Kallar School was Rs. 15 a month. The Kallar Special Officer collected a sum of Rs.13,271-11-0 from the Kallars towards the pay of the teachers

39 G.O.No.1902, Law (General) Department, 8 August. 1922.
40 G.O.No.1155, Law (General) Department, 3 May.1922.
41 G.O.No.2600, Law (General) Department, 16 September.1924.
in 1926. He found it very difficult to collect the contributions from the Kallars and often it was a failure.\textsuperscript{42}

In 1926, the Commissioner of Labour discussed the difficulties in the collection of cess by the Kallar Special Officer. In view of general poverty of the Kallars, their contributions to be collected by way of Manual Work for the construction of the School Buildings, was discussed. Later, the Commissioner of Labour came out with the suggestion that in order to induce the Kallars to take interest in the education of their children, the levy of the contribution must be collected at a flat rate of Rs.2 for each school irrespective of the number of teachers employed. Moreover, the Kallar Special Officer was empowered to grant exemptions to some schools in exceptional cases subject to the approval of the Commissioner of Labour.\textsuperscript{43} Accordingly in 1927, the Government exempted the Kallar Girls School from the payment of the contribution with a view to promoting Female Education.\textsuperscript{44}

\textbf{Abolition of Levy}

The Kallars contributed towards the Pay of Teachers at the rate of Rs.2 per School and the amount was collected and remitted in the Treasury. A sum of

\textsuperscript{42} G.O.No.1502L, Public Work and Labour Department, 11 July1927.
\textsuperscript{43} G. O.No.1623L, Public Work and Labour Department, 29 October 1926.
\textsuperscript{44} G. O.No.1059L, Public Work and Labour Department, 12 May.1927.
Rs.7759-8-7 was collected in the year 1929.\textsuperscript{45} Similarly in the following year, a sum of Rs. 7,237 was collected and in the subsequent years also, similar amounts were collected.\textsuperscript{46} But, in the year 1932, due to several reasons, the Kallars found it difficult to pay this contribution and there was an arrears of a sum of Rs.1,98,714-0.\textsuperscript{47} J.F.Hall, the Commissioner of Labour, reported to the Secretary of State to abolish the levy for the following reasons. The contribution was levied with a view to inducing the Kallars to take special interest in the education of their children. The Levy had served its purpose in emphasizing the Importance of Schools to the Community and the Kallars showed considerable interest in the proper working of the School and the improved attendance of their Children. Further, under the terms of Kallar Panchayat agreement, the District Magistrate had also decided to exempt Kallar adolescents from registration, who had been to school and could read and write. Moreover, the Kallars were providing Educational Cess to the District Board and also contributing a share towards the Cost of School Building in the form of Physical Labour.\textsuperscript{48}

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\textsuperscript{45} G.O.No.1948L, Public Work and Labour Department, 6 July1929.
\textsuperscript{46} G.O.No.2262L, Public Work and Labour Department, 7. August1930.
\textsuperscript{47} G.O.No.1937L, Public Work and Labour Department, 5 September 1933.
\textsuperscript{48} Letter from J. F. Hall, Commissioner of Labour, Madras to the Secretary to the Government of Madras, Public Work and Labour Department, D-3-No.1329/33 dated 22\textsuperscript{nd} March 1933.
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Adult Education School

Education was also imparted to the adults and elder members of the Kallar Community, who had been quite illiterate since 1923. The Kallar Elementary School Teachers were directed to organise several Adult Schools during the Night Time since it would be the most appropriate time for the elder members who would have leisure from their agricultural and other allied works. The District Educational Council provided some extra allowances to those teachers who were engaged in Adult Education.49

Moral lessons and other practical subjects were taught in these Night Schools. Plenty of opportunities were provided to the Kallar Adults to read and write. As far as the infrastructure was concerned, the Panchayat provided building facilities and the Government equipped these schools with light, books and materials relevant to Adult Education. The Deputy Educational Council, on the recommendation of the District Education Officer of Madura, sanctioned Grants for this purpose.50

In 1926, thirty Night Schools were established in Kallar Nadu. The Kallars also gradually realized the advantages of Night School and attended it regularly. Since there was no separate provision for running such schools, a proposal was

49 G.O.No. 2976, Law (General) Department, 23 October 1924.
50 G.O.No.1782, Law (General) Department, 27 May 1926.
submitted to the District Education Council for the usual Grants because the 
Management and Correspondentship was with the Kallar Panchayatdars of the 
village concerned.\textsuperscript{51} Subsequently, the Management of these schools was either 
with the Correspondents of the Missions or with the Kallar Panchayatdars of 
villages.\textsuperscript{52} The Government made every effort to popularize these Night Schools 
and to improve the attendance. As a result, the number of Night Schools increased 
to 39, with nine hundred students all over the District.\textsuperscript{53}

But in 1929, the progress of the Night School was not satisfactory. It was 
due to want of earnestness on the part of teachers, because there was no 
improvement in the Scale of Pay of Teachers. Consequently, the number of schools 
decreased to twenty two in 1930.\textsuperscript{54} Moreover, some of the less efficient schools 
were closed and the total number decreased to fourteen Kallar Night Schools in 
1930. Out of the fourteen schools, the schools meant for the coolies at the 
Mechanical Training Center at Theni, were also closed with the closure of the 
Training Centre on 31\textsuperscript{st} November, 1930. Similarly, the Night School at 
Ayyappanaickenpatti was closed due to irregular work.\textsuperscript{55} In 1931, the District 
Education Officer ordered the closure of Night Schools, which were considered of

\textsuperscript{51} G.O.No.1502L, Public Work and Labour Department, 11 July 1927.  
\textsuperscript{52} G.O.No.1278L, Public Work and Labour Department, 6. July 1928.  
\textsuperscript{53} G.O.No. 1 948L, Public Work and Labour Department, 6 July 1929.  
\textsuperscript{54} G.O.No.2262L, Public Work and Labour Department, 7 August 1930.  
\textsuperscript{55} G.O.No. 2458L, Public Work and Labour Department, 28 September 1931.
no use. Therefore, such schools were closed down and only seven Night Schools continued during the year.\textsuperscript{56}

**Re-Strengthening of Night School**

After a long discussion over the improvement of Night Schools, the Government took steps to increase the strength of the students of the Kallar Community. Hence Night Schools were conducted twice a week with a view to preventing Kallar Pupils who passed out from Elementary Schools, from lapsing into illiteracy and also to provide education for the adults.\textsuperscript{57} The Adult Education received special attention among the Kallars. It resulted in the reopening of the Adult Education Programme in 142 schools and classes were conducted twice a week by the teachers of Kallar Schools.\textsuperscript{58} A vernacular weekly was supplied to all Panchayats, where Kallar Schools were located, in order to brief them about the current news and also to create interest among the adults.\textsuperscript{59} In connection with the imparting of Adult Education, all possible special efforts were taken to impress upon them the benefit of the system.\textsuperscript{60} Consequently, 768 Kallar Adults throughout Madura District enjoyed the facilities of Night Schools.\textsuperscript{61}

\textsuperscript{56} G.O.No.1937L, Public Work and Labour Department, 5 September 1933.
\textsuperscript{57} G.O.No.2750, Home Department, 20 July 1937.
\textsuperscript{58} G.O.No.3210, Home Department, 28 June 1938.
\textsuperscript{59} G.O.No.2750, Home Department, 20 July 1937.
\textsuperscript{60} G.O.No.1188, Home Department, 21 March 1942.
\textsuperscript{61} G.O.No.605, Home Department, 12 February 1942.
Suspension of Night Classes

In 1943, the Night Classes were conducted once in a week. But from 1944 onwards, it was suspended for want of physical facilities like scarcity of kerosene to light the lamp, irregular disbursement of salary to teachers and absence of other infrastructure facilities.

Board Agricultural Middle School

In 1927, a proposal was made to start an Agricultural Middle School at Usilampatti. This place was chosen because it was at the Centre of Kallar Nadu. It would prove to be beneficial to the Kallars and it was also expected to be very advantageous to them. In the middle of August 1929, an Agricultural Middle School was started near the Boarding Home at Usilampatti. During the year, fourteen Kallar Boys joined this school. This institution imparted practical training to Kallars in the improved methods of cultivation. Since the Agricultural Middle School seemed very beneficial to the Kallars, because a majority of them were agriculturists, this School became very popular among the Kallar Community. They also understood the importance of imparting improved practical

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62 G.O.No.2308, Home Department, 5 August 1944.
63 G. O.No. 2155, Home Department, 5 July 1945.
64 G.O.No.1278L, Public Work and Labour Department, 10 May 1928.
65 G.O.No.2262L, Public Work and Labour Department, 7 August.1930.
66 G.O.No.2458L, Public Work and Labour Department, 28 September 1931.
training in agriculture. Later, accommodation was arranged for them as inmates of the Kallar Boarding Home where special facilities were given to them. Considering the hard manual labour they had to do during the day, Boarding Grants were allotted. The Hostel was attached to the School and it was financed by the District Board of Madura.

**Appointment of Supervisors**

The Reclamation Department appointed Six Supervisors for the supervision of the Kallar Reclamation Schools. The Kallar Schools were divided into Six Ranges and they were kept under the Supervisors. The Supervisors had to visit every Kallar School in their respective region once in three months. During the visit, he would examine the work of the schools and inspect the records. He would encourage the Panchayatdars and other Kallars to send their children regularly to schools. Supervisors had to maintain certain records of their range such as Cash Book, Casual Leave Register for teachers, for both the trained and the untrained teachers, for each calendar year and Despatch Register and Service Stamp Accounts. Besides, they also maintained Distribution Register for equipment,

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67 G.O.No.1623L, Public Work and Labour Department, 1 August 1932.
apparatus, appliances, library books, slates and games articles. The Report was sent to the Deputy Inspector of Schools. It was scrutinized with a view to keeping them up to the expectations of the Department. The Six Supervisors continued their service upto the October 1, 1932.

The Madurai District was divided into Madurai North and Madura South and each District came under a separate District Superintendent of Police. Sixty One Kallar Schools were placed under the Direct Control of the District Superintendent of Police of Madura North. Two Supervisors were transferred to Madura North and the schools in that region came under the immediate Control of the Supervisors, with Headquarters at Sholavandan and Dindigul. The area for the supervision of the supervisors in-charge was situated roughly in the Dindigul Taluk, Palani taluk and Nilakottai Taluk.

Kallar School Teachers Association

An Association was formed among the Teachers of the Kallar Schools and it was named "The Kallar School Teachers Association". The objective of the Association was to have regular meetings among themselves to promote the

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71 G. O.No. 1111 L, Public Work and Labour Department, 6 April 1929.
72 G.O.No.2262L, Public Work and Labour Department, 7 August 1930.
74 G.O.No.1936L, Public Work and Labour Department, 31 August 1935.
efficiency of their schools by exchanging their views. In this connection, Monthly meeting was conducted on the Last Saturday of every Month at the Headquarters of each Supervisor. The District Superintendent of Police or the Assistant District Superintendent of Police for the Kallar Reclamation, presided over the meeting, whenever time permitted. A vigorous insistence was made through the Association of the Teachers for the attainment of full percentage in the Attendance among the Kallar Children.

Opening of Fifth Standard

The Commissioner of Labour proposed to the Government regarding the expansion of the 235 Kallar Schools into Complete Elementary Schools by opening Fifth Standard, both in Madura North and Madura South Districts. The District Magistrate of Madura and the District Educational Authorities approved it in 1937. Accordingly, the Director of Public Instruction of Madras passed an order to develop the incomplete elementary school into a complete elementary school by starting the Fifth Standard. During the year, Fifth Standard Classes were opened in 164 schools in Madura South District and 44 schools in Madura North District. The remaining schools continued as Feeder Schools. Due to the development of full-fledged Elementary Schools, the problem of accommodation increased in these

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75 G. O. No. 2750, Home Department, 20 July 1937.
76 G. O. No.3953, Home Department, 20 July 1939.
schools.\textsuperscript{78} Later, it was solved with the assistance of the Kallar Panchayatdars of the regions concerned.\textsuperscript{79} To balance the increase in the strength of pupils, an additional seven teachers were appointed. Among them was one ex-military man since there was scarcity of trained teachers. Step by step, all the Kallar Schools of the Districts were upgraded into Complete Elementary Schools in 1940.\textsuperscript{80} In Madurai North, fifty nine Boys’ Schools and One Girls' School became Complete Elementary Schools. Similarly in the Madura South, all the 196 Kallar Elementary Schools opened classes upto the Fifth Standard. Special Steps were taken during the year to bring the boys and the girls of school going age with the help of Police Officers and Panchayatdars of Kallar Villages.\textsuperscript{81} The student strength of the Kallar Elementary Schools increased to 15,598, enrolled in 256 Schools during 1941 as against 14,600 during the previous year. Among the total number of students, there were 1,965 Boys and 1,217 Girls in Madura North and 8,288 Boys and 3,423 Girls in Madura South.\textsuperscript{82}

**Amalgamation of Management Schools with Reclamation Schools**

The Administration of the Kallar Reclamation Schools of Madura North and Madura South was divided among various managements such as American

\textsuperscript{78} G.O.No.3210, Home Department, 28 June 1938.
\textsuperscript{79} G.O.No.3953, Home Department, 20 July 1937.
\textsuperscript{80} G.O. No.1188, Home Department, 21 March 1942.
\textsuperscript{82} Report on Public Instruction in the Madras Presidency, 1941-1942, and for the quinquennium 1937-1938 to 1941-1942, Vol.1, Madras, 1942, p.129.
Mission Church Council, Roman Catholic Mission and Swedish Mission. The rest of the schools were under the direct control of the Deputy Superintendent of Police of the respective district. Till 1933, there was no urgency for changing the administration. But, in 1933, the question of bringing the School Managements such as American Mission Church Council of Tirumangalam and Pasumalai and Roman Catholic Mission Convent of Dindigul, under the Direct Control of the Government Department was discussed. As the first step, the Roman Catholic Girls School at Madura North was transferred to the Control of the Deputy Superintendent of Police of Madura South in 1934. Subsequently, a proposal was made to Shift the Schools under the Control of the Swedish Mission Management of Madura South to the Direct Control of the Deputy Superintendent of Police in February 1935. Later towards the end of this year, these Schools also came under the Direct Management of the Deputy Superintendent of Police of Madura. Subsequently, all the Managements of Madura North were also transferred to the Direct Control of the Deputy Superintendent of Police of Madura South in 1934. These transferred Kallar Schools of Madura North, were immediately put under the control of two Supervisors, with Headquarters at Sholavandan and Dindigul. The Reclamation Work in Ramnad was confined to the running of three schools from

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84 G.O.No.1936L, Public Work and Labour Department, 31 August 1935.
85 G.O.No.2750, Home Department, 20 July 1937.
86 G.O. No. 2156, Home Department, 6 July 1945.
the beginning. But later, one among the schools was closed due to poor attendance. The other two schools at Mangamapuram and Chatrapatti were brought under the Direct Control of the Superintendent of the Police of the Ramnad District.\(^{87}\)

**Kallar Scouts Movement**

The basic idea of the Kallar Reclamation School was to divert the energy of the Young Kallar Generation in the right way. As part of this mission, Scout Organizations were started in the Kallar Schools.\(^{88}\) Much attention was paid to the proper training of Kallar Boy and Girl Guides. In 1922, Scout Masters were appointed to organise the Scout Activities in both the Districts. In 1923, two Instructors were appointed, one at Kelakudi and another at Usilampatti to train the Scout Boys. Similarly, the Girl Guides were under the supervision of the Sisters of a Roman Catholic Convent at Madura.\(^{89}\) Twelve Kallar Scout troops were formed in the Kallar schools, of which 400 Kallar Boys were trained. Similarly, 30 Girls at a Roman Catholic Convent at Madura and 5 Girls at Usilampatti were trained as Girl Guides in 1924. The Scout Movement had become very popular among the Kallars from 1926 onwards.\(^{90}\) During the year, a large number of Kallar Scouts took part in the Grand Rally at Madura and they performed creditably. The District

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89 G. O. No. 2683, Law (General) Department, 3.November 1923.
90 G. O.No.1782, Law (General) Department, 27 May 1926.
Council in their Report on Elementary Education for 1925-1926, complimented the Kallar Scouts with the following remarks: "It may be safely said that the Kallar Scouts have acquired the scout script, along with the scout crafts". The Commissioner of Labour, Madras sanctioned a sum of Rs.300/- for equipping the Scouts with uniform and other related materials. A separate amount was used to purchase 25 copies of the South Indian Boys Scout Magazine and a copy of Girls Guides News Sheets to help the pupils to acquire general knowledge and to know the events of the world.\footnote{G.O.No. 1502L, Public Work and Labour Department, 11 July 1927.}

In 1927, St.Mary's School in Madura organized a new Cub Scout Pack. The strength of this Pack increased to more than 600 Boy Scouts and Girl Guides. These Kallar Scouts involved themselves in important functions of the Government in order to impress the Administrators. For instance, the Kallar Scouts of the Church of Swedish Mission at Virudhunagar participated in the Scout Rally held during the Visit of His Excellency, the Governor of Madras on 29\textsuperscript{th} July 1927. Similarly, the Usilampatti Boarding Home's Boy Scouts attended the Rally during His Excellency, the Viceroy's Visit to Ootacamund in August and also at the Rally held at Rambore in Bombay in December 1927. Moreover, the Kallar Scouts attained proficiency in the signaling and the first-aid competitions and won
special prizes at the Sports Meet held in March 1927. In 1928, a troop of Girl Guides and Blue Birds were newly organized at the Church of Mission Boarding Home at Usilampatti. The American Mission Church Council's Girls Boarding was started at Tirumangalam during the year. Similarly five troops for Boy Scouts and three for Girl Guides and Blue Birds were organized and thus the total number of troops increased to about twenty.

**Appointment of District Commissioner**

Eight more troops for Boy Scouts and two for Girl Guides were started which increased the total to thirty troops. Since the strength of the Scouts and the Guides of the Kallar Schools increased, the organization of troops had to be strengthened. Hence Rao. Sahib. R.Krishnan and Mrs.Cobbold were appointed as District Commissioners for Boy Scouts and Girl Guides respectively in Madurai. Both of them guided the organization and training of the Kallar Boy Scouts and Girl Guides.

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92 G.O.No.1278L, Public Work and Labour Department, 10 May.1928.
93 G.O.No. 1 948L, Public Work and Labour Department, 6 July 1929.
95 G.O.No. 2262L, Public Work and Labour Department, .7. August 1930.
Retained of Scout Instructors

The Church of Swedish Mission Boarding was provided with a Scout Troop from the December 1, 1924. The Scout Master provided special training in scouting to the Kallar Boys of the Home twice a week. Similarly, the Church of Swedish Mission Boys Boarding Home at Ponnagaram in Madurai and the American Mission Church Council's Boarding Home at Tirumangalam too had a Scout Instructor for the training of the scouts. On the September 1, 1928, the American Mission Church Council's Boarding Home was provided with a Leader to look after the Guides for a remuneration of Rs.5 per month. The Boy Scout Movement seemed to offer great benefits to the Kallar Boys and Girls. This Movement inculcated, in the young minds, the habits of cleanliness and discipline and built up proper character. They were involved in public services during festival times and took part in several rallies. It ultimately became necessary for the retention of this Movement, along with the Instructors. Considering this, the Government permitted the continuation of the Scout Instructors and Girl-Guide Leaders for one more year at Rs.5 per month for each as salary.\(^9^6\)

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\(^9^6\) G.O.No.1357L, Public Work and Labour Department, 19 May 1931.
Abolition and Re-appointment of Scout Master

A Scout Master was appointed in Kallar Schools in connection with the Reclamation of Kallars in the District of Madura and Ramnad District in 1922. This Post continued till August 1, 1931. Later it was abolished as a measure of retrenchment. But the Superintendent of Kallar Reclamation proposed to re-appoint a Scout Master from the October 1, 1931, since there was a very large number of Boy Scouts and Girl Guides, scattered throughout the two Districts. Moreover, the work of the organization and consolidation of services under a Scout Master was considered indispensable. The Scout Movement was extremely popular among the Kallars and it had a very good educational influence over the boys. Considering this, the Government re-employed one Scout Master for these two Districts.

Special Camps for Teachers

The Kallar Boys and Girls had an aptitude for the Scout Movement, and the true spirit of the Scout Movement inspired more enthusiastic work among the pupils. In 1933, the District Scout Master inspected the Kallar Scouts and provided necessary uniforms, articles and equipment, in tune with the Scout Movement.

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97 G.O.No. 2374, Law (General) Department, 27 September 1922.
98 G.O.No.423L, Public Work and Labour Department, 17 February 1931.
99 G.O.No.2568L, Public Work and Labour Department, 14 October 1931.
Movement. He also gave them practical training and conducted various tests during the visit. He stressed the need for Teachers in-Charge of the Troops and Packs to undergo necessary training. In this connection, a Special Camp was organised by the District Council of Madura for prospective Scout Masters at Kumbakarai near Periyakulam from June 6, to the June 11, 1933.¹⁰⁰ Later another Special Camp was arranged for the Kallar School Teachers in the Madurai District. Seventy one Teachers in the Madura North District underwent Cub Master Training and they were declared qualified.¹⁰¹ To meet the growing demand for Scout Workers in the District, two Training Camps were arranged by the District Scout Council. In July 1934, another Camp was organised at Memmalamedu in Ramnad District. In that camp, eight Cub Masters and six Scout Masters were trained by the Provincial Organizing Secretary, Boys Association of Madras.¹⁰² In December 1934, another Camp was held in South Madura District. In that Camp, 121 Kallar School Teachers were trained in the Cub Masters’ Course by the District Scout Master of Madura.¹⁰³

These Training Camps had a tremendous impact on the Kallar Pupils. As a result, the number of pupils joining the Scout Movement increased to 6469. This

¹⁰⁰ G.O No,1664L., Public Work and Labour Department, 2 August 1934
¹⁰³ G. O.No.1936L. Public Work and Labour Department, 31 August 1935.
included 55 Cub Packs, 18 Scout Troops, one Rover Crew, 2 Blue-Bird Flocks, 3 Girl Guides Companies and Scouters which enrolled 861 Cubs, 378 Scouts, 5 Rover Scouts, 44 Blue Birds, 88 Girl Guides and 93 Patrol. Moreover, the teachers as well as others underwent the Training for starting Cub Packs in their Schools. The Commissioner of Labour of Madras visited the Cub Packs in Madura North in July 1936 and remarked that “it was a bright cheerful lot. They seem intelligent and are keenly enthusiastic about various games and dances they demonstrated”.

Registration in the Provincial Scout Headquarters

In 1937, the total number of Scouters in the Kallar Schools increased to 2,343. All the Scout Troops were registered at the Provincial Scout Headquarters in Madras during that year. Later, all Supervisors of Kallar Schools and various Scouters attended the District Council Meeting at Usilampatti. The District Scout Commissioner presided over it and guided them towards its growth on various aspects of Scout Movement. Besides, Boys Scouts Association of India offered different instructions and suggestions, which were provided to the Kallar Scout

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105 G.O.No.2750, Home Department, 20 July 1937.
106 G.O.No.3210, Home Department, 28 June 1938.
Master to be carried out in the Madura North and Madura South and Ramnad Districts.  

**Scouts Social Service**

The Kallar Scouts were actively involved in Social Service on different occasions. The Scouts at Usilampatti distributed drinking water to everybody on Shandy Days. They actively took part in the National Health Day and Baby Week Celebrations in 1922. During the year, the Roman Catholic Mission Kallar Boy Scouts and the Kallar Girl Guides of St. Joseph Convent took a prominent part in the Rally for the above celebrations at Madurai. For their participation in the events and for the competitions, they were awarded Silver Cups. Health Day Function was also celebrated successfully with the co-operation of the Scouters. The Scout Boys, along with the Scout Master went to the nearby villages and propagated the importance of sanitation and education to their fellow caste men on several occasions. In 1923, they enacted a Health Drama entitled, "Sukanesa", in Tirumangalam. Another Drama named, "Sulochana", was enacted at Usilampatti in 1924.  

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108 G.O.No.1278L, Public Work and Labour Department, 10 May 1928.
109 G. O.No.1863, Law (General) Department, 10 June 1925.
The Scouts often did splendid work at the time of Fire Accidents. For instance, the Kallar Scouts attached to the Boarding Home at Usilampatti, rendered considerable help during the Outbreak of Fire in a hamlet close to the Board High School in 1929. Similarly, Scouts helped to put off accidental fire on different occasions in the Kallar Nadu. In 1934, the Scouts of the American Mission Church Council of Tirumangalam were actively involved in Rural Reconstruction Work in Tirumangalam Taluk under the guidance of Rev.R.A.Dudley and the Scout Master. Scouts frequently participated in festivals and they were engaged in several social service activities relevant to the festival work. For instance, the Scouts of Pasumalai rendered service every year during the Karthigai Deepam Festival at Tirupparankundram, an important place of pilgrimage in the Madura South District.

South Indian Boys Scout Journal

Kallar Nadu was located at an interior place compared to other places. Hence the Scouters were unable to gather information about what was going on outside the area regarding the Scout Movement. The Kallar Boys' Scout of the Kallar Schools and the Supervisors had Scout Training to keep them informed of

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110 G.O.No.2262L, Public Work and Labour Department, 7 August 1930.
111 G.O.No.1623L, Public Work and Labour Department, 1 August 1932.
112 G.O.No, 1936L, Public Work and Labour Department, 31 August 1935.
all activities about the Movement. The Government sanctioned permission for subscribing to the Journal, "South Indian Boys Scout". This Journal was devoted specially to Scout Movement and it had pages for youths about Nature, Astronomy and also hints which were useful in day-to-day life. It also had subjects that helped to improve the General Knowledge of Scouts. It was also intended to foster a spirit of Comradeship and Brotherhood among the several Scouts from different places. It also gave them an opportunity to have touch with other Scouts of different castes and creeds and develop fellow-feelings among them after reading the Journal. Above all, it also provided a wide knowledge of the world and fostered a broad outlook on life.\textsuperscript{114}

**Kallar Boarding Home**

One of the objectives of the Reclamation Work was to separate the Kallar Children from their Parents and to directe their energy in the right direction. In connection with this, the Government decided to establish a Separate Boarding Home exclusively for the Kallar Children. They selected a location at Usilampatti since it was the centre of Kallar Nadu. A small building was constructed as a Boarding Home at a cost of Rupees 500\textendash.;\textsuperscript{115} The Boarding Home was started with 12 Kallar Boarders on March 1, 1923. The institution quickly gained popularity

\textsuperscript{114} G.O.No. 485, Law (General) Department, 14 February 1925.
\textsuperscript{115} G.O.No.2918, Law (General) Department, 18 October 1924.
and recorded rapid progress resulting in the number of Boarders to go up to 100 by September 1924. A tiled shed was built for the accommodation of the boarders and a Dormitory Building was also constructed in the same compound at a distance of about 60 yards. S.H. Slater, the Commissioner of Labour, also laid the Foundation Stone for further extension of Dormitory Building to enhance the accommodation capacity in January 1928. A Playground to the extent of 4.36 acres was offered to them for recreation and games.  

A Music Teacher was appointed so that the Boarders would be brought up in an atmosphere of Piety and Devotion and the criminal tendencies they might have unconsciously inherited, would be removed from their minds and instead a healthy outlook on life would be firmly implanted in their minds. Hence Music was adopted as a medium to achieve the desired objective. About 25 Kallar Boarders were gifted with musical voice at Kallar Boarding Home. Proper training was provided to improve their musical talents. The Boarders had been engaged in a lot of useful propaganda work on Reclamation and on Sanitation in and around Usilampatti. The Music Teacher trained them in the art of staging Tamil and English Dramas. 

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116 G.O.No.1278L, Public Work and Labour Department, 10 May 1928.
Fees Remission and Scholarship

The Boarders of the Home continued their school studies in the Board High School. The Boarders were usually poor. Considering the poor economic conditions, the Commissioner of Labour granted Fee Remission to the pupils at the Boarding Home in 1926. In addition, the Government also sanctioned Scholarship to the Boarders who left the Boarding Home for their Higher Education. Fee Remission every year, the Government exempted all the Kallar Boys from paying the school fees from 1934 onwards. Moreover, an Annual Grant of Rs.500 was sanctioned for the supply of books to the Kallar Pupils. As a result of Free Supply of Books, the rush for admission into the High School and to the Kallar Boarding Home was accelerated among the Kallar Community of this region. But strength of Kallars to be admitted was fixed at 223.

Increase in Strength and Infrastructure

The admission of Kallar Pupils into Kallar Schools had increased and this resulted in the increase in the strength of the Boarding Home also. Subsequently a Matron was appointed to look after the Kallar Girls in 1929. She taught the girls sewing and needle work and also tutored the girls in the habit of cleanliness and

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118 G.O.No.1948L, Public Work and Labour Department, 6 July 1929.  
119 G.O.No.814L, Public Work and Labour Department, 5 April 1934.  
120 G.O.No.1936L, Public Work and Labour Department, 31 August 1935.  
121 G.O.No.1948L, Public Work and Labour Department, 6 July 1929.
domestic duties. But to filter the admission among the Kallar Youth, selections were made solely on merit after a proper test.

**Sports Activities**

Boarders of the Home were initiated into Sports and Games for recreation. For this purpose, a playground of 4.36 acres was purchased by the District Board of Madurai, with a Grant from the Government in January 1927. Thus more recreational facilities were provided and more sports and games were introduced. A Physical Director was appointed to organise the physical exercise and to look after Sports and Games in 1930. Due to the proper channelization by the Physical Director, the Kallar Pupils of the Boarding Home won the district inter-schools junior trophy during the year 1931.

By the training and guidance given by the Director, the Kallar Boarding Boys attained fairly high level of efficiency. In 1933, they won the trophy for juniors in the Grigg Memorial Sports held at Madura and another trophy for proficiency in volleyball in the District Board Inter-School Tournament. Moreover, they performed a Physical Demonstration at the time of the Madras Provincial

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122 G.O.No.1937L, Public Work and Labour Department, 5 September 1933.
124 G.O No. 2262L. Public Work and Labour Department, 7 August 1930.
125 G.O.No.2458L, Public Work and Labour Department, 28 September 1931.
Education Conference in Madurai. It received much appreciation from the participants.\textsuperscript{126}

Since the Boarding Home was run under the Direct Administration of Reclamation Work Scheme, it was often visited by the higher authorities of the Government and they used to remark on its functioning. His Excellency, the Governor of Madras, visited the Boarding Home on the 6\textsuperscript{th} February 1933 and remarked: "I am very glad to visit this school this morning and came away profoundly impressed by that which I saw it evidently satisfied a pressing need and the boys all seemed very happy and well. The scout display was as excellent and good as if not better than, any. I have been in the provinces and that is high praise".\textsuperscript{127}

**Uttamapalayam Boarding Home**

On seeing the successful and the excellent work towards shaping the character and conduct of the younger generation in Usilampatti, the Superintendent of Kallar Reclamation, decided to open a Boarding Home at Uttamapalayam. There was also a persistent demand from the Kallars of the Cumbum Valley for a Boarding Home similar to that of Usilampatti. As an experimental measure, a Boarding Home was started in a rented building with 24 Kallar Boys at

\textsuperscript{126} G.O.No.1937L, Public Work and Labour Department, 5 September 1933.
\textsuperscript{127} G. O.No.1664L, Public Work and Labour Department, 2 August 1934.
Uttamapalayam in 1927. Since there was no facility for the boarding of boys coming from the neighbourhood of Cumbum Valley to study in the Uttamapalayam High School, a new building was constructed at a cost of Rs.5000 in 1928. T.C.Raghupatty Sharma, the Headmaster, looked after the Home as the Warden. The building was enlarged by the construction of a Dormitory, Kitchen and a Dining Hall at a cost of Rs.7500.

**Boarding Homes for Girls**

Different Missionaries began to run Boarding Homes for the Kallar Girls also. They were Church of Swedish Mission Girls Boarding Home at Usilampatti, American Mission Church Council Boarding Home at Tirumangalam and St. Joseph's Convent at Madura. Various vocational classes were conducted for girls also, along with regular curriculum such as sewing, knitting, gardening and housekeeping.

The Government sanctioned a sum of Rs.3,900/- to the St.Joseph Convent at Madura for the building of Kallar Girls' Hostel. Initially easy courses were conducted in this institution. But during the year 1930, Special Training was given to them in domestic economy, nursing, drawing and in needlework including

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128 G.O.No.1948L, Public Work and Labour Department, 6 July 1929.
129 G. O. No. 1111 L, Public Work and Labour Department, 6 April 1929.
130 G.O.No.1111L, Public Work and Labour Department, 6 April 1929.
embroidery, under the guidance of the Mother Superior in the Convent. Later different vocational courses such as cooking, ironing and house management were added.

The Church of Swedish Mission Girls' Boarding Home

The Kallar Girls, attached to the Church of Swedish Mission Girls' Boarding Home, received instruction in knitting, sewing, cutting of jackets and mending of clothes, poultry-farming, gardening, mat-weaving and in string work. A Sewing Mistress and a Knitting Mistress were employed temporarily in this Home for a salary of Rs.17 per month. Later their appointment was extended for a further period. Kallar Girls were also trained in domestic work for which they were divided into groups and put in separate houses and left to manage themselves.

American Mission Church Council Home at Tirumangalam

In 1933, a new Boarding Home was started for Kallar Girls at Tirumangalam, under the Management of American Mission Church Council at Tirumangalam. Every Kallar Girl from IV to VIII Standards was trained in needle work for one period a day and they stitched clothes for themselves. Similar to the

131 G.O.No.1623L, Public Work and Labour Department, 1 August 1932.
132 G.O.No.1937L, Public Work and Labour Department, 5 September 1933.
133 G.O. No. 2458L, Public Work and Labour Department, 18 September 1931.
134 G.O.No.1357L, Public Work and Labour Department, 19 May 1931.
136 G.O.No.1937L, Public Work and Labour Department, 5 September 1933.
Usilampatti Boarding Home, a separate house management was adopted. A new model cottage system was evolved in this institution. Girls were grouped into ten and they were trained to prepare their own cooking and house keeping.\textsuperscript{137} The Sub-Inspector of Schools inspected the Boarding Home in November 1932 and observed that the new Boarding Home for Girls, with its model cottages, garden, poultry and playground, was highly attractive and the instruction imparted to Girls in this School was sound and practical.\textsuperscript{138}

A Missionary Boarding Home was also started for the Kallar Boys and Girls under the Sponsorship of Kallar Reclamation Fund. The Government provided money for the expenses of running the Missionary Boarding Home. The Missionaries looked after the administration of these Boarding Homes. Considering the poor economic conditions, the Government distributed Free Clothes to the Kallar Boarders.\textsuperscript{139}

The Boarding Homes for Boys were run by American Mission Church Council at Tirumangalam, Roman Catholic Mission Convent at Madura, the Swedish Mission at Madurai and the Church of Swedish Mission at Virudhunagar.\textsuperscript{140} Vocational Training was given to the Boarders in these

\textsuperscript{137} G.O.No.1936L, Public Work and Labour Department, 31 August 1935.
\textsuperscript{138} G.O.No.1937L. Public Work and Labour Department. 5 September 1933.
\textsuperscript{139} G.O.No.931. Law (General) Department, 15 March 1923.
\textsuperscript{140} G.O.No.883, Law (General) Department, 15 March 1924.
institutions under the Supervision of the Kallar Special Officer. Like the Usilampatti Boarding Home, Vocational Training was given in general mechanism, cabinet-making, electrical wiring, carpentry, printing, weaving and in rope making. Each Boarding Home taught a particular trade. For instance, Carpentry at the Roman Catholic Mission at Madura, Weaving at the Church of Swedish Mission at Madura and Mat Making at the American Madura Church Council at Dindigul.\textsuperscript{141} Similarly, the American Mission Church Council Boarding Homes at Manamadurai and at Tirumangalam taught Cloth-Weaving, Rope Making and Thread-Making for Boys.\textsuperscript{142} But, in Tirumangalam, the Kallar Boarders were taught the maintenance of lawn garden and the upkeep of goats, buffaloes, Kangayam breeding bulls and also poultry farming.\textsuperscript{143} For example, the Kallar Boys of the American Mission Church Council Boarding Home at Pasumalai and Tirumangalam were given instructions in Book Binding, Basket-Making and Wood-Work, in addition to general education. They enjoyed Vocational Training, along with the general education without the strain of additional educational expenses.\textsuperscript{144}

The Colonial Government imparted education by establishing Schools and Boarding Homes. At the end of the Colonial Period, there were 256 schools, of

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\item G.O.No.1502L, Public Work and Labour Department, 11 September 1927.
\item G.O.No.1936L, Public Work and Labour Department, 31 August 1935.
\item The Annual Administration Report of Kallar Reclamation, 1934, Madras, 1934, p.56.
\item Ibid., pp.72-73.
\end{enumerate}
which 244 were under the Government Management. Similarly, the staff strength increased to 554, excluding two Scout Instructors, one Sewing Mistress and one Knitting Mistress. The strength in all the schools was 19,198 of which 16,641 were Kallars and the rest were Non-Kallar Pupils. The strength in the School of Ramnad District was 155 of which 84 were Kallar Pupils.

At the end of the year 1950, the exclusive Kallar Strength was 13,607 in 250 Schools of which 8512 were Boys and 5,095 were Girls in the Madurai Districts. There were two Kallar Schools in Srivilliputtur Taluk of Ramnad District, one at Mangapuram and other at Chatrapatti. The above schools were under the Direct Control of the Harijan Welfare Department. A Special Officer in the Deputy Collector's Cadre was in charge of the Reclamation Work in Madura District.

Education of Prisoners

Prison Education is almost as old as modern prison itself. When prisons came to be viewed as institutions for reforming fallen men and women, Penal Reformers appeared to have thought that nothing could save prisoners like Education.\textsuperscript{150}

The historic Committee on Prison Discipline (1836-1838), of which Lord Macaulay was a member, did not approve of Prison Education in the least.\textsuperscript{151} But this opinion did not hold good for long. Official thinking on the subject changed and the Indian Jail Committee (1864) treated Education as an Aid to Discipline.\textsuperscript{152} Thanks to its influence, schools came to be opened in the Central and the District Jails of the Madras Presidency. The Presidency could boast of 3,273 Convict Students under 191 Teachers in 1869.\textsuperscript{153} The Indian Jails Conference (1877) favoured linking education with prisoner's age and sentence.\textsuperscript{154} The Government of Madras, impressed by the Conference's Stand, adopted new rules in 1881 - 1882. But the Committee of Dr. Walkar and Lethbridge (1889) wanted instruction to be confined to adolescent offenders and juvenile delinquents.\textsuperscript{155} Madras fell in line

\textsuperscript{151} Report of the Committee on Prison-Discipline to the Governor-General of India in Council, Calcutta, 1838, p. 117.
\textsuperscript{153} Report on the Administration of the Madras Presidency. 1869-1870, Madras, 1870, p. 41.
\textsuperscript{155} Report of the Committee appointed under the orders of the Governor-General-in-Council to enquire into certain matters connected with Jail Administration in India, Calcutta, 1889, p.1.
with this proposition as well.\textsuperscript{156} But at the Turn of the Century, Madras again changed its position and introduced Elementary Education for almost all.\textsuperscript{157} Thus Prison Education Policy in the Madras Presidency was marked by several turns and twists for over half a century.

By 1916, every Jail had a School of its own and the Prison Department was ready for a great leap forward’. The Government took to education so much that it made it Compulsory for all Prisoners under 30\textsuperscript{158} and those above 30 also could attend Schools provided they showed real interest in education. Convicts, who sought Higher Education, were given all assistance by the Prison Authorities.\textsuperscript{159} A few long-term inmates were taught English and trained as Compositors in Jail Printing Presses.\textsuperscript{160} Convicts, who attended School, were issued a certificate showing the Degree of their Academic Attainments.\textsuperscript{161}

Education of Women Convicts did not suffer neglect.\textsuperscript{162} The Central Jails at Rajahmundry and Vellore, where a large number of women were confined,
provided instructional facilities for their Women Convicts. They were also trained in Knitting, Sewing and Weaving. With the opening of the Presidency Jail for Women at Vellore in 1930, it became all the more easy for the Government to educate them.

The Government excluded Short-Term Convicts from Schools. Since 1938, Prisoners, who were sentenced to less than two or three years, were denied schooling unless they had read up to the Second Standard before coming to prison. The Inspector-General told the Government that its policy was short-sighted, and that prisoners should gain “as much knowledge as possible irrespective of the period of sentence" but it turned down his proposal. The Madras Presidency should have learnt from English Prisons that good results could be obtained even if the sentence was quite short.

The Jail Manual contained provision for 'an ample library of approved English and Vernacular books and periodicals' in every Jail. The number of books in Jail

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164 G.O.No. 2610, Law (General) Department, 23 June 1930.
165 G.O. No.1168, Home Department, 3 March 1938.
167 Ruggles Prise, E., op. cit., p. 126.
Libraries increased from 6,395 in 1928 to 11,479 in 1939.169 The books comprised of a variety of literature in English, Tamil, Malayalam, Kanarese, Hindustani, Urdu and Sanskrit. Literate Prisoners were permitted to read between lock-up and lights-out. Though the Inspector-General would want us to believe that Jail Libraries contained 'good and useful books'. The Swadesamitran wrote: "books that are really instructive are very rare".170

But before criticism mounted, the Government appointed a Committee in 1930 to suggest ways and means to improve Jail Libraries. The Committee suggested addition of books on agriculture, fiction, home science, hygiene, religion and weaving and furnished a list of 132 English, 101 Tamil, 51 Telugu, 92 Malayalam, 9 Hindustani and 3 Oriya books from which each Jail could buy according to its needs.171

The Paper was first called, The Jail Chronicle172 but it was not an appropriate title because it was not a record of events in Jails. In 1925, the title was changed into ‘The Howard Journal’ in memory of the great English Prison Reformer, John Howard.173 The Department could have invited Educated Convicts to write in

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170 The Swadesamitran, 16 November 1919.
172 G. O. No.1619, Law (General) Department, 17 May 1924.
the Howard Journal. This would have given them a sense of participation and a feeling that the paper was 'of the prisoners, by the prisoners, for the prisoners'.

Moved by repeated representations, the Government at last permitted in 1930 'A' class prisoners to subscribe to the *Times of India*, the *Statesman*, the *Madras Mail* and the *Justice*\(^\text{174}\) and the privilege was extended to 'B' class prisoners in 1938. Convicts, who were not literate in English, were permitted to subscribe to *Dinamani* and *Swadesamitranin* in Tamil, *Prabhat* in Kannada, *Andhra Patrika* in Telugu, and *Mushir-i Deccan* in Urdu.\(^\text{175}\).

But the Government was more liberal in the matter of Magazines. Though 'A' and 'B' class prisoners could read only the *Illustrated Times of India*, by 1939, they could subscribe to 20 English, 15 Tamil, 8 Telugu, 4 Malayalam, 11 Kannada, 3 Oriya and 2 Urdu Magazines.\(^\text{176}\) 'C' class prisoners, who had nothing better than the dull and drab Howard Journal all these years, they were allowed in 1937, A little later, *Chitra Gupta*, a Telugu Fortnightly and *Sanjayam*, a Malayalam Weekly, also found their way into the Prison.\(^\text{177}\)

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\(^{174}\) G. O.No. 3802, Law (General) Department, 5 September 1930; G. O. No.1060, Law (General) Department, 16 March 1932.

\(^{175}\) G. O. No.2182, Home Department, 25 April 1938.

\(^{176}\) G. O. No.2532, Home Department, 8 May 1939.

In 1938, as many as 1,984 Lectures were delivered in the Jails of the Presidency. Though majority of the prisoners were Hindus, majority of the Lecturers were Christians. The Government should have nominated Instructors, more or less in proportion to the strength of Hindu, Muslim and Christian Prisoners.\textsuperscript{178}