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Source: *Social Scientist*, Mar., 1976, Vol. 4, No. 8 (Mar., 1976), pp. 28-43

Published by: Social Scientist

Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3516378>

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IN THIS article an attempt is made to review the course of educational expansion and its inter-relationship with other socio-economic changes in Kerala during 1793-1947, which is the modern period (conterminous with the British period) of the history of the region. In contrast to the tardy growth of education elsewhere in the country, Kerala experienced a continuous process of educational expansion throughout the whole span, and at an increasing rate from the second half of the nineteenth century, the expansion during the latter phase being confined mainly to the southern regions of Travancore and Cochin.<sup>1</sup> The insights gained by an enquiry into the types of socio-economic factors which favoured, and the socio-economic changes which followed, educational development in Kerala are likely to be of help for regions of the world with low levels of development in the formulation of their educational and economic policies.

Owing to the paucity of data and the numerous gaps in available information, the following discussion is at best only a first attempt to formulate a few hypotheses which may be of relevance for further studies of the problem in more detail. The discussion is divided into two parts: the factors accounting for educational growth are discussed in the first, and the evolution of the education system and its impact on society in the second.

### *Regional Disparity*

Kerala was predominantly a primitive agrarian economy at the beginning of the nineteenth century. It continued to be so during almost the entire period under review. At the same time Malabar lagged far behind Travancore and Cochin in educational growth: among the factors which favoured the latter region,<sup>2</sup> the following seem to be the more outstanding.

The existence of an economy of small peasant proprietors and tenants with substantial economic independence and sustained interest in the land<sup>3</sup> acted as a dynamic force of socio-economic change including educational growth. The policy of land distribution initiated by the kings of Travancore and Cochin in the 1750s and pushed further by the paramount power's representative, the British Resident, in the second decade of the nineteenth century seems to have so much whetted the appetite of the peasants for greater security and improved terms of land tenure that public demand for the conferment of ownership rights on all classes of tenants grew stronger over the years. In Travancore landlordism and feudalism declined quite rapidly from the 1860s onwards;<sup>4</sup> in Cochin rapid changes came about by the beginning of the present century.

Internal political conditions in the Travancore and Cochin regions were relatively peaceful except for a short period from 1793 to 1810. The efforts initiated by Colonel Munro the Resident-Dewan of the two regions during the early years of the 1820s for restoring internal political peace took the form of a series of socio-economic reforms including administration, trade, land distribution and education.<sup>5</sup>

Certain social reform policies of the early British period generated tensions during the early decades of the nineteenth century between the high-caste Hindus and the Christians, particularly those converted from the lower classes of the Hindu society. The favoured treatment that the Christians received from the early British officials led to differential growth rates of educational and employment opportunities. In course of time, there was an awakening among certain sections like Nairs (who, with martial traditions and socio-economic privileges were rapidly losing ground from the days of King Marthanda Varma in the eighteenth century) when they began to follow the educational and economic examples set by the Christians. Strong rivalries ensued which in turn had reverberations among socially backward sections who entered the fray not long after.<sup>6</sup>

The early attempts to create an India in the British image came to be concentrated in Travancore and Cochin where the endeavour seemed to them to be easy thanks to the existence of a "numerous body of Christians". The strengthening of Christianity was seen as a means to the reinforcement of British power. This objective was sought to be realized by importing European missionaries and furnishing them with liberal grants in the form of lands, buildings, building materials and money for

construction of churches, seminaries and schools.<sup>7</sup>

The traditional and indigenous system which had been catering from very early times to the educational needs of children of the upper strata was not interrupted in Travancore and Cochin to the end of the nineteenth century when institutionalized education of the Western type grew to a size capable of supplanting it.<sup>8</sup>

In mid-nineteenth-century Travancore and Cochin a variety of factors, both external and internal, seemed to have contributed to what may be called a transformation into modernity.

### *Prelude to Modernization*

The mid-Victorian prosperity of England was one of the most important external factors. Consequent on the repeal of corn laws in the late 1840s and the discovery of gold mines in the USA and Australia in the early 1850s, the foreign trade of England registered a phenomenal expansion; the living standards of the English improved fast; and England's capital accumulation was at an unprecedentedly rapid rate<sup>9</sup>. The British capitalists found immense possibilities in plantation industries in Kerala: they convinced the rulers of Travancore and Cochin of the economic significance of plantations for the enrichment of their states<sup>10</sup>.

Secondly, the state monopoly in commodities like pepper and tobacco had been for long a serious bottleneck in trade between Travancore and British India. As a result of persistent persuasion by the British authorities the Government of Travancore abolished the monopolies in the late 1850s and the early 1860s, by which "the commercial resources of the country received an impetus never known before."<sup>11</sup> Thirdly, the period also witnessed a rise in the demand for labour "both skilled and unskilled in British Indian provinces and the overseas British territories like Ceylon and Mauritius".

Among internal factors accounting for the rapid changes of the mid-nineteenth century, the more outstanding were the threat of annexation of Travancore by the British government;<sup>12</sup> the abolition of slavery and of the custom of compulsory and gratuitous services to be performed by 'backward classes'; and the severe drought of 1860-61 which created conditions necessitating radical changes in the economic and educational policies.<sup>13</sup>

Consequently Travancore of the 1860s saw the beginnings of a series of social and economic innovations in infrastructural development, agriculture and industrialization. In the field of transport, rapid increase was registered in the length of roads and waterways and in the number of bridges, canals, ports and harbours. The introduction of the post and telegraph and increase in the number of newspapers and journals opened up new frontiers in communications and mass media. Development was also witnessed in facilities like irrigation, schools, public health and sanitation. Coffee, tea and rubber plantations in the mountain's tapioca cultivation in the plains and backwater reclamation for rice in the

coastal belt were developments of the same period which had far-reaching economic implications. The area under cultivation expanded; industries like spinning and weaving of cotton and coir, and manufacture of tiles were begun in various centres; and trade and commerce, particularly overseas trade, developed fast. Such rapid economic changes during a short span of about two decades from the 1860s synchronized with a doubling of the population of Travancore in true Malthusian fashion. There took place a near-revolution in the price level, both of products and of factors.<sup>14</sup>

In short, the political, social and economic forces at work in Travancore during the 1850s and the 1860s ushered in an era of modernity; this period also coincided with the introduction of a policy of 'tolerance' by the British towards Travancore in matters of administration and social reforms.<sup>15</sup> As a consequence of all these, the pace of socio-economic development in this region during the subsequent decades was accelerated, among which the development of education was one of the most significant.

### *Slow Start in Malabar*

In Malabar, property relations, internal political and economic conditions<sup>16</sup> and educational policy appear to have been less hospitable to educational development than in Travancore and Cochin.

Property relations were so structured as to maintain the bulk of the population in abject poverty. The British policies of the 1790s resulted in the creation of a large body of tenants-at-will steeped in intense poverty and incapable of educational, social and moral development. The British did in fact realize this truth late in the nineteenth century,<sup>17</sup> but were not prepared, even thereafter, to effect any significant change in their economic and educational policies.

Owing to the continuance of an oppressive land tenure which created conditions of mass poverty and socio-economic stagnation, and the distrust and hatred with which the rulers continued to treat the poor tenants, particularly in the name of religion, the entire period of British rule in Malabar was punctuated by violent peasant uprisings of the most virulent type.

The educational policy followed by the British in Malabar, and also elsewhere in British India, was patterned after the recommendations of Macaulay's Minutes of 1835, which envisaged the propagation of western science and literature in India through the medium of English. Upto 1921 the emphasis in the British official policy was on the promotion of secondary and higher education (leaving primary education in complete neglect) which cater to the elitist and urban sections of the society.<sup>18</sup> The indigenous system of education seems to have been virtually destroyed in Malabar as elsewhere in British India by the social, economic and educational policies pursued by the British.

As noted earlier, the progress of education during the British period was largely confined to Travancore and Cochin. During the first half of

the nineteenth century the administration of these two states was under the stringent control of the British Residents.

One of the striking features of the educational history of Travancore and Cochin during this period was the 'apparent' interest that the two state governments showed in the cause of educational advancement. In 1817 in Travancore and in 1818 in Cochin, vernacular schools were started in different localities.<sup>19</sup> The real objective behind the encouragement of vernacular education was the creation of a cadre of clerks and accountants in the various government departments.<sup>20</sup> This scheme failed to produce any tangible result since the single-teacher schools in Cochin and the two-teacher schools in Travancore established by the respective government were not superior to the indigenous schools already in existence, either in the subjects of study, methods of teaching or qualifications of teachers. These schools ceased to exist in Travancore and Cochin by the 1830s. No significant expansion of vernacular education of the institutionalized type did take place till the 1860s.

### *Schools and Society*

The history of the development of English education during this period appears to have been quite different from that of vernacular education. English education received unstinted support of the two governments from the beginning. In fact the establishment of free English schools in the capitals is almost all that the two governments accomplished.<sup>21</sup> However, the financial and material aid to the missionaries and societies for the promotion of English education was more generous.<sup>22</sup> Most of such assistance was given by the rulers at the instance of the Residents.<sup>23</sup> Notwithstanding all this, institutionalized education, English or vernacular, did not spread on a massive scale in these two regions during the first half of the nineteenth century.

Educational expansion, particularly of the vernacular type, was relatively effortless for the government since private vernacular schools of the indigenous type already existed in every village.<sup>24</sup> The grant-in-aid scheme introduced in 1868-69 and liberalized in 1873-74 served as a strong stimulus for the emergence of a large number of private schools.<sup>25</sup> In a short period of less than three decades starting 1870, Travancore had one vernacular school per 1.9 square miles and 792 inhabitants.<sup>26</sup>

The educational history of Cochin was, till the 1880s, one of opening more and more English schools and colleges. Attention to the question of mass education was given only by 1890. From that year onwards a large number of private indigenous schools began to receive grants-in-aid. School education progressed in Cochin rapidly since the 1890s. It may be noted, however, that even as early as 1891, when the government had only just stepped into the field of promoting vernacular education, Cochin had reached a literacy rate higher than in any other part of India, thanks to the services of the indigenous school system.

Partly as a consequence of the educational progress and partly due

to the development of elements of capitalist production and 'representative' forms of government, <sup>27</sup> the gale of socio-economic change that blew in Travancore during the 1860s gained momentum towards the closing years of the nineteenth century, uprooting many outdated social institutions. A new awakening of social consciousness clearly manifested itself in all walks of life and most sections of society. The rise of spiritual leaders like Sri Narayana Guru and Sri Chattampi Swamikal, the birth of social reform organizations like the Sri Narayana Dharma Paripalana Sangham (SNDP) the Nair Service Society (NSS), the Sadhu Jana Paripalana Yogam and Yogakshema Sabha, the growing schisms in the Syrian Church in Kerala, the numerous memorials submitted by the people to the governments of Travancore and Madras demanding more educational and employment opportunities; the incessant and relentless efforts made by the members of the legislature for securing more rights and opportunities for the backward sections of the population; the spread of village libraries and reading rooms; the starting of educational institutions on a large scale by communities other than Christians, all these were representative of the new directions of change of the period.<sup>28</sup>

### *Private Schools and Public Responsibility*

Under these circumstances educational facilities in Travancore and Cochin grew at a rate faster than ever before. In 1894-95, for the first time the Travancore government earmarked funds for the establishment of special schools for backward communities which in later years came to be referred to as 'scheduled castes'. In 1895-96, government started fifteen schools exclusively for children belonging to such communities. Encouraged by the liberal grants-in-aid, the missionaries, particularly of the Roman Catholic Church, who had almost completely shied away from the field of education till then, also opened numerous schools for the depressed groups.<sup>29</sup> By 1904, the government took up the entire cost of primary education of backward classes; the principle of education of all children irrespective of caste, creed or race, being the responsibility of the government, was also accepted in the same year.<sup>30</sup>

The indigenous schools which had catered to the educational needs of the people of Travancore from ancient times began to decline. The process of their decline was hastened by the introduction of an Education Code in 1909-10 which laid down strict conditions for management, accommodation, equipment, teachers' qualifications, school terms, fees, textbooks and school record.<sup>31</sup> In 1911, the restrictions on the admission of Pulaya children to departmental schools were removed.<sup>32</sup> By 1928-29 all the special schools for backward classes were reorganized into the general category.<sup>33</sup> Recognition was from then onward given to private schools only if they were open to all castes. In 1935-36 as a further positive step for encouraging mass education, the government began a scheme of lump-sum grants to pupils belonging to the backward communities. A small beginning was made in the direction of compulsory primary



education in 1945. Primary school enrolment had been increasing rapidly, in fact even without the introduction of any element of compulsion.<sup>84</sup> Steps were also initiated at this time for nationalization of primary education. However, owing to the stiff opposition from the Christian managements, its implementation had to be postponed till the early 1950s.

The Dewan of Travancore declared in the late 1850s that at least one per cent of state revenue should be spent on education.<sup>85</sup> By 1894-95 state expenditure on education rose to 3 per cent, by 1903-04 to 6 per cent, by 1914-15 to 14 per cent and by 1924-25 to 18 per cent.

In Malabar, educational history was relatively uneventful for reasons indicated earlier. In his *Malabar Manual* of 1887, Logan summarily dismissed his discussion of education in the area after making a sweeping reference to the "dense mass of ignorance" prevailing at the time.<sup>86</sup> CA Innes claimed in 1933 that education had made marked progress in Malabar in the previous half century and that Malabar occupied the foremost place in the Madras Presidency in literacy of both sexes. His description of the actual state of literacy among different social groups however makes painful reading:

945 Mappilas and 999 Cherumans out of every 1000 are illiterate; these two castes between them number more than 37 per cent of the total population. Ernad, with the Wynad, shares the unenviable distinction of being the most illiterate taluk in the district. Palghat where Mappilas are scarce, is also one of the ignorant taluks. Ernad with 15 per cent literates among males and 3.3 per cent women and the Wynad with 15 and 2.2 per cent are still the most illiterate taluks. The general rate of literacy in this area was 15 per cent (as against 7 per cent in 1881 and the rate of female literacy 6.4 per cent (as against 0.8 in 1881).<sup>87</sup>

Even though primary education was at its incipient stage, the area did not lag behind the rest of Kerala in the field of higher education. In 1931, there existed in Malabar 4 colleges and 40 high schools (including 4 schools for girls). As against this, it is interesting to note that there were only 16 middle schools (including 4 schools for girls); the number of primary schools was, however, large. There were 4126 such schools with an average enrolment of about 83 pupils per school. Innes confessed that very little was being done for the education of backward communities and that the efforts to develop education among Muslims had not succeeded.<sup>88</sup> The educational uplift of the masses in Malabar had, in fact, to wait till the end of the British rule in Malabar.

### *Economics of Educational Growth*

There is a widely prevalent notion among educational planners that in countries like India with an acute dearth of investible resources, the attainment of goals like universal primary education is next to impossible without causing serious setback to the development of productive activities which compete for the available stock of physical resources.<sup>89</sup> Viewed in this light, the magnitude of resources that the people and the government



were able to mobilize during the past several decades for investment in education would seem to be enormously greater than could be expected from a state like Kerala which has an extremely low level of per capita income. In this huge effort, all the leading social reform movements and religious organizations played important roles. A bulk of the investment did in fact come from non-government and popular efforts which not only set up private schools and colleges, but also contributed land, buildings and furniture for starting government schools in a large number of cases.

The methods adopted by the different educational agencies for raising resources from large numbers of poor families deserve special attention. The missionaries used all the influence at their command over their laity to raise monthly subscriptions from the households both in cash and kind. The remark made by Father Nidhiry in the late nineteenth century that an English school was hundred times more precious than a gold cross in the church and his instruction that each parish should start a school, reflect the enthusiasm and the enlightenment of the society and its leaders in this area.<sup>40</sup> In order to collect subscriptions from poor families, the housewives were instructed to save one handful of rice per day and to hand the savings over to the church once in a month. The value of such savings was calculated to be roughly equal to 5 per cent of the consumption expenditure of the families making the contribution and this method of resource mobilization itself came to be known as 5 per cent.<sup>41</sup> The methods adopted later by other social reform agencies were also similar. The NSS for example, experimented from time to time with

TABLE I

EDUCATIONAL EXPENDITURE, TRAVANCORE, 1870-1947  
(SELECTED YEARS)

Year	Amount (Rs thousand)
1871-72	110
1884-85	218
1894-95	596
1904-05	641
1909-10	760
1914-15	1854
1919-20	2853
1924-25	3713
1929-30	4221
1934-35	4723
1941-42	4723
1945-46	6316
1946-47	7853

SOURCE: *Administration Reports of Travancore.*

a variety of devices known as New Year subscriptions (*Vishu pirivu*) and produce subscription (*utpanna pirivu*), besides regular expeditions of open begging from door to door conducted by leaders of the society for collections in cash and kind.<sup>4 2</sup> As a consequence of such efforts, three primary and middle schools out of every five, two secondary schools out of every three, and four colleges out of every five, are at present under private management.

The growth of government expenditure on education has also been at a phenomenal rate, as may be seen from table I.

### *Educational Opportunity*

The expansion of education does not seem to have been uniform among the various sections of the society. Even though all strata were affected, the consequent changes in social and economic status were confined to individual members belonging to the different sections rather than to those sections as a whole. Besides, the bulk of the educational opportunities, especially at levels higher than the primary school stage, seem to have been appropriated mostly by the more privileged sections of society as indicated in table II.

TABLE II

PUPILS IN SCHOOLS, ACCORDING TO OCCUPATION OF PARENTS, 1946-47

(Percentages)

Level of education	Government servants, teachers, physicians and priests	Landlords, owner-cultivators and tenant-cultivators	Traders	Day laborers	Others	Total
Pre-university class	43.8	37.6	3.7	—	14.8	100.0
High school	24.4	46.0	15.5	3.6	10.4	100.0
Middle school	16.4	49.1	17.1	7.2	10.5	100.0
Primary school	6.0	44.3	11.6	22.6	15.5	100.0

SOURCE: *Administration Report of Travancore, 1946-47.*

In 1946-47, pupils whose parents had white-collar jobs (traditionally determined by social and economic privileges) like government service, teaching and law, accounted for only 6.0 per cent of the total enrolment at the primary stage. At the higher stages, their percentage steadily increased, to 16.4 per cent in middle schools, 24.4 per cent in high schools and 43.8 per cent in the pre-university class. The children of the landowner and cultivator classes accounted for 44 per cent of the enrolment at the primary stage. Their percentages in middle and high school stages were higher than at the primary stage. A more or less similar picture is presented by the enrolment rates of children of traders. These three categories together, who may be considered to represent the propertied and socially

privileged classes, are found to have been appropriating to themselves a share in the higher stages of education much larger than their due, judged in terms of their representation at the earliest stage of education. On the other hand even though the children of labourers, artisans and the other unpropertied classes together accounted for more than half the enrolment at the primary stage, they were only 34 per cent at the middle school 30 per cent at the high and 20 per cent in the pre-university class.

One of the reasons for the decline in the enrolment percentage of the class of labourers and artisans might be the fact that education beyond the primary stage was costly. Fees had to be paid in all classes beyond IV, the last of the primary. It may therefore be worthwhile to examine whether the relative positions of the different communities have undergone substantial changes after school education at all the stages has been made free. In table III, the enrolments in 1964-65 in classes II to X of pupils belonging to various communities is expressed as a percentage of enrolment in class I in the same year.

Brahmins, Nairs and Syrian Christians were the major communities which had enjoyed for long periods near-monopoly positions in property ownership (mainly ownership of land which constituted the most important means of production in the agrarian economy of Kerala) and also in government service. The Syrian Christians had turned also to capitalist types of industry, agriculture and commerce from the mid-nineteenth century. The fact that socio-economic changes consequent on educational expansion have not been strong enough to offset significantly the effects of traditional privileges, is reflected in the higher percentage of pupils belonging to these communities reaching the middle and the secondary stages of education even as late as 1964-65. This may be an indication of the fact that educational expansion by itself would play only a limited role in equalizing socio-economic opportunities in highly structured societies like that of Kerala.

### *Growth of Literacy*

The trend of literacy growth in the different districts of Kerala during the past seven decades shows that the southern districts comprising the erstwhile states of Travancore and Cochin stole a march over the Malabar region in the first three decades and that the lead thus attained is still retained by them. However, since independence and particularly since the formation of the Kerala state in 1956, the inter-district differences have been narrowing down slowly in terms of both male and female literacy rates thanks to the pursuit of deliberate policies of special encouragement of education in Malabar. The broad trends in the progress of literacy in the various districts will be clear from table IV.

The rapid growth of literacy in Travancore and Cochin began only after the complete removal, in the late 1920s, of the caste restrictions on admissions to primary schools. Since then, the state has reached a stage of near-universal literacy, at least among the younger age groups of the

TABLE III

PERCENTAGE OF ENROLMENT IN CLASSES II TO X — ENROLMENT  
IN CLASS I, KERALA 1964-65

Class	Syrian Christians			Latin Catholics	Roman Catholics	Ezhavas	Scheduled castes	Tribes	Muslims	All communities		
	Brahmins	Nairs	Marthomites									
X	44.5	34.7	37.1	30.3	26.3	18.6	16.1	13.8	10.2	9.3	6.4	17.6
IX	50.7	47.4	64.7	50.4	38.6	28.8	25.4	22.9	19.0	10.7	10.1	26.9
VIII	52.0	57.1	70.0	54.7	43.8	36.8	27.4	28.9	23.8	15.9	13.5	32.3
VII	61.6	59.5	73.7	67.9	56.1	48.2	27.8	36.3	34.5	28.1	17.6	39.3
VI	64.0	62.0	78.3	70.7	66.3	57.5	29.2	44.2	44.2	33.9	25.0	47.1
V	64.2	75.7	85.7	81.5	74.3	66.7	28.8	51.7	50.1	38.3	34.9	54.7
IV	81.2	82.8	77.4	80.7	77.1	62.8	35.5	65.2	57.9	65.6	53.9	64.9
III	76.5	94.7	82.9	84.0	84.3	71.0	33.9	69.8	67.2	72.5	65.2	72.8
II	87.4	96.9	82.5	85.0	89.8	81.9	37.8	79.7	76.3	87.0	78.7	81.3
I	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

NOTE:— Calculated from data supplied in the *Report of the Commissioner for Reservation of Seats in Educational Institutions in Kerala*, Government Press, 1965 pp 118-125.



population<sup>4 8</sup>. The percentage of children in the relevant age groups completing middle school education is the highest in Kerala among all the Indian states. With such high indices of educational development, this state still lags behind many others in levels of per capita income. For economists who expect close correspondence between growth of education and income levels, this situation might appear to be paradoxical. Economic development may follow educational advance but the time for economic development to catch up is likely to vary from one situation to another, depending on a large number of concomitant socio-economic as well as political factors.

- <sup>1</sup> The princely states of Travancore and Cochin came into existence as strong centralized political units in the second half of the eighteenth century. The entire region of Kerala (Travancore, Cochin and Malabar) passed under British supremacy in the 1790s. Malabar was constituted into a single administrative unit by the 1820s and was directly administered by the British as part of the Madras Presidency. Travancore and Cochin remained princely states as subsidiaries to the paramount power. A rough idea of the extent of educational backwardness of Malabar relative to Travancore and Cochin at the end of the British period is supplied by the following data:

Percentage of literacy in the age group 9 and above, 1951

Region	District	Percentage of literacy		
		Male	Female	Persons
Travancore	Trivandrum	59	36	47
	Quilon	68	46	57
	Kottayam	70	52	61
Cochin	Trichur	61	40	51
Malabar	Malabar	41	21	31

Source: *Educational Survey of India, State Report, Kerala State, 1957-58*, Superintendent, Government Press, Trivandrum, pp 14-15.

- <sup>2</sup> The discussion in this section is confined mostly to developments in Travancore; this is mainly due to the non-availability of detailed information about Cochin; in part it is also due to the consideration that the socio-economic factors at work in these two areas, and hence the course of educational development, were along similar lines.
- <sup>3</sup> "Travancore changed over to a region of peasant proprietors, Cochin developed into a tract of peasant proprietors and absentee landlords and Malabar into almost an absentee landlord tract". T C Varghese, *Agrarian Change and Economic Consequences: Land Tenure in Kerala, 1850-1960*, Allied Publishers, p 217; See also *Poverty, Unemployment and Development Policy, A Case Study of Selected Issues with Reference to Kerala*, vol I, The Centre for Development Studies, Trivandrum, March 1975 (Mimeo), ch VI.
- <sup>4</sup> By a proclamation of the Travancore Government in 1865, "the ryots were conferred ownership rights, heritable, saleable and otherwise transferable, subject only to the obligation of paying the land tax assessed to them". Further important tenancy reforms followed in quick succession in 1867, 1882, 1892 and 1895. See T K Velu Pillai, *Travancore State Manual*, vol IV, Superintendent, Government Press, 1940, pp 337-338.
- <sup>5</sup> T K Velu Pillai, *op. cit.*, vol II, pp 500-565.
- <sup>6</sup> See P K Gopalakrishnan, "Social Reform Movements", ch 32 in *Kerala History*, vol I edited by Kerala History Association, Cochin 1973, pp 1193-1316 (in Malayalam) and T K Raveendran, *Asan and Social Revolution in Kerala*, Kerala Historical Society, Trivandrum 1972.

- 7 C M Augur, *Church History of India*, SPG Press, Vepery, Madras 1903, pp 21 and 40-50.
- 8 At the time when the Travancore government took steps for the first time to promote vernacular education of the institutionalized type in 1866-67 every village in this state had already a school: "The country abounds with indigenous schools, which furnish abundant facilities to the population to acquire the rudiments of knowledge. Any person who desires that his children should learn reading, writing and arithmetic need not go beyond his village." *Administration Report of Travancore, 1866-67*, p 78.
- 9 Pauline Gregg, *A Social and Economic History of Britain 1760-1970*, 6th Revised Edition George G Harp & Co Ltd., London 1971, pp 295-313.
- 10 "The Sarcar felt satisfied that the country would largely benefit by the introduction of capital, skill and enterprise of Europeans in utilizing tracts of valuable land which for the most part would otherwise be untouched for generations. A large number of European planters took advantage of the opportunity offered." T K Velu Pillai, *op. cit.*, vol III, p 18.
- 11 V Nagam Aiyah, *Travancore State Manual*, vol III, Superintendent, Government Press, Trivandrum 1906, p 184.
- 12 T K Velu Pillai, *op. cit.*, vol II, p 57.
- 13 *Ibid.* p 588; and V Nagam Aiyah, *op. cit.*, vol III, p 123.
- 14 The nature and magnitude of the rapid changes may be seen from the following figures:
- |  |      |
|--|------|
| Value of exports (Rs Lakhs) in 1854-55           | 18.1 |
| 1874-75  | 75.3 |
| Value of exports (Rs Lakhs) in 1854-55           | 6.4  |
| 1874-75  | 45.0 |
| Quantity of rice exported ('000 tons) in 1864-65 | 205  |
| imported ( " ) in 1874-75                        | 669  |
| Population (million) in 1854                     | 1.3  |
| " " in 1875                                      | 2.3  |
| Wages per day labour (chuckrams) in 1868         | 2    |
| " " in 1880                                      | 5    |
| Price of land (Rs per acre) in 1868              | 1    |
| " " in 1880                                      | 80   |
- See T K Velu Pillai and Nagam Aiyah, *Travancore State Manual*, vol III, p 123.
- 15 T K Velu Pillai, *Travancore State Manual*, vol II, *op. cit.*, p 587.
- 16 See Thomas Shea Jr., "Barriers to Economic Development in Traditional Societies, Malabar, A Case Study," *Journal of Economic History*, vol XIX, No. 4, 1959, p 504-522
- 17 William C Logan, *Malabar*, vol 1, Superintendent, Government Press, Madras 1931 pp 473.
- 18 See Aparna Sen, "Indian Primary Education, 1900-1920" *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, September 1971, Delhi School of Economics, pp 284-287.
- 19 In 1817, the Maharani of Travancore wrote that there should be no backwardness in the spread of enlightenment, that by diffusion of education the people would become better subjects and public servants and that the reputation of the state might be advanced thereby. For the attainment of such an objective she also accepted the principle that the state should defray the entire cost of education of its people. The proclamation of these lofty ideals came, it should be noted, from a queen, who was then a girl in her early teens, grossly ignorant of statecraft and who had placed the entire responsibility of the affairs of the infant state of Travancore in the wise and efficient hands of the Resident. So whatever credit could be given to these utterances should be given to the Resident. Besides, it may be remembered in this context that Velu Thampy, the Dewan of Travancore, had made an attempt, a decade earlier, to set up vernacular schools in every kara (sub-village). In the light of this fact, the instructions given by the queen to open five schools in Travancore do not seem to



- have been a pioneering and farsighted effort as is usually made out in writings on the history of Travancore. See T K Velu Pillai, *Travancore State Manual*, vol III, *op. cit.*, p 700 and *The History of the Freedom Movement in Kerala*, vol I (1600-1885), The Regional Records Survey Committee, Government of Kerala, Superintendent, Government Press, 1970, p 73.
- <sup>20</sup> C Achuta Menon, *Cochin State Manual*, The Superintendent, Government Press, Ernakulam 1911, pp 290-297.
- <sup>21</sup> In 1837, two English schools were opened in Cochin by the state government for education of the princes and the children of the privileged classes; another English school was started for the same purpose in 1845. In Travancore, the first government English school (which had been opened in 1834 by private initiative) began functioning from 1836 and was known as Rajah's free school.
- <sup>22</sup> C M Augur, *Church History of India*, *op. cit.*, p 21.
- <sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p 94, and C Achuta Menon, *op.cit.*, p 290.
- <sup>24</sup> Here a comparison between the experience of Travancore with that of Japan under Meiji Restoration seems to be in order: When the modern school system began to be put into effect (in Japan) from 1872, hundreds, if not thousands, of the older schools served as component units of the new school systems, particularly during the transformation period. Before the new normal school started to turn out enough teachers with modern training the *tarakaya* teachers filled much of the gap. Herbert Possin, 'Portents of Modernity in the Meiji Emergence' in C A Anderson and M J Bowman (eds.), *Education and Economic Development*, Frank Cass & Co Ltd., Aldine Publishing Company, London 1965, p 396.
- <sup>25</sup> Separate schools were opened at the time for the education of children belonging to the depressed classes like Ezhavas, since in those days, schools in which both the high-caste and the low-caste pupils attended could not even be thought of. The opening of educational facilities for backward communities had significant effects, particularly on the Ezhavas whose rate of literacy increased rapidly from 3.2 per cent in 1875 to 12.1 in 1891. For data on the increase in the literacy rates among the different castes and communities during the period from 1875 to 1891 see Nagam Aiyah, *Report of the Census of Travancore*, vol I, Report, 1890, Addison & Co, Madras 1894, pp 469-509.
- <sup>26</sup> Nagam Aiyah, *Travancore State Manual* vol II, p 459.
- <sup>27</sup> "The enlightened policy pursued by the government in diffusing the blessings of education among the people resulted in extending their political vision". In 1888 the Legislative Council was inaugurated in Travancore; See T K Velu Pillai, *Travancore State Manual*, vol IV, pp 316-331.
- <sup>28</sup> See P K Gopalakrishnan, "Social Reform Movements", *op. cit.*
- <sup>29</sup> Nagam Aiyah, *Travancore State Manual*, vol II *op. cit.*, p 482.
- <sup>30</sup> Nagam Aiyah, *Ibid.*, p 44.
- <sup>31</sup> The decline in the number of private unaided schools (indigenous schools) had begun from 1894-95 when the *Travancore Educational Rules* were issued prescribing conditions for the payment of grant-in-aid. See Nagam Aiyah, *Travancore State Manual*, vol II, p 46.
- <sup>32</sup> T K Velu Pillai, *Travancore State Manual*, vol III, pp 735 and 756.
- <sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p 737.
- <sup>34</sup> One of the factors responsible for the rapid increase in the voluntary enrolment in primary schools seems to have been the introduction in Travancore and Cochin of free noon-feeding for poor children in lower primary schools. This scheme has continued to exist since then: See *Administration Reports* of the Education Departments of Travancore and of Cochin from 1943 to 1948-49, of Travancore-Cochin from 1943-49 to 1956-57 and of Kerala from 1956-57 onwards.
- <sup>35</sup> Government of Travancore, *Administration Report of Travancore, 1862-63*.
- <sup>36</sup> William C Logan, *Malabar*, vol. 1, *op. cit.*, p 160.

- <sup>37</sup> C A Innes, "Malabar", F B Evans (ed.) *Madras District Gazetteer 1933*, Reprinted by Superintendent, Government Press, Madras 1951, pp 295-303.
- <sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>39</sup> Peter Mandi, "Quantity and Quality in the Educational Policies of Developing Countries, *Studies on Developing Countries*, No 29, Centre for Afro-Asia Research of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest 1969.
- <sup>40</sup> See Abraham M Nidhiry, *Father Nidhiry: A History of His Times*, Deepika Book House, Kottayam 1970, pp 131-137.
- <sup>41</sup> Hormice C Perumaly (ed.), *Chavara Death Centenary, 1871-1971*, PBS Alleppey, KP Press, Kottayam 1971, p 171.
- <sup>42</sup> Nair Service Society, *Golden Jubilee Commemoration Volume of the NSS*, 1964, p 74.
- <sup>43</sup> The literacy rate in Kerala for the total population in 1971 was 60.3 per cent. Since more than 25 per cent of the population must have been in the age group which would be illiterate even in a state with 'universal literacy', the effective rate of literacy (literacy rate for the population 10 years and above) in Kerala came to more than 80 per cent; the bulk of the illiterates in the age group 10 and above will be found, obviously, in the population belonging to the advanced age groups.