

Modernisation of Travancore

Trend Setting Factors (1890-1900)

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ABSTRACT: Travancore was a princely state in the Indian subcontinent, with its capital at Trivandrum, ruled by the Travancore Royal Family. It comprised most of modern day southern Kerala. Maharaja Marthanda Varma is usually credited as the founder of “Modern Travancore”. After India’s independence in 1947, Travancore and the princely state of Cochin merged on 1 July 1949 to form the Indian state of Travancore-Cochin. Later Travancore-Cochin joined with the Malabar district of the Madras State (modern day Tamil Nadu), on 1 November 1956, to form the Indian state of Kerala. The last Maharajah was Chithira Thirunal Balarama Varma and the last Dewan was PGN Unnithan. The traditional Travancore society with its feudalistic politico-economic system underwent changes towards the second half of the 19th century. This period can be conveniently called as take off stage of the Travancore society.

KEYWORDS: Colonial Modernity, Indigenous reforms, Press and platform, Christian Missionaries

Trend Setting Factors

A number of factors like the growth of national consciousness, modernisation and transformations in socio-political and economic organisation triggered off the process of change in Travancore towards the second half of the 19th century.¹ The three main channels through which modern ideas have found their way to India are British rule, English education and Christian Missionaries. Travancore was not an exemption to this rule. In the domestic sphere a few progressive administrative

reforms enunciated by the Travancore Maharajas also accelerated the new phenomenon. The emergence of a powerful leadership from among the people, its perception of the situation and the capacity to act accordingly, the formation of a counter ideology, change in the material conditions of production...in certain situations interface with external forces-a colonial power for instance-may accelerate or even inaugurate the process of change. The social change that took place in Kerala during the 19th and 20th centuries was a byproduct of all these factors.²

Impact of Colonial Modernity and Indigenous Reforms

The political climate of any state is determined by its internal affairs as well as its external relationships. In Travancore at the close of the 18th century the external relations were more important in determining the political features of the state.³ It was during this period that the English East India Company attempted to expand its political supremacy over Travancore. The British first came in the land of Kerala when one Captain Kneeling reached Calicut with a letter from the English King James I. He met Zamorin, the ruler of Calicut and got from him the permission to start commercial activities. In 1644 the English obtained permission from the King of Venad to build a factory at Vizhinjam.⁴ In 1684 they obtained from the Raja of Attingal a sandy spit of land at Anjengo for the location of a factory.⁵ From the beginning itself the Princely State of Travancore cultivated an intimate friendly relation with the English East India Company. As early as 1723, a treaty of friendship and alliance was signed between Travancore and the East India Company.⁶ Marthanda Varma (1729-1758) the maker of the modern Travancore strengthened the friendship with the East India Company through his policies. As per a reciprocal understanding arrived at between the two parties the English agreed to lend military assistance to Marthanda Varma in return for pepper in large quantities.⁷ In the wars in which the East India Company was engaged in the Carnatic and in Mysore in the 18th century the Travancore State rendered military assistance to the British.⁸ The last injunction of Marthanda Varma to his successor was to continue the friendship with the British at any risk.⁹ Thus Rama Varma the successor

of Marthanda Varma continued the friendly relations with the British. Here it must be remembered that it was the intention of Tipu Sultan to invade Travancore that induced the British to declare war against Tipu. An agreement was signed between Travancore and the British in 1788 to allow "two battalions of Sepoys to be stationed on the frontier of Travancore".¹⁰

After the defeat of Tipu Sultan, English East India Company came into a perfect understanding with Travancore. A formal treaty was concluded between Travancore and the English East India Company in 1795 according to which the Raja accepted the British Supremacy and company agreed to help the state in the event of external aggression. The treaty also provided for sending a Resident in the court of Travancore representing the English East India Company.¹¹ During the period of Balarama Varma, a treaty was concluded with the company in 1805, which permitted the British to interfere in the internal affairs of Travancore in the event of internal strife or rebellion. The Raja also undertook to abide by whatever advice the company might choose to give him in regard to internal administration of the state.¹² After this treaty Travancore became a virtual subsidiary ally of the British. Thus if the Britishers had to apply many tactics and tricks to control many native states in India, in the case of Travancore they could make it subservient without any painstaking effort.¹³ As a subsidiary ally the Travancore Government was obliged to pay a tribute of rupees 8, 00,000 a year.¹⁴ When the tribute fell in arrears Diwan Velu Thampi of Travancore came into clash with the British.¹⁵ But the British succeeded in suppressing the revolt of Velu Thampi. After the suppression of this rebellion the British could not face any formidable rival from Travancore. The stage was now completely set for their political interference in Travancore.

Generally the British in India had two main motives in addition to their desire of prosperous trade activities-the domination of Indian States and the Spread of Christian religion. The policies they enunciated were calculated to make the Indian territories advantageous to the developing market economy. By the second part of the 18th century, capitalist inroads were made into a feudal

social structure. Travancore was fast developing an infrastructure suitable for rapid expansion of a mercantile economy.¹⁶ It was their commercial and strategic motives that dominated the British policies with the Princely State like Travancore. The treaties of friendship arrived at between the British and Travancore placed at the disposal of the former a permanent army capable of putting down any possible revolt, as in the case of the Velu Tampi rebellion and at the same time the said army was maintained at the expense of the state revenue. The position of the British Resident was created to assure them the control over the administration of the state. The subsequent events proved beyond doubt that in the events of collision between the Kings and Residents the decisions of the latter prevailed. Realising that the Nair troops did some harm to the British factory establishments, all possible steps were taken to curtail their power. Similarly reforms in social, economic, political and religious fields were introduced to preserve British interests, although economic changes and social transformation came as by-products.¹⁷

The first British Resident at the court of Travancore was Colin Mecauly, the rightful selection of Lord Wellesley, the British Governor General. He granted passport for the first Protestant Missionary Ringeltaube in 1806 to enter Travancore and to start missionary activities.¹⁸ In Travancore the foundation of Modern administration was laid by Colonel Munroe (1770-1856) who was the British Resident for the states of Travancore and Cochin from 1810-1819.¹⁹ In Travancore he also functioned as Dewan.²⁰ He got enormous powers and responsibilities because of the combination of these two positions. When he assumed office he saw that the country was in a state of helpless anarchy. The expenses incurred by the military operations of the Madras Government consequent on the rebellions of Velu Thampi and Paliath Achan were very huge. The annual subsidies due to the East India Company had fallen into arrears. All these necessitated immediate and strong reforms.

Munroe realised the inefficiency of the administration because of the combination of civil, military and judicial powers in the hands of officials called Kariakars. He curtailed their powers, redesignated them as Tahsildars and was reduced to the position of Collectors of revenue.²¹ He abolished

many inhuman and unscientific taxes collected by the state.²² Munroe was responsible for the introduction of modern revenue system in Travancore. An improved system of audit and accounts was introduced. A land revenue settlement was effected and landholders were distributed title deeds called Pattayams.²³ Corruption was checked and strict economic management was enforced. Regular systems of civil service were introduced through the creation of a staff selection board and the officials were paid salary and pension. The land tax which amounted four lakhs rupees during the time of Ummini Thampi rose to fifteen lakhs rupees under Munroe.²⁴ He also introduced some judicial reforms in Travancore. He separated Revenue department from judiciary. Inhuman and crude punishments were abolished and modern progressive methods were introduced. He set up a Court of Appeal at the state capital and five district Courts at places like Padmanabhapuram, Thiruvananthapuram, Mavelikkara, Vaikom and Alwaye.²⁵ He introduced the British codes of civil and criminal procedure in 1861 in Travancore with some modifications. Gauri Lakshmi Bai abolished slavery in Travancore on 5th December 1812 under his instigation. Construction works were done at Kuttippuzha in Thiruvalla, Kanjikkuzhi in Kottayam and Kallada in Kollam.²⁶ Governmental works were entrusted in various departments. Administrative rules called Chattavariolas are introduced. A separate army for Travancore was constituted. As early as in 1811 the Devaswoms were placed under governmental control.²⁷ The secretariat system was introduced in Travancore by Gauri Lakshmi Bai because of the instigation of Monroe. The Christians of Travancore owe a great deal to the beneficence of Munroe. He appointed a commission in 1813 to study the conditions of Syrian Christians in Travancore. Rani Lakshmi Bai was compelled to give employment to the Christians. As per his request Christian Judges were appointed in district courts. A seminary was established at Kottayam for the education of the clergy. The Church Missionary Society (C.M.S) and the London Missionary Society (L.M.S) received substantial help and encouragement at his hands. For the education of Christian children he allotted 20,000 rupees. Even after his retirement he continued his relation with Christian cause.²⁸ In 1818 as per the request of Col.Munroe, the new Queen of Travancore Rani Parvathi Bai abolished adiyara tax for wearing

gold ornaments by certain classes of people.²⁹

Generally the British policy was non-interference in the social issues of the Princely States. Their policy in Travancore was guided mainly by the commercial considerations. The Britishers were ready to allow the existence of individual Kingdoms as long as they were willing to accept their over lordship. It is interesting that the customary caste rules and practices were never interfered with by the British administrators, for it was a fixed principle of that Government that it should not interfere with social laws and personal customs unless there was a general and unequivocal demand for reforms on the part of the people themselves.³⁰ But as part of their commercial and material considerations they were forced to introduce some drastic changes in the society. Their general liberal outlook and the need for the facilities to be provided for the propagation of Christianity compelled them to think otherwise. Thus even though there was no direct administrative interference with caste procedures, but there was informal, un-structured sort of action against some of the more barbarous aspects of caste which both the Western Missionary and administrator found repugnant to their notions of human dignity.³¹ When the British administrators realised that they could find a large number people from the Hindu avarna communities to convert to their faith, they acted immediately. For instance in 1871 J.I. Minchin Esquire, the acting Resident of Travancore and Cochin asked the Dewans of these states to enquire and report the disabilities faced by the low castes. The Dewans reported the disabilities of these sections especially the prohibitions imposed on them to use public roads, enter public offices and exclusion from public offices.³²

The Britishers compelled the native rulers to introduce welfare measures as well as public works to boost their trade and commerce. Modern schools were started in Travancore as early as 1834 when the first English school was opened at Thiruvananthapuram. It was converted into the Raja's free school on 18 December 1836.³³ The first English school for girls in Travancore was opened in 1859. During the period of Ayilyam Thirunal, the Government Arts College was started in 1866. Sri Mulam Thirunal gave permission to the private managements to start

educational institutions.³⁴ Because of the compulsions of the Christian Missionaries and the social necessity; the Travancore Kings opened special school for avarnas and admitted them in government schools in course of time. During the period of Sri Mulam Tirunal (1885-1924) free primary education was introduced. A Director of Public Inspection was appointed to co-ordinate the educational activities and an education code was introduced. The following tables compare the non -representation and representation of the avarnas in schools (Table 2.1 and 2.2)

Table -1
Caste wise student strength in the Nine English Schools of Travancore,1862.³⁵

| Community | No of Students | %of representation |
|----------------------------|----------------|--------------------|
| Tamil Sudras | 517 | 32.75 |
| Malayali Sudras(Nairs) | 424 | 28.85 |
| Christians (all divisions) | 315 | 19.95 |
| Tamil Brahmins | 266 | 16.85 |
| Muslims | 37 | 2.34 |
| Namboodiris | 1 | 0.06 |
| Others | 19 | 1.20 |
| Total | 1579 | 100.00 |

Table 2
Number of pupils classified according to caste represented in
schools 1897-98.³⁶

| Community | Boys | Girls | Total |
|------------------|-------|-------|-------|
| Malayala Brahmin | 478 | 117 | 595 |
| Tamil Brahmin | 4158 | 1475 | 5633 |
| Malayali Sudra | 42189 | 16075 | 58264 |
| Ezhavas | 14207 | 2486 | 16687 |
| Parayas | 1509 | 317 | 1836 |
| Pulayas | 2236 | 174 | 2410 |

The Britishers and the Travancore Government gave preference to the developmental activities especially propagation of transport and communication systems. A Public Works Department was set up in 1860 and three years later an efficient British official Mr. Barton took the charge as Chief Engineer. Since then a large number of roads were constructed in different parts. These include roads from Kollam to Peerumedu, Kulachal to Nagercoil and Changanacherry. The road from Thiruvananthapuram to Thenmala via Nedumangad was constructed in 1869. The construction of Kayamkulam-Punalur road was started in 1871.³⁷ Railway lines started by the British connected Travancore, Cochin and Malabar to Madras. In 1857 the first post office was opened at Alleppey. The first telegraph office was started at the same place in 1864. The Britishers were also interested in introducing industrial establishments, plantations and other commercial enterprises. A coir factory was opened at Alleppey in 1859.³⁸ Coffee plantations were started in Travancore in addition to Wynad, Nilgiris and Coorg.³⁹ Introduction of machinery in agriculture, establishment of money economy and opening of banks and estates-all were aimed at the promotion of a mercantile economy, but at the same time guaranteed a mobile social system.

The Britishers were always concerned about the outdated and unscientific customs practiced in Travancore and requested the government to curtail these practices at an early date. The British Resident Newill wrote two letters addressing the Dewan of Travancore on 18 December 1865 and 3 December 1868 to reduce the expenses that the Travancore government was spending for conducting Murajapam ceremonies. In these letters the Resident reiterated that such ceremonies were wasteful and would not serve the purpose of promoting the welfare of the people. The expenditure was larger than receipts and money had been lavishly spent to promote the idleness of a section of the people (Brahmins).⁴⁰ This single incident itself was enough to judge the modern progressive outlook of a foreign power looking for the welfare of a larger community even if commercial considerations forced them to act accordingly. Again in 1871 the Madras Government stated that the cost of the Dewaswoms and Uttupuras was “an unnecessarily heavy charge on the state” and ordered the Resident to advise the Travancore Government to conduct a careful scrutiny of this expenditure with a view to reducing it. They also advised the Maharaja to reduce Palace expenses so as to release funds for more useful purposes such as public works and education.⁴¹

In the economic plane a series of reforms enacted in the 19th century freed the low caste people of Travancore. In 1865 Oozhiyam was abolished while Viruthi was abolished in 1894. The Pandarapattam Proclamation of 1865 granted the possession of the land with the right of devolution and sale to all tenants. By this Proclamation, the Government of Travancore expressly surrendered forever all their optional power over certain classes of lands for the benefit of the people.⁴² The Jenmi Kudiyan Proclamation of 1867 defined the relation between the Jenmis and tenants by which a considerable measure of relief was accorded to the tenants. The British introduced census in India since it was necessary for them to understand the people and culture of this land. Through a Proclamation dated 1 July 1865 permission was granted to the women of Ezhava and other subordinate castes to cover upper part of their body.⁴³ In Travancore the first census has been taken in 1875 and the others decennially from 1881. These census reports supplied necessary data to the avarnas and neglected communities to react against oppression. The

census revealed many hard realities especially to the low caste people who realised how the numerically meager sections controlled the vast resources of the state. They raised their demands for new opportunities by quoting census figures. It is not surprising that in the Malayali Memorial Petition of 1891, the formulators relied for the data the census reports of the earlier periods. The census reports were instrumental in creating the communal and caste consciousness in Travancore.⁴⁴ The identification of caste and religion with specific political and economic interests as suggested by the census touches the heart of the communal problem. Apart from that modern government methods of counting and classification have affected formation of new subjective identities.⁴⁵ Thus the most important stimulus towards caste-cluster consciousness realised by the British presence was neither their advanced technology nor their military prowess and administrative skill, but rather the growth of caste cluster consciousness was largely an unintended but direct consequence of the fact that the foreigners engaged in a continuous attempt to describe, define, interpret and categorise the social complexity that India presented to them-a society so puzzlingly different from their own.⁴⁶

Along with the socio-economic reforms the Travancore Kings took steps to introduce constitutional reforms for which the inspiration they got from the British. In Travancore almost all the communities benefited from these reforms in one way or other. The constitutional reforms were introduced by the last two Maharajas of Travancore Sri Mulam Thirunal (1885-1924) and Sri Chitra Thirunal (1931-1949). After the passing of Indian councils Act of 1861 a council for the purpose of making laws and regulations was established in Travancore on 30 March 1888, the first council of this kind constituted in a Princely State.⁴⁷

In Travancore the period of Dewan Madhava Rao (1858-1872) was considered as a progressive one. He passed several legislations removing the social disabilities of the lower castes. Many public works were undertaken in different places during his period. He set out to remodel the administration and won a good name with British Governments for himself and the Travancore Sirkar.⁴⁸ His modernisation process included such reforms as the establishment of Public Works Department, construction of roads, waterways,

canals, ports and harbours, introduction of European plantations, starting Postal and Telegraphic facilities and promulgation of commerce and industry.⁴⁹ Madhava Rao introduced these reforms mainly on the model of the British institutions. He introduced British currency for commercial transactions, branches of Madras bank were established at Thiruvananthapuram and Alappuzha and Police department was reorganised on the lines of the Police in British India.⁵⁰ He also stipulated educational qualifications for Sirkar Service. The educational reforms introduced by the British and the Travancore Government were the single most important factor, which transformed the society. The introduction of compulsory primary education was one of the most notable British contributions. In India it was first introduced by the Gaekwad of Baroda. The British adopted this policy in their directly administered territories and requested the Princely States to follow their example.⁵¹

Travancore by the close of the 19th century responded differently to all these reforms and innovations. To the savarna castes and communities these reforms produced both beneficial and adverse effects where as to the lower castes these reforms were an open door to a new heaven. A civic consciousness developed among the avarna class as a result of the British reforms and the educational advancements. A new spirit of enquiry and criticism developed among the low castes.⁵² The hierarchy exhibited by the Hindu society was challenged. Social conception changed, democratic ideals developed and people became more and more conscious of their rights. Towards the close of the 19th century the new elite of all the communities wanted to look forward instead of backward and assimilate the elements of modernisation. The social and economic values underwent a change in Travancore, which released self-interests among various castes and communities. Modernisation widened the contradictions between the savarna and avarna communities. It offered facilities for education and employment for the avarnas while the savarna social setup objected it. As a consequence of modernisation some communities laid stress on the abolition of the signs of distance between groups. Some devoted their attention entirely to the transformation of family relationships and still some others insisted on their own participation in Government employment. Educational advancement was more important and it

varied from community to community. For the higher castes it is a means by which they could hope to secure a just share of political power and representation in the services. For the avarnas education means much more than this, it is the door to a new earth and new heaven. It is the instrument of emancipation from the social and economic subjection, which the caste system has imposed upon them. It is a way of escape from hard and exhausting toil or servile and degrading labour. In subsequent periods the avarna community leaders never hesitated to proclaim their loyalty and indebtedness to the British contributions. For instance in 1909 the S.N.D.P. leader C. Krishnan proclaimed his community's extreme loyalty to the British government.⁵³ *Vivekodayam*, the official mouth-piece of the S.N.D.P. Yogam argued, "The peace and freedom that we enjoy now are not experienced by us under any other dispensation. The education drives away the darkness hidden in every nook and corner of our country and transforms millions who were forced to live like animals into human beings. The administrative policy of the British has granted us the freedom, which was beyond our reach within the framework of Sublime religion. It has abolished the monstrous practices and corruption and extirpated the fangs of the venomous serpent of the inhuman caste system."⁵⁴

The British Colonialism gave a rude shock to the caste system and its exploitative nature. This was achieved by attacking its feudal economic structure and undermining the ideological base, which governed this structure. To provide an economic basis for Colonial administration, the Britishers transformed the material foundation of social relations. From primary social level to the apex administrative matters influence of western culture and manners widened. The western impact had produced changes even in the food habits of the low caste people.⁵⁵ It was due to the western influence that Travancore state started activities in education, public health and public works. In all these areas new officials were appointed.⁵⁶ The very concept of the people towards the officials changed with the western influence. In the new set up the people approached the officials as servants and not as their masters. The introduction of chemical manures and machinery in the field of agriculture had its consequences in village life.⁵⁷ The factories and

industrial establishments introduced in Travancore produced not only capitalists and middle class but also workers in large numbers and most of them hailed from the lower sections of society. The contact with the outside world especially through educational and commercial relations opened a world of new experiences before the indigenous people. Before this contacts the people was living like the frogs in a well believing that the sky and surroundings were little wider. But after these contacts people began to look towards different places and periods. C. Krishnan, the leader of S.N.D.P and the editor of *Mitavadi* said, "There is at present a restlessness agitating our whole community. Go anywhere you will find a spirit of discontent with the existing state of things, a craving for a better and loftier ideal."⁵⁸

One of the most important effects of colonial modernity was the wide popularity attained in the field of women's education. *Kerala Chinthamani*, a Malayalam magazine opined, "within a short span of time English education got wide popularity among the people and women folk also became its beneficiaries. In earlier times women spent their time mostly in kitchen and having no outside contact. But now we can see women dressed decently going to the educational institutions with books in hand and engaging in health exercises."⁵⁹ Due to their contact with the new culture, the people learnt a new lesson that the primary duty of a state was to work for the welfare of all the subjects and not for the happiness of a few. The Karanavans propagated a false belief that if people were educated in western lines they would give up their caste and religion and disobey the elders. But this belief proved futile in course of time.⁶⁰ The western contacts led to the political awakening of various castes and communities and in turn led to the weakening of Hindu State ideology. Identity formations on caste and communities started because the British opened a new channel in this direction through their studies and census reports. The desire for social mobility was articulated through caste groups. Associations sprang up for each and every caste and these associations stood for the social and economic advancement of their members. In those days the socially backward classes had to look to the European masters for the redemption of their lost rights as human beings and as citizens.⁶¹ The British interference in Travancore polity marked the

end of the dominance of certain communities in the social and political plane. It marked the end of Nayar dominance in Kerala. They lost their martial spirit when the British liquidated the chieftaincies for the sake of political unification. The Nayar aristocracy, deprived of military and political power, was doomed to live entirely on its old traditions, for the days of their unrestrained powers were gone for ever.⁶² Contact with the western people freed the common people from the clutches of feudalism, transformed the society as a whole and opened a new era of social and political freedom based on the rule of law.⁶³

In the political and culture spheres the impact of colonial modernity were vast and varied. All the social and religious reform leaders got their inspiration from the western thoughts and ideas. It gave a boost to the national consciousness and liberal outlook. But at the same time westernisation has given rise to communalism, casteism as well as regionalism. The old social systems based on castes and communities, however, could not but have its impact on this process of modernisation. Although in the final analysis the emergence of the new classes and the rise of the new movements was a process cutting across castes, sub castes and religious communities, the fact remains that from the very position occupied by each caste, sub-caste and community in the pre-British social order, some of them took to modernisation quicker than others; they were therefore able to benefit from it to a greater extent. Those who lagged behind were necessarily handicapped in various ways.⁶⁴

Impact of Missionary Works and Journalism

The Christian missionaries in Travancore from their very inception itself concentrated on establishing educational institutions, translating Christian beliefs into Malayalam language, preparing lexicons and grammatical works for Malayalam, starting printing press, publishing magazines and newspapers and opening hospitals in different places. To the Christian missionaries go the abiding honor of having taken the first tangible step towards the introduction and diffusion of western knowledge.⁶⁵ The two missionary organisations engaged in these missionary activities were Church Missionary Society (CMS) and London Missionary Society (LMS).⁶⁶ While the London

Missionary worked in South Travancore, the Church Missionary mainly concentrated on North Travancore. In addition to these two major missionary organisations several other missionary bodies functioned in Travancore. The Christians found in Travancore a congenial soil for their proselytisation.⁶⁷ The English East India Company was little reluctant in the beginning to lend permission to the missionary works in India and this led to bitter debates even in England. In 1807, one Thomas Twining, a proprietor of the company pointed out the political dangers of the missionary activity. In a letter to the chairman of the East India Company he opined, "I will venture to say, that there is not, in the world, a people more jealous and tenacious of their religious opinions and ceremonies, than the native inhabitants of the East. The people of India are not a political, but a religious people... They think as much of their religion, as we of our constitution. They venerate their shastah and Koran, with as much enthusiasm as we our Magna Carta."⁶⁸ But there were defenders also favouring missionary activity in India. William Wilberforce in 1813 strongly demanded free admission of missionaries into the companies' territories.⁶⁹ The activities of the Christian missionaries in Travancore received momentum only after the arrival of British Residents. When the first L.M.S Missionary Ringeltaube asked permission to build a Christian church at Mayilaudi, it was rejected by Dewan Veli Thampi. But after the death of Velu Thampi, the Travancore government granted permission to construct the church at Mayilaudi.⁷⁰ William Tobias Ringeltaube was the first Protestant Missionary who came to Kerala.⁷¹ In 1806 he started Tamil Schools at Mayilaudi. He worked in South Travancore from 1806 to 1816. By 1813 he established schools which taught English and local languages. In his schools free instruction was given to all poor children irrespective of caste or creed. After Ringeltaube, came Charles Mead, who was known as "the Father of South Kerala Mission." He also concentrated his educational activity at Nagercoil. He founded the Nagercoil Seminary and shifted the Mayilaudi central school to Nagercoil. The seminari later developed into the famous Scott Christian College.⁷² In addition to the Nagercoil Seminary, the L.M.S started Anglo Vernacular Schools, Boarding Schools and Village Primary Schools. As per the L.M.S Report

of 1866 a total of 7853 students got instructed in their institutions. The following table gives details about it.⁷³

Table 3
Educational Institutions of the L.M.S

| Institutions | Boys | Girls | Total |
|--------------------------|------|-------|-------|
| Nagercoil Seminary | 147 | - | 147 |
| Boarding Schools | 64 | 200 | 264 |
| Anglo Vernacular Schools | 352 | - | 352 |
| Village Schools | 5425 | 1290 | 6715 |
| Night Schools | 358 | 17 | 375 |
| Total | 6436 | 1507 | 7853 |

Resident Dewan Col.Macauly in Travancore promoted the C.M.S. Missionary. The Missionaries sought the help of the Home Government in their ventures to some extent and they certainly enjoyed relatively easy access to the highest government office.⁷⁴ The C.M.S. commenced its activities in Travancore in 1816 by making the hilly station of Kottayam as their headquarters. In Kerala for the first time Malayalam vernacular schools were started by the C.M.S Missionaries. The first notable name in the case of C.M.S Missioanary was Dr.Claudius Buchanan.⁷⁵ Under the direction of Col. Munroe who earned the title the “Father of Christian Missions in India”, the first college of the C.M.S was established in 1814 at Kottayam which later became the C.M.S College. C.M.S also started many schools which imparted English as well as Vernacular knowledge. For the sake of girl children, C.M.S started Girls Schools also. The C.M.S Missionaries Thomas Norton and Benjamin Bailey who reached Travancore in 1816 were responsible for promoting English education. The educational endeavors of C.M.S gained wide popularity through the activities of missionaries like Joseph Fen and Henry Becker who reached Travancore in 1818 and 1819 respectively. By 1819 itself ten schools were started in Travancore. By 1821 the number increased to 35. By 1891, as

per the data supplied by the C.M.S they have started 164 schools in which 336 teachers were employed and imparted education to 38,79 boys and 10,31 girls in different parts of Travancore.⁷⁶ In some areas of Nagercoil, the Salvation Army also started English schools.⁷⁷

The avarna castes, which constituted a majority section of the Hindu population benefited considerably from the missionary activities. It is not astonishing that conversion to Christianity should have appeared as a road to social advancement for the lower castes. As part of their proselytisation the missionaries granted unrestricted entry to the avarnas in their institutions. In 1894 C.M.S opened an industrial school at Kottayam for the Pulayas.⁷⁸ Not only did the missionaries started educational activities for the people, but also petitioned the Travancore rulers to admit the avarna students in Government schools. Even though the Travancore government started some schools; the admission was restricted only to the savarna Hindus and other religious people. As in the case of educational field, in social service also the avarna Hindus were very much indebted to the Christian Missionaries. It was the Christian missionaries who strenuously worked for ending slavery and Uzhiyam in Travancore. In 1847 twelve missionaries belonging to both L.M.S and C.M.S prepared a memorandum and submitted it to the Travancore government for abolishing slavery. Later in 1854 due to their compulsion the Madras government asked Travancore to end this practice. Charles Meed was the missionary who firstly acted against Uzhiyam practice.⁷⁹ It was the work of L.M.S among the Shanars in South Travancore that sparked off the famous controversy in 1835 about the right of Shanar women to wear an upper cloth above the waist which Hindus claimed was the right of high caste women only.⁸⁰

The missionary schools were instrumental in destabilizing the caste and class structure in Travancore. The low caste people who were once neglected, got educated in the mission schools. A civic consciousness developed among the avarna sections mainly due to the missionary policy of accommodating all sections of people in their educational institutions. It was from the Hindu avarna castes that most of the people converted to Christianity. The number of converts from the Hindu savarnas was negligible. The

avarna classes began to demand equal opportunities irrespective of castes and classes due to the exhortations of the missionaries. In a letter written by King Uthradam Thirunal to the Madras Governor Lord Harrison on 21 April 1856, it has been pointed out that, “Due to the popularity of the missionary activities, conflicts arose on caste, local customs and manners. It began to weaken the traditional controlling power of the state over the Hindu Subjects.”⁸¹ The liberal minded progressive savarna leaders realised the seriousness of the conversion move of the lower castes. They were alarmed at the decline of Hindu population and Hindu religious institutions. At the start of the 19th century the proportion of the Hindus in Travancore was 82.7% while at the end of the century it was 73.18%. Similarly there were 21,958 Hindu temples in 1816, but in 1891 there were only 9,364 in all.⁸²

Growth of Journalism

19th century Kerala witnessed the growth of journalism, which made possible the communication of ideas. In this field also the Christian missionaries were the pioneers. It was the Jesuit missionaries who brought printing press in India. They started the first press at Goa in 1556.⁸³ In Kerala the Portuguese missionaries started the printing presses for the first time in Quilon and Vipinkotta in the 16th century. English education and journalism spread out in Travancore after the emergence of L.M.S and C.M.S missionaries. For propagating Christianity these missionaries started printing press in various parts of Kerala and later the indigenous people also followed the suit. The 19th century witnessed the emergence of such printing presses as C.M.S Press, Kottayam (1821), Litho Press, Tellichery (1845), Vidya Vilasam Press, Calicut (1861), Kerala Mitram Press, Cochin (1881), Vidya Ratna Prabha Press, Kunnampulam (1880), Kerala Kalpadrumam Press, Trissur (1880) etc.⁸⁴ The Basel mission of Tellichery headed by Dr. Herman Gundert, published the first paper *Rajyasamacharam* in Malayalam in June 1847. ‘*Rajyasamacharam*’ means ‘News of the Kingdom.’ It continued its publication till November 1850 and till then 42 issues came out. In 1848 another magazine was started by C.M.S at Kottayam known as *Jnana Nikshepam* or Treasury of Knowledge. The persons behind this magazine were Arch Deacon Koshy and Rev.

George Mathen. *Jnana Nikshepam* was the first Malayalam Journal from Travancore.⁸⁵ An English Periodical ‘*Western Star*’ and its Malayalam edition ‘*Paschimatharaka*’ started in 1864 constituted a great milestone in the field of journalism. It was started by Devji Bhimji.⁸⁶ Charles Lawson was its first editor. *Paschimatharaka* was edited by T.J.Pylee and Kalloor Oomman. Later it was shifted from Cochin to Thiruvananthapuram and continued by C.J.Kurien. The Catholic missionaries started a newspaper “*Sathyanada Kahalam*” from Kunnammavu in 1876. Later its name was changed as *Satyanadam* and continued publication. In 1881 Devji Bhimji started *Kerala Mitram* from Cochin and Varghese Mappilai was its editor. In 1881 another magazine *Vidyavilasini* started publication from Thiruvananthapuram. Later under the same name two other publications came, one from Varnaprakasham Press, Mayyanadu, Kollam in 1897 and another from Manomohanam Press, Kollam in 1899.⁸⁷ *Vidya Vinodini* was a magazine started from Trissur. The Vidya Vinodini Press was started by V.Sundarayyar and the magazine started publication in November 1889 under the editorship of C.P.Achutha Menon. The first popular newspaper in Malayalam was *Kerala Patrika*, started in Malabar under the editorship of Chenkulathu Kunji Rama Menon from 1887 onwards. Malayali was another publication started from Thiruvananthapuram in 1886. It was first edited by E.Raman Pillai Asan, but later C.V.Raman Pillai took its charge. *Nasrani Deepika*, started in 1887 and *Malayala Manorama* started in 1890 were two other prominent newspapers in Malayalam.⁸⁸

The Travancore journalism played a crucial role in educating the public and criticising the unpopular measures of the government. Through the columns of these publications, in addition to literacy themes, political and social issues were also discussed. Some of them showed no hesitation in criticising the unpopular officials and even some outside Dewans. *Kerala Mitram* of the 21 January 1888 severely criticised the maladministration of Travancore and charged the Dewan for the same.⁸⁹ When the Legislative Council was instituted in Travancore in 1888, *Kerala Patrika*, another newspaper in an article asked the authorities to take great care in selecting non official members.⁹⁰ Similarly papers like *Nasrani Deepika* and *Malayala Manorama* criticised the practices like the free feeding of Brahmins and demanded representation of all sections of people in administration.

The impact of the above institutions on communities varied. The spread of English education, growth of transport and communication and the development of journalism had a direct effect on various communities of Travancore.⁹¹ In general traditional patterns began to crumble down, social outlook changed and concerns over monetary advantages widened. The new culture necessitated competition and departure from exclusiveness. The low caste people began to realise the importance of collective action to safeguard their legitimate rights. They demanded more opportunities for education because they believed that it was an important means of social mobility.⁹² The new western culture gave fatal blow to the Hindu savarnas while to the non Hindus and non caste Hindus it proved blessing in disguise. *Yogakshemam*, the publication of Nambudiri community rightly pointed out, “The western culture brought about hurricane in Kerala also. Customs and manners completely changed. False customs and religious believes changed. The new age opened the new lights of knowledge. In the new atmosphere the old tools proved no longer useful. The traditional power of the Nambudiri community lost its vitality. They were forced to rescue in the darkness like the owls.”⁹³ The starting of the Secretariat system with well defined administrative divisions and judicial reforms widened the scope of job market. The British laws and the new reforms introduced by administrators like Madhava Rao stipulated qualifications for jobs. The British Dewans and the Travancore rulers starting with Marthanda Varma as part of their diplomacy had already placed the non Malayali Brahmins in important administrative positions.⁹⁴ These foreign elements had established control over the economy and social life of the state within a short span of time. The submission of the Malayali Memorial of 1891 has to be analysed under this historical setting.

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Notes and References

1. The process of modernisation is most commonly approached in terms of economic development. It involves a change from the traditional technique

of production towards the application of scientific knowledge; in the area of agriculture it is a transformation from subsistence agriculture towards commercial production using improved seeds, chemical fertilisers, pesticides, tractors etc. In the area of industries it includes a transformation from the use of human and animal power towards the use of power driven machine. It also involves the development of rapid modes of transportation and communication through the use of modern technology; B.Kuppuswamy, *Social Change in India*, New Delhi, Konark Publishers, 1993, pp.47-48.

2. J.Prabhash, *Affirmative action and Social Change: Social Mobility of Dalits*, New Delhi, Anmol Publications, 2001, pp.32-33.
3. K.V.Eapen, *Church Missionary Society and Education in Kerala*, Kottayam, Kollett Publications, 1985, p.27.
4. A.Sreedhara Menon, *A Survey of Kerala History*, Kottayam, National Book Stall, 1985, p.307. The English got this permission from Unni Kerala Varma and had erected there a factory for the purpose of trade. This was the earliest English settlement in Travancore; Regional Records Survey committee, herein after called RRSC (Comp.), *The History of Freedom Movement in Kerala*, Vol.1, Thiruvananthapuram, Government Press, 1970, p.2.
5. *Ibid*, p.308.
6. *Ibid*, p.199
7. For details about the relation between Marthanda Varma and the British, See A.P.Ibrahim Kunju, *Rise of Travancore: A study of the Life and Times of Marthanda Varma*, Thiruvananthapuram, Kerala Historical Society, 1976.
8. Memorandum on Travancore Administration in connection with Commander-in-Chief's visit in Travancore in November 1927, File no.826/1927, Confidential Section, Kerala State Archives, Nalanda, Thiruvananthapuram.
9. P. Shungoony Menon, *A History of Travancore*, Madras, Government Press, 1878, p.175.
10. C.U.Aitchison, *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads relating to India and neighbouring countries*, Vol.10, Calcutta, 1930, p.198.
11. A.Sreedhara Menon, *op.cit.*, n.4, p.315.
12. A.Sreedhara Menon, *op.cit.*, n.4, p.315. The full text of the treaty of friendship arrived at between the English East India Company and Travancore is available in RRSC, *op.cit.*, n.4; See also Nagam Aiya, *State Manual*, Vol.1, p.402; R.N.Yesudas writes, "this treaty of perpetual friendship and alliance signed by the Raja of Travancore with the English East India Company on 12 January 1805 changed the course of the history of the state. By this treaty the Governor General in Council got full power and right over the territory and the Government of Travancore; R.N.Yesudas, *British Policy in Travancore 1805-1859*(art.), *Journal of Indian History*, Thiruvananthapuram, University

of Kerala, August 1977, pp.161-195.

13. The Britishers adopted tactics like Doctrine of Lapse to control native states. They also adopted the policy of direct annexations and raised the allegations of misrule as in the case of Oudh.
14. Manual of the Administration of Madras Presidency, Records of Government & the year by Administration Reports, Vol.2, Madras, Government Press, 1885.
15. For details about the relation between *Velu Tampi and the British*, see, B.Sobhanan, *Dewan Velu Tampi and the British*, Thiruvananthapuram, Kerala Historical Society, 1978.
16. George Mathew, *Communal Road to Secular Kerala*, New Delhi, Concept Publishing Company, 1989, p.33.
17. Recently there exist a lot of controversies regarding the issue of British impact on India. The earlier assumptions have been questioned with the publication of volumes of literature on Indo-Centric ideas, which undermined the glorification of Western impact. Of course the British had their own motives, intentions and aims in picturing their role in transforming Indian Society either to justify their responsibility of uplifting the little brown brother or it may be due to their commercial motives. Here in this study a balanced approach is adopted regarding the impact of British policies in Travancore.
18. C.M. Agur, *The Church History of Travancore, Madras*, S.P.S Press, 1903, p.10. The reforms introduced in Travancore from the first British Resident onwards were aimed in two directions. They entailed provisions directed towards modernization of the state administrative structure, creating a more efficient and comprehensive revenue system while enlarging the revenue base, an efficiently organised tax collecting state would overcome problems in paying tributes to colonial power. Meanwhile, measures such as introduction of private land properties (1865) and abolition of state monopolies promoted and economic climate ultimately favouring direct involvement of colonial capital; Filippo Osella and Caroline Osella, *Social Mobility in Kerala, Modernity and Identity in Conflict*, London, Pluto Press, 2000, p.49.
19. Col.Munroe was born in Scotland in 1770 and came to India in 1791. He entered in the Madras state as a Captain of the British Army. He rose to the position of Quarter Marshall. In 1810 he was appointed as the Resident of Travancore; Kerala Society Papers II, Series VII, Thiruvananthapuram, Kerala Society, 1930; I.Mathew, *Col.Munroe* (art.), Malayala Manorama Diamond Jubilee Souvenir(mal.), Kottayam, 1950, pp. 343-45.
20. Munroe became the Travancore Resident on October 1810. The Travancore King Balarama Varma died on 7 November 1810 and Rani Lakshmi Bai became the Regent Queen. On 10 December 1810 she wrote a letter to Munroe to dismiss the corrupted Dewan Ummini Thampi and assume

himself as Dewan. Thus he became the Dewan of Travancore in June 1811; N.K. Jose, *Dewan Munroe* (mal.), Vaikom, Hobby Publications, 1983, pp. 7-11.

21. T.K.Velupillai, *Travancore State Manual*, Vol.II, Thiruvananthapuram, Government Press, 1940, p.630.
22. Before Monroe assumed office the state collected taxes known as Purushantharam. These include Thalayara, Valayara, Kettilakkam, Thalakkanam, Enikkanam etc. The victims of these taxes were 'Ezha Jathis' or Seven Castes and the collected amount was spent lavishly by the Dewan and the officials. A new tax known as 'Rupavari' was introduced by Raja Kesava Das at the time of the construction of Nedunkotta to resist the invasion of Tipu. All these unpopular taxes were abolished by Munroe; C.Kesavan, *Munroe Sayippu* (art.), Kaumudi Thirunal Special Supplement (mal.), 9 November 1939; See also order no.5, 1814 A.D of the government of Rani Lakshmi Bai; Sri Chitrodaya Huzur Central Vernacular Records Series: Selected Proclamations by the Sovereign (from 1811 to 1936 A.D), Thiruvananthapuram, Government Press, 1937, pp 5-6; Samuel Nellimukal, *Keralathile Samuhika Parivarthanam* (mal.), Kottayam, K.S.Books, 2003, p.71.
23. P.G.Edwin, *British Impact on Kerala* (art.), Journal of Kerala Studies, Vol.V, Thiruvananthapuram, University of Kerala, June 1978, p.273.
24. I. Mathew, *op.cit.*, n.19, p.345.
25. T.K.Velu Pillai, *op.cit.*, n.21, p.515.
26. I.Mathew, *op.cit.*, p.344.
27. During the period of Velu Thampi 30 Devaswoms were placed under governmental control. Col. Munroe placed 348 major Devaswoms under government; *Ibid*, p.345.
28. Munroe relinquished his Dewanship in 1814 entrusting the task to Devan Padmanabhan. In 1819 he retired from his Dewanship. From British service he retired in 1825. After reaching Europe he functioned as the Vice President of the C.M.S till his death in 1856; N.K jose, *op.cit.*, n.20; C.Kesavan, *op.cit.*, n.22; Sri Chitrodaya, *op.cit.*, n.22, pp.4-5. See also T.P.Sankarankutty Nair, *Col. John Munroe-The Resident Dewan of Travancore (1811-1814)*, Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, Thiruvananthapuram, University of Kerala, 2003.
29. Sri Chitrodaya, *Ibid*, pp.82-83.
30. P.N. Chopra, T.K. Ravindran and N. Subrahmanyam, *History of Modern South India*, Vol.3, New Delhi, S.Chand & Co., 1979, p.210.
31. A. Ayyappan, *Social Revolution in a Kerala Village: A Study in Culture and Change*, Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1965, p.9.
32. Archives News Letter, Vol.I, No.4, September 1975, Kerala State Archives, Nalanda, Thiruvananthapuram.

33. This was the first English School in South India. But the backward castes were not benefited from these schools; K. Saradamony, *Emergence of a Slave Caste: Pulayas of Kerala*, New Delhi, People's Publishing House, 1980, p.119.
 34. K. Damodaran, *Kerala Charitram* (mal.), Thiruvananthapuram, Vasant Publications, 1961, pp.630-32.
 35. Travancore Administration Report 1863 - 64, p.21.
 36. *Ibid.* 1897-98, p.135.
 37. P. Bhaskaranunni, *Pathompatham Nuttandile Keralam* (mal.), Thrissur, Kerala Sahitya Academy, 1988, pp.1152-54.
 38. K. Saradamony, *op.cit*, n.33, p.120.
 39. The first Travancore plantation was started when William Huxham opened a coffee estate on the hill ranges east of Kollam in 1830; Fillippo Osella and Caroline Osella, *op.cit*, n.18, p.49.
 40. Cover File, n.294, Kerala State Archives, Nalanda, Thiruvananthapuram.
- The main points mentioned in this letter are the following:
- (a) The Secretary of state requested the Resident to prevail on Maharaja to reduce the expenditure
 - (b) In earlier times the feasts such as Murajapam served the purpose of the popularity of the ruler among certain subjects (here it refers to the Brahmins). But in these days of prosperity and enlightened progress such ceremonies can apply only in a very small degree.
 - (c) The first duty of the state is to promote the intellectual and moral welfare of all subjects
 - (d) It accused for wasting the resources of the state in the encouragement of idleness among the privileged classes who were fed at Uttupuras.
41. Madras Political Proceedings quoted in Koji Kawashima, *Missionaries and a Hindu State: Travancore 1858-1936*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1998, p.26.
 42. Before the proclamation of 1865 the entire land of Travancore was divided under three heads namely Sirkar lands, The Brahmaswoms or Lands of Brahmins and Devaswoms or Temple Lands. But through the reform of 1865 a new class of land owners was created; K.S. Nair, *Congress and Kerala Politics*, Thiruvananthapuram, College Book House, 1984, p.62.
 43. Archives News Letter Vol. II, nos.2&3, March to June 1976, KSA, Nalanda, Thiruvananthapuram.
 44. For details on caste and census see Satish Deshpande and Nandini Sundar, *Caste and the Census: Implications for Society and Social Sciences*, EPW, no.33, 1998, pp.2157-59.
 45. Dick Kooiman, *Communalism and Indian Princely States-Travancore, Baroda and Hyderabad in the 1930's*, New Delhi, Manohar Publications, 2002, p.40.

46. Lucy Karrol, *Colonial Perceptions of Indian Society and the Emergence of Caste(s) Associations (art.)*, Journal of Asian studies, Vol. XXXVII, no.2, February 1978, p.233.
47. For details about the Constitutional Reforms in Travancore, See M.J.Koshy, *Constitutionalism in Travancore and Cochin*, Thiruvananthapuram, Kerala Historical Society, 1972; R. Ramakrishnan Nair, *Constitutional Experiments in Kerala*, Thiruvanthapuram, The Kerala Academy of Political Science, 1964; Umadevi .K.G, *Evolution of Legislature in Travancore 1888-1947*, Unpublished PhD Thesis, Thiruvananthapuram, University of Kerala, 1994; N. Sasidharan Nair, *History of Travancore Legislature*, Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, Thiruvananthapuram, University of Kerala, 1986.
48. Robin Jeffrey, *The Decline of Nair Dominance in Kerala: Society and Politics in Travancore (1847-1908)*, New Delhi, Vikas Publishing House, p.70.
49. K.M.Bahauddin, *Kerala Muslims, the Long Struggle*, Kottayam, S.P.C.S, 1992, p.137.
50. Lawrence Lopez, *Social History of Modern Kerala*, Thiruvananthapuram, 1988, pp. 80-81. Nazrani Deepika in an editorial wrote, "In 1855 the income of Travancore was 37lakhs. But in the last year (1889) it became 77lakhs. In earlier times it was very difficult to generate income in the state. But ever since the time of Dewan Madhava Rao this condition changed. He repaid the state debts, abolished hundreds of unnecessary taxes, improved the legal system and appointed qualified persons in sirkar service"; Nazrani Deepika (Mal.), July 1, 1890.
51. Vivekodayam, Book 3, no.8, 1906.
52. M.N. Srinivas writes, "The lower castes wanted a share in the new opportunities and they were also stirred by new equalitarian winds blowing across India. The movement assumed a particularly vigorous form in Peninsular India where the non Brahmin castes succeeded in obtaining for themselves concessions and privileges; M.N. Srinivas, *Social Change in Modern India*, New Delhi, Orient Longman, 1972, p.73.
53. He said, "Our most important duty is to declare the indebtedness and allegiance to the British Government. It is under them that we were enjoying this freedom that we never had in earlier times. It is under their protection that we raised our position to this much level"; Presidential address given by C. Krishnan in the 6th SNDP annual meeting held at Ernakulam on 15 May 1909; N.K.Damodaran (comp.) *SNDP Yogathile Adhyaksha Prasangangal (mal.)*, Thiruvananthapuram, Marry Land Publishers, 1982, p.54.
54. Vivekodayam, Vol.V, nos.7, 8, 1909, p.3.
55. The food habits of the low caste people changed with the introduction of western culture and they started the practice of using more rice products. It is the case with the Christian converts. They were expected to give up the eating of carrion and drinking alcohol, were encouraged to show greater

cleanliness and soon found it possible to enter a variety of occupations; Duncan .B. Forrester, *Caste and Christianity, Attitudes and Policies on Caste: Anglo-Saxon Protestant Missions in India*, London, Curzon Press, 1980, p.78; Samuel Mateer, *Native Life in Travancore*, London, W.H. Allen, 1883, p.218.

56. K.N.Ganesh, *Kerala Samuha Patanangal (mal.)*, Pathanamthitta, Prasakthi Publications, 2002, pp. 36-37.
57. As a consequence of the British rule great improvement occurred in agriculture. Before their arrival, the agricultural products in Travancore included only such items as coconut, rice, peas, pepper, ginger, cardamom etc. But the British introduced coffee, tea, rubber and other plantation crops. They also started the agricultural departments; P.K.Gopala Pillai, *British Adipatyam Kondu Indiakku Siddhichittulla Gunangal(mal.)*, Thiruvananthapuram, Keralodayam Press, 1916, p.24.
58. N.K.Damodaran, *op.cit.* no.53.
59. *Kerala Chintamony (mal.)*, Book 7, Vol. 8, Thrissur, 1913, p.210.
60. C.O. Madhavan, *Paschatya Vidyabhyasavum Paurasthyarum (art.)*, *Dakshina Deepam (mal.)* Magazine, Chertalai, 1915, p.59.
61. T.K. Ravindran, *Asan and Social Revolution in Kerala*, Thiruvananthapuram, Kerala Historical Society, 1972, p. XXIII; M.S.A. Rao (ed.), *Social Movements in India*, Vol. I, New Delhi, Manohar Publishers, 1978, p.209.
62. K.M. Panikar, *A History of Kerala*, Annamalai Nagar, Annamalai University Press, 1960, p.316.
63. T.J. Nossiter, *Communism in Kerala: A Study in Political Adaptations*, New Delhi, 1982, p.33.
64. EMS Nambudiripad, *Castes, Classes and Parties in Modern Political Development, Select Writings by EMS*, Calcutta, National Book Agency, 1982, p.167.
65. A. Sreedhara Menon, *Kerala District Gazetteers*, Thiruvananthapuram, p.651.
66. CMS is a society organised by some members of the Church of England in 1799 to help in the propagation of the gospel in Africa and in the east. Though the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) and the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (SPCK) were founded in the 17th century, they confined their efforts primarily to the English-speaking people overseas. Hence there was a great need for a society within the Church of England to organise work for and among the non-Christian races of the world. It was the Evangelicals who felt the need most keenly and it was they who founded the CMS. The London Missionary Society (LMS) was established in 1795 by members from various denominations such as the Congregationalists, the Presbyterians and the Methodists; K.V. Eapen,

Church Missionary Society and Education in Kerala, Kottayam, Kollett Publications, 1985, pp. 1-3; Koji Kawashima, *op.cit.*, n.41, p.54.

67. The Christian missionaries gained many converts from low caste Hindus of Travancore. These large scale conversion were on the whole a new experience not because the converts came from depressed scheme of society and not simply because the numbers involved were unprecedentedly large, but because the converts came in caste groups rather than as individuals and the decision to adopt the new faith was usually taken by the caste elders; Duncan.B.Forrester, *op.cit.*, n.55, p.69.
68. P.J. Marshal, Problems of Empire: Britain and India (1757-1813), G.R.Elton (ed.), *Historical Problems: Studies and Documents*, London, George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1968, pp. 189-190.
69. *Ibid*, pp.187-188.
70. J.W. Gladstone, *Protestant Christianity and People's movements in Kerala: A Study of Christian mass movements in relation to Neo-Hindu Socio-Religious Movements in Kerala 1850-1936*, Thiruvananthapuram, Seminary Publications 1984, p.60.
71. Ringeltaube was a Prussian Protestant Missionary born in Silesia in 1770. In his early age itself he joined in a missionary organisation known as "Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge." In 1797 he reached Culcutta and joined in L.M.S; *Ibid*, p.59; M.J. Koshy, *Genesis of Political Consciousness in Kerala*, Thiruvananthapuram, Kerala Historical Society, 1972, p.15
72. T.K.Velupillai, *Manual*, Vol.III, *op.cit.*, n.21, p.698.
73. Koji Kawashima, *op.cit.*, n.66, p.85.
74. Dick Kooiman, *Conversion and Social Equality in India*, New Delhi, Manohar Publishers, 1989, p.198.
75. Buchanan was the Vice Principal of the Fort William College at Culcutta. He reached Travancore in 1806 with the purpose of studying the Travancore Syrian Christians. Later he wrote a book on his experiences entitled "Christian Researches in Asia"; Samuel Nellimukal, *op.cit.*, n.73, pp.100-101; P. Cherian, *The Malabar Syrians and the CMS (1816-1840)*, Kottayam, C.M.S.Press, 1935, p.71
76. Samuel Nellimukal, *Ibid*, pp.106-107.
77. *The Census of India 1891, Travancore, Part I, Report*, V.V.K.Valath, *Keralathile Samuhika Parishkarana Prasthanangal (art.)*, S.N.D.P.Yogam Platinum Jubilee Volume(mal.), Kollam, 1978, p.349.
78. Lawrence Lopez, *op.cit.*, n.50, p.48. Kerala Kaumudi reported that even before the spread of English education in Bengal, the Christian Missionaries had begun it in Travancore; *Kerala Kaumudi*, 28 February 1937.
79. P.S.Velayudhan, *S.N.D.P. Yogacharitam (mal.)*, Kollam, S.N.D.P. Yogam, 1978, pp.12-13.

80. Louise Ouwerkerk, *No Elephants for the Maharaja: Social and Political change in the Princely state of Travancore (1921-1947)*, New Delhi, Manohar Publications, 1994, p.46.
81. Letter written by Uthradam Thirunal to the Governor of Madras, quoted by J.Reghu, *Keraleeya Navodhana Pithavu Narayana Guruvalla Dr.Palpuvanu*(art.), *Sameeksha (mal.)* magazine, Kerala Birthday Special, Thiruvananthapuram, 1999, p.26.
82. P.Parameswaran, *Navodhanathinte Pravachakan Sri Narayana Guruswamikal (mal.)*, Calicut, Jayabharat Publications, 1971, pp.11-12.
83. Vedopadesam was published from the press started at Goa; M.Achuthan, *Swathanthrya Samaravum Malayala Sahithyavum (mal.)*, Trissur, Kerala Sahitya Academy, 2003, p.63.
84. *Ibid*, p.64.
85. N.Sam, *Keralathile Samuhika Navodhanavum Sahithyavum(mal.)*, Kottayam, National Book Stall, 1988, p.165; Murkottu Kunhappa, *Malayala Manorama Samskarika Tharangini(mal.)*, Kottayam, Malayala Manorama Publishing House, 1973, p.107; K.C.Mamman Mappilai, *Malayalathile Varthamana Pathrangal (art.) S.N.D.P. Golden Jubilee Souvenir (mal.)*, Kollam, S.N.D.P.Yogam, 1953, p.73; P.K.Parameswaran Nair, *Malayala Pathra Pravarthanathinte Prarambha Ghattangal (art.)*, Malayali Special Supplement(mal.), Thiruvananthapuram, Modern Press, 1952, p.3.
86. Devji Bhimji was a Gujarati who reached Cochin at the age of ten due to financial stringencies. Later he became a business giant. He was very much interested in cultural propaganda. He started in 1860 a press at Cochin called Kerala Mitram from where published Paschimatharaka. In this press Kandathil Varghese Mappilai also worked for sometime; P.K.Parameswaran Nair, *Ibid*, p.3.
87. N.Sam, *op.cit*, n.85, pp.206-209
88. For details about the growth of Journalism in Travancore See S.Achutha Varrier, *Kerala Samskaram(mal.)*, Thiruvananthapuram, Kerala Bhasha Institute, 2003, pp.174-75; N.Sam, *op.cit.*, n.85, pp.158-192 and 453-55; G.Priyadarsan, *Kerala Patrapravarthanam, Suvarnadyayangal(mal.)*, Kottayam, Current Books, 1999, p.36; P.Bhaskaranunni, *Pathompatham Nuttandile Keralam(mal.)*, Thrissur, Kerala Sahitya Academy, 1988, pp. 1121-1123; V.Karunakaran Nambiar, *Samuhika Pravarthanavum Patrangalum(art.)*, Chummar Chundan and Sukumaran Pottakkadu(eds.) *Malayala Patra Charitram (mal.)*, Kochi, Kerala Times, 1997, p.268; Murkothu Kunhappa, *op.cit.*, n.85, p.107.
89. *Kerala Mitram*, 21 January 1888, NNPR, Chennai Archives.
90. *Kerala Patrika*, 28 April 1888, NNPR, Chennai Archives.
91. All the different classes had alike the benefit of Western influence. They

realised their capacity, take stock of their position, compared their claims to equality of Civic rights. Impelled by this new influence, there is everywhere a cry for, and more or less a recognition of equality of opportunity; S.Ramanatha Aiyar, *Progressive Travancore*, 1924, p.71.

92. In all the memorandums and memorials submitted by the low caste people, one of the major demands was the right to acquire education. For instance the most important demand in the Ezhava Memorial signed by 1,3176 Ezhavas and submitted to the Maharaja of Travancore in 1896 was the freedom to enter schools; K.Saradamony, *Divided Poor: Study of Kerala Village*, New Delhi, Ajanta Publications, 1981, p.34.
93. *Yogakshemam (mal.)* Special Supplement, Trissur, Mangalodayam Press, 1945, p.3.
94. Marthanda Varma who had to face stiff resistance from the Nair autocracy, became suspicious about the growing influence of the Nairs in administration and to counterpoise this, not only brought foreign Brahmins to Travancore administration but also devised many special customs for appeasing the Brahmins. The British, after the suppression of Velu Tampi rebellion, suspected similar risings and advised the Travancore rulers to import loyal and non malayali-Brahmins instead of patronising the natives.; K.Saradamony, *op.cit.*, no.33, p.131.