

**CONTRIBUTION OF LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY
TOWARDS EDUCATION IN MADRAS PRESIDENCY,
1804-1908**

*Thesis submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi in
fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of*

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

By

SAM RAJ NESAMONY



**ZAKIR HUSAIN CENTRE FOR EDUCATIONAL STUDIES
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY
NEW DELHI-110067**

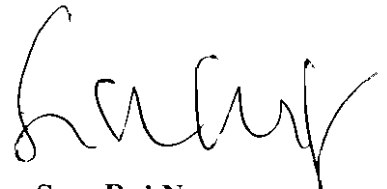
JANUARY 2013



ZAKIR HUSAIN CENTRE FOR EDUCATIONAL STUDIES
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

DECLARATION

I, Sam Raj Nesamony, do hereby declare that the thesis titled *Contribution of London Missionary Society Towards Education in Madras Presidency, 1804-1908*, submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, for the award of the degree of **Doctor of Philosophy**, is my original work. I further declare that the thesis has not been previously submitted for any other degree of this university or any other university.



Sam Raj Nesamony

CERTIFICATE

We recommend that this thesis may be placed before the examiners for evaluation and award of **Doctor of Philosophy**.



Prof. Binod Khadria
Chairperson
ZHCES, SSS, JNU



Dr. Parimala V. Rao
Supervisor
ZHCES, SSS, JNU

Acknowledgement

I sincerely thank my Supervisor Dr. Parimala V. Rao, Assistant Professor, Zakir Husain Centre for Educational Studies, School of Social Sciences, Jawaharlal Nehru University, for her excellent guidance, unflinching commitment towards education and research. I also thank for her constant encouragement and support throughout my research duration which helped me for the successful completion of this research work in time.

My heartfelt thanks to Prof. Binod Khadria, Chairperson, Zakir Husain Centre for Educational Studies, School of Social Sciences, Jawaharlal Nehru University, for his charismatic advice to complete this work. I also thank Prof. Geetha Nambissan, Prof. Deepak Kumar, Prof. Dhruv Raina, Dr. Srinivasa Rao, Dr. Soumen Chattopadhyay, Dr. Minati Panda and Dr. Arvind Kumar Mishra—all from Zakir Husain Centre for Educational Studies, who taught me various courses and inspired me in one way or the other. I wish to record my gratitude to the officials including Mr. Ghani Haider, Mrs. Sneh, Mr. Satpal, Ms. Neetu, Mr. Deepak and Miss Seema (Librarian) at ZHCES, JNU for their timely help.

I have immensely benefited from Prof. Christopher S. Raj, former Dean, SIS, JNU, Prof. Susan Viswanathan (CSSS, JNU), Prof. MSS. Pandian (CHS, JNU), Prof. Pius Melekandathil (CHS, JNU), Prof. Rowena Robinson (IIT, Mumbai), Dr. Yagati Chinna Rao (CSDE, JNU), Dr. Ajay Ritwik (CAE, JNU), and Dr. Ajit Kanna in formulating my research ideas.

I sincerely acknowledge Prof. Robert Eric Frykenberg, Emeritus Professor, University of Wisconsin, Madison, USA, Prof. Brian Stanley, University of Edinburgh, Dr. Dyron Daughrity, Pepperdine University, USA, Dr. Martha Smalley, Curator, Yale Divinity School Library, Yale University and Prof. David Hardiman, for their intellectual guidance to carry out this work.

My friend Dr. M. Christhu Doss, Research Associate, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi, not only introduced me to missionary education for my research but also indefatigably helped in collecting source materials, both primary and secondary and fostered creativity for this work. Dr. Praveena Doss also generously supported my research work endearingly.

I thank my long time friend Dr. Paulraj R (Assistant Professor, SES, JNU), who has been a source of inspiration throughout my academic career, instructed and helped me in shaping my intellectual pursuits and educational programmes. He has also extended assistance through his scientific skills in many ways.

I express my sincere thanks to my friend Mr. Jeevan, Assistant Professor, Venkateswara College, Delhi University for his unfailing devotion and sacrifice in sharing his stimulating thoughts on history. I also thank Dr. Grace Jeevan for her constant support.

I thank Dr. James R. Daniel, former principal, Scott Christian College, Negercoil, Tamil Nadu, and Mrs. Susheela James, who have been instrumental and source of inspiration in my higher education and research. When the scope for my higher education was diminishing, Prof. James instigated me with his wide range of intellectual pursuit to pursue my education through his liberal and generous support economically and emotionally. Dr. Martin Daniel Dhas, Drs. Jeya & Linda Selvin also have extended help in many ways. Drs. D. Peter and Ivy Peter helped me with a lot of primary sources and allowed me to use their Kanyakumari Institute of Developmental Studies (KIDS) Archives earnestly. I thank them all.

I thank the Archivists, Librarians and Staff of the Jawaharlal Nehru University, Church History Archives and Library at the United Theological College (Bangalore), Tamil Nadu Archives and Library (Chennai), National Archives of India (New Delhi), Nehru Memorial Museum and

Library (New Delhi), Serampore Missionary Archives (West Bengal), Vidya Jyoti Seminary (New Delhi), Cambridge Brotherhood Library (New Delhi), Indian Social Institute Library (New Delhi), Gurukul Theological Seminary and Archives (Chennai), Madras Christian College Archives (Chennai), Theosophical Society Archives and Library (Chennai), Madras Institute of Developmental Studies, Roja Muthaiah Research Library, Adyar (Chennai), Tamil Nadu Theological Seminary (Madurai), Stephen Neill Study and Research Centre (Palayamkottai), James Duthie Library, Scott Christian College (Nagercoil), Kerala Council for Historical Research (Thiruvananthapuram) and Yale Divinity School Library (New Haven, USA).

I thank my friends and relatives, Davidson, Ramani, Kavin, Ivin, Vijaya Kumar, Sundar & Helen, Moses & Saji, Stephens, Selvinsons, Dons, Robinsons, Edwins, Solomons, Sam and Blessy, Mercy and Jose, Beula and Shaju, David and Abhi, Meera and Ashok, Lalitha and Col. Jagannathan, Franklins, Titus, Prakash, Godwins, Renny Thomas, Jayashree, Thapasi, Rowan Britto, Dhanasekharan, Praveen and Anna, Vijith and Sofiya, Ratheesh and Mushra, Prasad and Deepa, Nissar and Haseena, Ayubs, Karmegam, Tamil Selvan, Murugesan, Subha, Rawat, Dr. Parveen Kumar, Umesh, Jairath, Rams, Surya, Gaurav, Lenin, Joyce, Sarabjit and Bauna. I also thank my relatives back home.

This work would not have become possible if there was no consent, concern, concrete, constant and consummate support from my wife, Capt. Baby, who shouldered every work at home apart from her official duties. I wish to thank my loving children Sam Staines and Benita Sam. Both of them encouraged me a lot and showed extreme interest in my research.

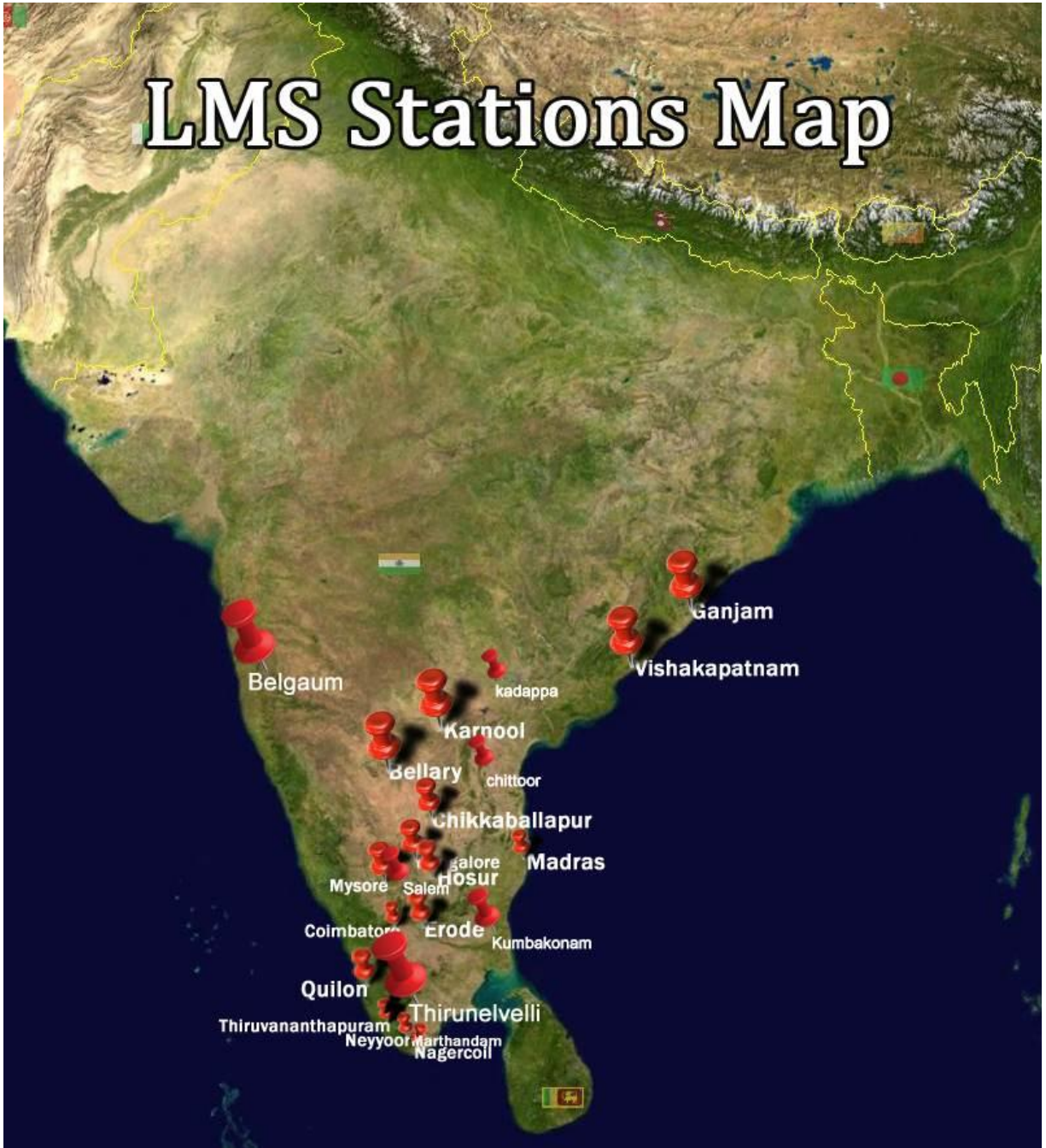
Above all, I thank my Almighty, who is worthy of every praise and honour for bestowing His grace, mercy and compassion abundantly to complete this work successfully.

Sam

CONTENT

Chapters		Page no
	Maps	i-iii
	Glossary	
	List of Abbreviations & Place Names	iv-v
1	Introduction	1 - 34
2	London Missionary Society	35 - 68
3	The LMS Schools in Madras Presidency	69-105
4	LMS and Scott Christian College	106-133
5	LMS Missionaries and Women's Education	134-170
6	Indian Response to Missionaries	171-203
7	Conclusion	204-214
	Bibliography	215-251
	Appendices	252-310

LMS Stations Map

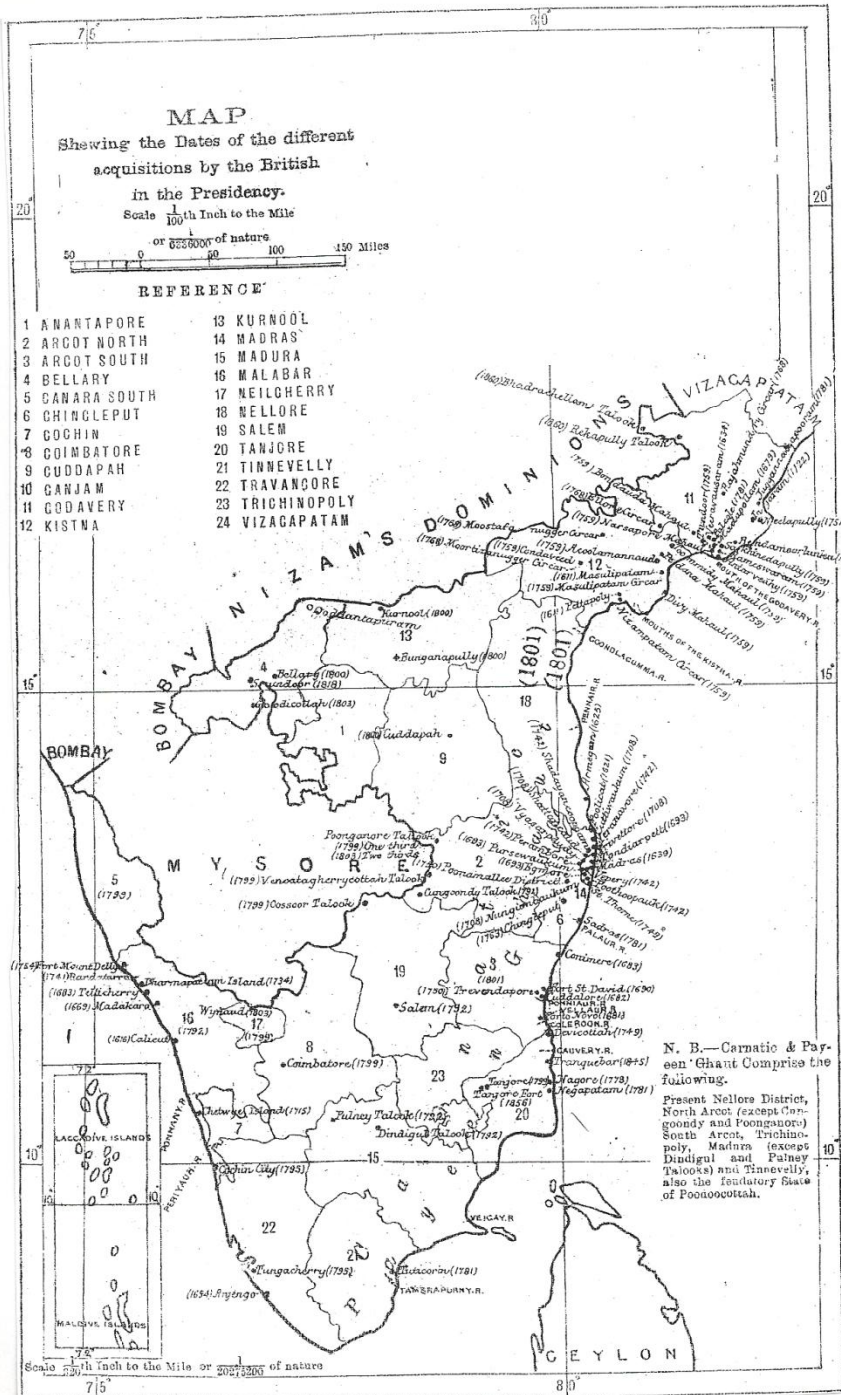


MAP
 Showing the Dates of the different
 acquisitions by the British
 in the Presidency.

Scale $\frac{1}{100}$ th Inch to the Mile
 or $\frac{1}{625000}$ th of nature
 0 50 100 150 Miles

REFERENCE

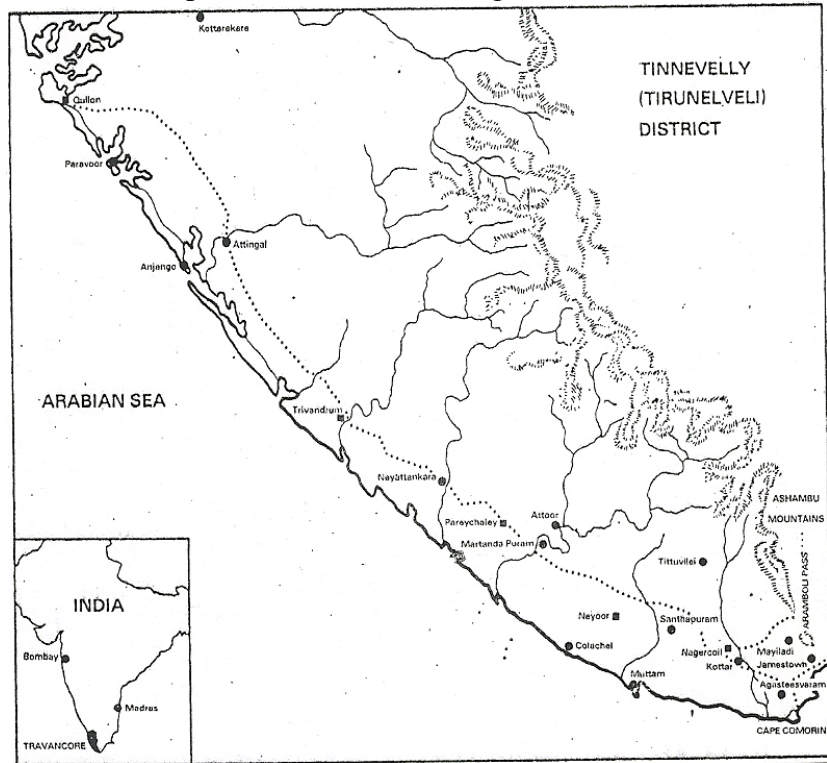
- | | |
|----------------|-----------------|
| 1 ANANTAPORE | 13 KURNOOL |
| 2 ARCOT NORTH | 14 MADRAS |
| 3 ARCOT SOUTH | 15 MADURA |
| 4 BELLARY | 16 MALABAR |
| 5 CANARA SOUTH | 17 NEILCHERRY |
| 6 CHINGLEPUT | 18 NELLORE |
| 7 COCHIN | 19 SALEM |
| 8 COIMBATORE | 20 TANJORE |
| 9 CUDDAPAH | 21 TINNEVELLY |
| 10 GANJAM | 22 TRAVANGORE |
| 11 GODAVERY | 23 TRICHINOPOLY |
| 12 KISTNA | 24 VIZAGAPATAM |



N. B.—Carnatic & Poyen Ghaut Comprise the following.

Present Nellore District, North Arcot (except Coorgoody and Poongonore), South Arcot, Trichinopoly, Madras (except Dindigul and Palney Taluoks) and Tinnevely, also the feudatory State of Poonoocttah.

Map of Travancore showing LMS Stations



GLOSSARY

List of Abbreviations

ABCFM	- American Board of Commission on Foreign Missions
BEMS	- Basel Evangelical Missionary Society
BFBS	- British and Foreign Bible Society
BMS	- Baptist Missionary Society
CHAI	- Church History Association of India
CLS	- Christian Literature Society
CMS	- Church Missionary Society
CSMS	- Church Of Scotland Missionary Society
CVES	- Christian Vernacular Education Society
DEM	- Danish Evangelical Mission
GEM	- German Evangelical Mission
KCHR	- Kerala Council for Historical Research
KUTS	- Kerala United Theological Seminary
LMS	- London Missionary Society
MMS	- Methodist Missionary Society
MNA	- Madras Native Association
NMS	- Norwegian Missionary Society
NYMS	- New York Missionary Society
SMS	- Scottish Missionary Society
SOAS	- School of oriental and African Studies
SPCK	- Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge
SPG	- Society for the Propagation of Gospel
TAR	- Travancore Administration Report
TDC	- Travancore District Committee, LMS
TNA	- Tamil Nadu Archives, Chennai
UTC	- United Theological College, Bangalore
WMMS	- Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society

Name of Places changed over a Period of Time

<u>Old Name</u>	<u>Modern Name</u>
Canarese	-- Kannada
Cape Comorin	-- Kanyakumari
Cumbaconam	-- Kumbakonam
Kistna	-- Krishna
Madras	-- Chennai
Madura	- Madurai
Marthandapuram	- Marthandam
Neilgherry	- Nilgris
Oodagherry	- Udhayagiri
Palamcottah	- Palayamkottai
Pareychaley	- Parassala
Seringapatam	- Srirangapatna
Tinnevely	- Tirunelveli
Tranquebar	- Tarangambadi
Trevendrum	- Trivandrum/Thiruvananthapuram
Vizagapatam	- Vizagapatnam

Chapter I - Introduction

Education in India is viewed by many as a pre-eminent device which would open doors to the socio-economic, political and cultural transformation. Identified for its multi cultural background, Indian society is keen on entering into the new avenues of knowledge to bring social change. The need for modern education and its liberating power were of much significance to the crucial evolution of the Indian society as an instrument of change to make the people conscious of their thinking and action. It is evident from the fact that individuals who attempted social reform, used education as a tool to disseminate ideas of reformation and transformation. It is in this context the role played by colonial missionaries becomes pertinent to construct the educational historiography of India in general and South India in particular. A range of tasks were set forth by a small group of missionaries to make radical changes upon a large section of people.¹ The London Missionary Society (hereafter LMS) missionaries have a historically unexplored record in the field of modern education in India, particularly in the erstwhile Madras Presidency.² They were the pioneers of modern education in teaching vernacular languages and modern science which rivalled traditional education in various ways.

1 Richard Lovett, *The History of the London Missionary Society, vol. II*, London, 1899, pp. 18-19; Samuel Mateer, *Land of Charity: Travancore and its People*, London, 1870, pp. 258-70 ; John Charles Harris, *Couriers of Christ: Pioneers of London Missionary Society*, Livingston Press, Westminster, 1931; R.N. Yesudas, *The History of the London Missionary Society*, Kerala Historical Society, Trivandrum, 1980, p. 26. See also Dick Kooiman, *Conversion and Social Equality in India: The London Missionary Society in South Travancore in the Nineteenth Century*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1989; T.O. Beidelman, *Colonial Evangelism: A Socio-Historical study of an East African Mission at the Grassroots*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1982, pp. 2-3. Koji Kawashima, *Missionaries and a Hindu State: Travancore 1858-1936*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2003.

2 E.T. Mathew, 'Growth of Literacy in Kerala: State intervention, Missionary Initiatives and Social Movements,' *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol. 34, no. 39, September, 25 - October, 1, 1999, pp. 2813-2817.

1. Christianity in India

India's engagement with Christianity began when St. Thomas, one of the twelve disciples of Jesus Christ, landed at Kodungallur, in Kerala, on the West coast of South India in A.D. 52. After twenty years of preaching on Christianity in various parts of the country, he was murdered at Little Mount, in Madras (now Chennai). Though the church and the school were not always on agreeing terms, the early Christian movement was indifferent to education, but not hostile to it.³ It should be made clear that the history of Christianity was not well documented during the early medieval period although we get fractions of information to construct its history in South India.

It was during the fifteenth century a new epoch in the history of India begun when Vasco De Gama, the first Portuguese sailor, reached Calicut in A. D. 1498.⁴ The Portuguese, the first Europeans, thus came to the Malabar Coast on 24th December 1500.⁵ As a result, Roman Catholic missions also began to operate in India among the fishing Parava population on the coastal region since the early sixteenth century.⁶

During the early sixteenth century, the Portuguese governor, Afonso de Albuquerque, who taught the Portuguese children not only to read and write, but also requested the King of Portugal to help him educate the children. The school started at Cochin in 1511 was the first school by the Portuguese in the East. The boys attending it came from all classes. The boys belonging to the high caste mingled with those belonging to the low caste.⁷ There were about 100 boys in the school, among whom there were children of

3 J. M. Powis Smith, 'The Church and Education,' *The Journal of Religion*, vol. 4, no.1, January 1924, p. 46.

4 Four small vessels sailed from Lisbon in July 1497, under the command of a brave old explorer Vasco da Gama. After a year of incredible adventures they reached Calicut in India. See John Charles Harris, *Couriers of Christ: Pioneers of London Missionary Society*, Livingstone Press, Westminster, 1931, p. 67.

5 J. M. Mundadan, *History of Christianity in India, vol.1*, Church History Association of India, Bangalore, 1989, p. 356.

6 Aparna Basu, *The Growth of Education and Political Development in India, 1898-1920*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1974, p. 3.

7 Mundadan, *History of Christianity in India*, p. 356.

the Panikkars and other nobles. The children were seemed to be very sharp and quickly picked up what was taught to them.⁸

Similarly in 1542, St. Francis Xavier (1506-1552),⁹ one of the founding members of Society of Jesus, an international religious institution, serving particularly in the field of education, was in India for missionary work. He came to the Travancore coast in 1544 and instructed on scripture to the parents and children who came to embrace Christianity. Later, Xavier wrote to his assistant Mansilas and asked him to set up a school in each of the villages on the Travancore coast he visited.¹⁰ On this issue, Georg Schurhammer, a Jesuit historian writes: "... their lack of instruction could be later remedied and their knowledge of the faith deepened through the erection of schools in every village."¹¹ One of the Jesuit brothers was put in charge of the smaller boarders to impart reading, writing, arithmetic and catechism. To these classes, according to the directions left by Francis Xavier, the poorer children of the town were also admitted and about 300 students studied in these classes in 1552.¹² Jesuit priests Roberto de Nobili (1605-1656), and St. John de Britto (1647-1693), also belonging to the Society of Jesus, followed Xavier later.¹³

8 Quoted in J. M. Mundadan, *Ibid.*, p. 368; Letter of Albuquerque dated, Cochin, 1 April 1512.

9 Francis Xavier, was born in 1506 at the Castle of Xavier, in an aristocratic family in the kingdom of Navarre. He went to Paris University for his M.A., in Philosophy and had close association with Ignatius Loyola, the founder of Society of Jesus. Preferred to be a mendicant friar, he kept a bell and a cross with him wherever he went. He came to Goa, India in 1542 as a Jesuit priest, but soon started converting people into Christianity. He came to Travancore coast in 1543 and went up to Manapaud to save the Paravas from the Moors. Xavier visited around forty-two villages between Poovar and Punnakayal and converted thousands before leaving for China. Xavier again visited Japan and went Changchian, where he died in 1552. See Georg Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier: His Life, His Times, vol. II, India, 1541-1545*, The Jesuit Historical Institute, Rome, 1977. Also see Henry Venn, *The Missionary Life and Labours of Francis Xavier: Taken from his own Correspondence*, Longman, Roberts & Green, London, 1862, pp. 425-475.

10 Xavier visited at least two dozen villages, located on the coastal region, including Poovar, Kollemcode, Vallavilai, Thuthur, Puthanthurai, Thengapattanam, Enayam, Midalam, Vaaniyakudi, Kolachal, Kadiyapattinam, Muttam, Pallam and Manakkudi. See Mundadan, *History of Christianity in India*, pp. 185-186.

11 *Ibid.*, p. 465.

12 Quoted in Mundadan, *History of Christianity in India*, pp. 363-365 & 485.

13 S. Viswanathan, 'Memorable Mission,' *Frontline*, 28 July, 2006, P. 84.

2. Protestant Missions in India

It is to be stated here that the arrival of Protestant Christianity in India is one of the direct consequences of Reformation in Germany. The nailing of the Thesis by Martin Luther in 1516 on the walls of the Gutenberg Church, and the emergence of Protestantism that followed in the middle of the sixteenth century, which later on resulted into European enlightenment, which had an impact on Christianity all over the world including India. The Protestant Reformation and the Lutheranism marked such epochs in Europe, and both reacted upon the national feeling and the political and social institutions of Britain. New scientific inventions and the advent of machinery changed the industrial life of the people, and brought a new social consciousness.¹⁴

The modern missionary movement of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, was largely a Protestant evangelical phenomenon. It was identified by few as distinctively a modern Christian project with a view to 'enlighten' the globe by means of a highly organized investment of funds, personal, literature, and above all institutions.¹⁵ John A. Jacob argued that Christianity took root in all the five continents, as a result of this great religious awakening, and never before had any religion been planted over so large a proportion of the earth's surface.¹⁶

Historically, Protestant missionaries had their beginning in 1706 at Tranquebar, a small town on the south-east coast in South India. King Frederick IV of Denmark, invited two young Germans, Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg and his friend and colleague Heinrich Plutschau to go as missionaries to India. In fact, both of them were the students of August Herman Francke. The first Protestant Halle-Tranquebar Mission in 1706,¹⁷

14 Harris, *Pioneers of London Missionary Society*, pp. 13-14.

15 Brian Stanley, 'Christian Missions and the Enlightenment: A Reevaluation' in Brian Stanley (ed.), *Christian Missions and the Enlightenment*, William Eerdmans Publishing Company, Cambridge, 2001, pp. 1-21.

16 John A. Jacob, *A History of the London Missionary Society in South Travancore 1806-1959*, 1990, London Mission Press, Nagercoil, 1959, p. 16.

17 J. Fred Fenger, *History of Tranquebar Mission*, Evangelical Lutheran Mission Press, Tranquebar, 1863, pp. 1-38; Brijraj Singh, *The First Protestant Missionary to India: Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg*, p. 87; D. Dennis Hudson, *Protestant Origins in India: Tamil Evangelical Christians, 1706-1835*,

which in turn played a crucial role in laying the foundation for Protestant Missions in southern part of India.

Ziegenbalg and Plutschau, brought Francke's ideals to Tranquebar, and focused fully on their vision on evangelization. They considered Francke as their master, who pioneered total transformation of mankind through education, saw by many as means to create a 'universal realm of godliness.' Schools established by them at the Tamil coromandel were characterized by inclusion of the poor, mingling of the highborn with the low, equal opportunity for each deserving student, broad curriculum including practical sciences and skilled trades.¹⁸ This shows that missionaries had accepted and ready to adapt Indian systems.

Ziegenbalg¹⁹ established five schools—two Tamil schools, one Portuguese school, one Danish school and one school for girls in between 1707 and 1712 in Tranquebar.²⁰ In 1717, the Danish Governor of Tranquebar, Joseph Collet, wrote to the Directors in London that by arrangement the German missionaries had established a charity school at Fort St. David at Cuddalore, with one master to teach Tamil and another for Portuguese. Meanwhile, two schools were set up in Madras—one Portuguese school in the White town, and one for Tamil in the Black Town.²¹ By 1780, schools run by Christian Friedrich Schwartz and his associates John Z. Kiernander, Daniel Joseph Jaenicke, Christian Wilhelm Gericke, John Kasper Kohloff, Philip Fabricius, among others, were attracting Brahmans and Vellalars, who hoped that the new learning would

Studies in the History of Christian Missions, William Eedmans Publishishers, Michigan, 2000, pp. 1-9. Also see Daniel Jeyaraj, *Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg: The First Protestant Missionary to India*, Indian Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, New Delhi, 2006, p. 5. See also *Frontline*, The Treasure of Ziegenbalg: Of an Eighteenth Century German Missionary with an interest in Tamil, Theodore Bhaskaran's interview with Daniel Jeyaraj, May 25, 2001, pp. 78-81.

18 Singh, *The First Protestant Missionary to India*, p. 87; Also see Jeyaraj, *Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg*, p. 5.

19 *Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg* was a German, and the settlement was Danish, so Portuguese and German languages were taught but not English.

20 Singh, *The First Protestant Missionary to India*, p. 87.

21 Stephen Neill, *A History of Christianity in India 1707-1858*, Cambridge University Press, London, 1985, p. 41.

better qualify them for positions within the rapidly expanding establishments of the Company.²²

Protestant missionaries in India identified the country possessed with a lot of ‘evil systems’ and felt the need for its reform through their ‘civilizing’ mission. Joseph Mullens, an LMS missionary in 1860s observed:

Systematic murder by the Thuggee System was attacked with great energy in the Punjab, where it extensively prevailed. Gang robbery by organized bands; the slavery system in the Hindu kingdom of Travancore; ... cases of Suttee in native states...were some of the worst systems, which missionaries could not digest and plunged themselves it to modernizing the society.²³

It was after the arrival of the first Protestant missionary in India, the large scale ‘evangelical revival’ happened in Europe, particularly in England, which culminated in the formation of some of the most prominent missionary societies: Baptist Missionary Society (1792), London Missionary Society (LMS, 1795), New York Missionary Society (1796), Church Missionary Society (1799) in London, the British and Foreign Bible Society (1805), American Board of Commissioners on Foreign Missions (1810) in Boston, Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society (1813), the Basel Evangelical Missionary Society (1815), Methodist Missionary Society (1818), the Church of Scotland Missionary Society (1824), the Free Church Mission, and the Norwegian Missionary Society (1842) etc.²⁴

The missionary societies evolved new strategies to form core committees, and started recruiting, scrutinizing mostly young people, particularly in their 20s and less than 30s

22 Grafe, *History of Christianity*, pp. 101-134. Also see Kawashima, *Missionaries and a Hindu State*, pp. 82-113.

23 Joseph Mullens, *A Brief Review of Ten Years Missionary Labour in India between 1852 and 1862*, James Nisbet and Co., London, 1863, p. 3.

24 By the year 1900, there were at least 249 missionary societies, representing some two dozen countries, stationed in 5233 places of different countries, where 13607 foreign missionaries were working. See James S. Dennis, *Statistical Summary*, Ecumenical Missionary Conference, New York, 1900, p. 424. Also see Richard Lovett, *The History of the London Missionary Society*, London, 1899; Frykenberg, *Modern Education in South India*, p. 41. See also Wilbert R. Shenk, ‘Introduction,’ in Wilbert R. Shenk (ed.), *North American Foreign Missions, 1810-1914: Theology, Theory, and Practice*, William Eermans Publishing Company, Michigan, 2004, pp. 3-4.

for sending as missionaries to unknown far-off lands, where they were destined to carry out their religious work. They considered the work as part of ‘the great commission.’²⁵ Writings on India, its people, religion, and culture by travelers, ethnographers, and colonial officials influenced the missionaries and evangelicals who later took up the assignment as their burden to plan and propagate Christianity in India. Among the many Protestant missionary organizations rendered their work in India, LMS was one of the leading organisations, which sent missionaries to different parts of India in general and Madras Presidency in particular.²⁶

The Protestant missionaries who were working in India had come out with a ‘clearly defined’ strategies and boundaries to identify themselves as a separate entity, different from colonial set up.²⁷ Each missionary organisation had a defined geographical area for itself and was generally mentioned in the reports of the concerned missionary society. Yet, the boundaries were negotiated with other missionary societies so as to avoid any territorial aggrandizement.²⁸ By and large, each missionary society had its own base geographically. The idea of reprehension that intervention of one society to ‘evangelize’ in the area of another, was followed by many missionary organizations. The LMS began their religious work in and around Madras and later set up working places in various parts of Madras Presidency, including Salem, Erode, Coimbatore, Cumbaconam, Hosur, Tinnevely, Vizagapatam, Kistna, Cudappa, Belgaum, Bellary, Jammalamadagu, Bangalore and South Travancore - comprised of the stretch between Cape Comorin to

25 Jon N. Hinskson, ‘Missions Among Puritans and Pietists’ in Martin I. Kluber and Scott M. Manetsch (eds), *The Great Commission: Evangelicals and the History of World Missions*, B & H Publishing Group, Nashville, TN, 2008.

26 In India, by 1900, the missionary societies had 34 missionary colleges, 340 boarding schools, 46 Industrial Training Institutes, 16 medical and nursing schools, 106 hospitals, 250 dispensaries, 107 orphanages, asylums and homes for children, 43 leprosy hospitals and 9 blind and deaf schools. See Dennis, Statistical Summary, Ecumenical Missionary Conference, New York, 1900, pp. 424-433.

27 David Hardiman, *Missionaries and their Medicine: A Christian Modernity for Tribal India*, Manchester University Press, Manchester and New York, 2008, p. 147.

28 In 1865, the LMS and SPG agreed that thereafter the former were to be restricted to Travancore and the latter to the neighbouring Tinnevely district. In consequence, six stations of the LMS in Tinnevely were transferred to the Anglican SPG missions. See Caplan, *Class and Christianity in South India*, p. 651.

Quilon on the west coast.²⁹

Yet, the objective of missionaries is contested in many ways partly because of their approach towards other religions and partly because of their strategies to attain the end. Nonetheless, historians, who worked on missionary education, are divided in their approach. Scholars who see the whole issue from Euro-centric view argue that it was a ‘benevolent mission’ and it was seen as a political question from nationalist approach. This study makes an attempt to see missionaries and their ‘mission’ for education through a history from below perspective.

3. Missionaries and Education

The close association between religion and education has been a common phenomenon in all the societies around the world. It is in this context, missionary education, makes a crucial and substantial contribution. The socio-economic and religious connection between missionaries, people and education in Madras Presidency need to be critically studied and historically explored.

Missionary movement in India had a direct cultural impact. Their schools functioned as a bridge between Brahmin and non-Brahmin students, imparting elementary and secondary education for children and literacy and vocational classes for adults. The medical dispensaries, temperance campaigns, cooperative societies and banks, printing presses, agricultural settlements, and industrial projects, mobilized a powerfully challenging social movement against four ‘demons’—dirt, disease, debt and drink. In fact, plagues in rural villages, campaign against crimes, poisoning cattle, and murder were regularly denounced by missionaries. They encouraged thrifts, and discouraged costly weddings and dowries.³⁰

It has been said that the European colonialism and the ‘Christian revivalism’ were the

29 Where today’s three districts, namely, Kanyakumari, which is a part of Tamil Nadu and Thiruvananthapuram and Kollam Districts, part of Kerala are located.

30 Susan Billington Harper, ‘The Dornakal Church on the Cultural Frontier’ in Judith M. Brown & Robert Eric Frykenberg (eds), *Christians, Cultural Interactions, and India’s Religious Traditions*, William B. Eerdmans, Cambridge, 2002, p. 187.

fundamental causes for the spread of Christian missionary activity. They argue that the colonial officials provided British missionaries with a sense of ‘justice’ and ‘moral authority.’ In addition to this, identification of missionaries with colonialism gained its currency when the so-called imperial expansion, offered missionary networks a range of models to ‘modernize’ indigenous communities through European cultural traditions.³¹

The counter argument is that the missionaries of both Catholic and Protestant origin, who started coming to India since sixteenth century, had contributed to the advancement of human knowledge. It added that most of the missionaries were not very sound in intellectual and scientific spheres to handle challenges of education, health and so on. On the contrary, some of them even became authorities on geography, botany, language, ethnology, oriental philosophies and comparative religion.³²

In consequence of the missionary undertakings, a range of historical accounts, dealing largely with science, society, beliefs and practices in India had become the order of the day in the nineteenth century. Christianity, which is considered to be an instrument to ‘shape characters’ during colonial period was also seen as an extended domain to impart subjects like science, politics, and international languages to students who were in the missionary established schools.³³ The ways in which they involved in translation of scripture, dictionaries, grammars and other works in several Indian languages, along with prose-writing and journalism made them pioneers, over a period of time projected them as precedents to be followed by Indian intelligentsia.³⁴

In the field of education, missionaries played a crucial role, as it formed an integral part of modern education in Indian history. Few missionaries, noted for their literary, cultural, educational and above all religious pursuits, focused their attention towards the respective interested fields, getting to know the Indian society. Schools and institutions were set up

31 Anna Johnston, *Missionary Writing and Empire, 1800-1860*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2003, pp. 10-20.

32 Archibald G. Baker, ‘Enlisting the Missionary in Research Work,’ *The Journal of Religion*, vol. 4, no. 4, July, 1924, p. 374.

33 J.S. Bennyson, *The Harvest Field*, August 1862, p. 220.

34 M.A. Laird, *The Contribution of the Serampore Missionaries in Bengal, 1793-1837*, Bulletin of School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, vol. 31, no. 1, 1968, p. 169.

to educate people of all castes, including lower castes and girls, who had thus far no opportunity to study in schools. Nevertheless, their idea of development for all caste groups through education was experimented by ‘civilizing’ the people which they called as ‘torch-bearers upon the path of progress.’³⁵

4. Religious Traditions and Schools

Religion is one aspect of culture, which has significant conditional influence on human beings all over the world, particularly in India. This is due to the fact that religion is a system of rituals and symbols, with a view to serve and to disseminate the world as lived experiences with the world as imagined communities.³⁶ The Indian society in the nineteenth century was caught in a vicious web created by religious traditions. The alleged ‘superstitions’ and ‘social evils’ need to be interpreted in the light of what missionaries observed and written. When the Protestant missionaries including women missionaries took initiatives to advocate a number of changes in Hindu society,³⁷ they heavily criticized Hindu religious traditions and commented that: “pure, enlightened, and active population will take place of the myriads and its deluded and wretched inhabitants.”³⁸

The missionary women also raised issues such as female infanticide, *sati*, *devadasi*, and so on. For instance, Amy Carmichael (1867-1951),³⁹ who worked in Tirunelveli noted for her *thottil kulanthai* [cradle baby] scheme for children who were dedicated to temples as devadasis and musicians. It was for her work she is still identified by local people as *amma* [mother] which later caused a stir among the fellow missionaries. She had

35 Michael Mann, ‘Torch-bearers upon the path of progress: Britain’s Ideology of a ‘Moral and Material Progress’ in India’ in Herald Fisher-Tine and Michael Mann (eds), *Colonialism as Civilizing Mission: Cultural Ideology in British India*, London, Oxford University Press, 2004, pp. 3-25.

36 Chad M. Bauman, *Christian Identity and Dalit Religion in Hindu India, 1868-1947*, Studies in the History of Christian Missions, William Eerdmans Publishing, Michigan/Cambridge, 2008, p. 227.

37 Geoffrey A. Oddie, *Social Protest in India: British Protestant Missionaries and Social Reforms 1850-1900*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1979, p. 1. See also Geoffrey A. Oddie, ‘Missionaries as Social Commentators: The Indian Case’ in Robert A. Bickers, & Rosemary Seton (eds), *Missionary Encounters: Sources and Issues*, Curzon, Surrey, 1996, pp. 197-210.

38 Quoted in Anna Johnston, *Missionary Writing and Empire*, p. 66.

39 A Church of England Zenana Missionary Society (CEZMS) woman from England, who had come and too her abode at Dohnavur in Tinnevely district.

criticized the caste system, child marriage and temple prostitution (*devadasi*). Carmichael observed:

I sat on the verandah of a well-to-do Hindu house one day and talked to the bright-looking women in their jewels and silks... a widow was tied up in a sack in one of the inner rooms... distinctly cruel in comparison with most other Asiatics... A custom as merciless as this custom, which has struck its roots deep into the tree of Hindu social life, but is not part of it.⁴⁰

Very often colonial officials too were in line with the missionaries in demanding the abolition of *sati* by supplying detailed figures of the numbers of cases in Bengal, and its increasing tendency in other parts of India. Religious rituals and cultural practices were often confused by them. William Bentinck, Governor General wrote on 8 November 1829 in his minute, noted:

The first and primary object of my heart is the benefit of the Hindus... The first step to this better understanding will be dissociation of religious belief and practice from blood and murder... I write and feel as a legislator for the Hindus, and as I believe many enlightened Hindus think and feel.⁴¹

Utilising this historical understanding of Hindu religious traditions, missionaries learned vernacular languages and often established schools in the mission compounds in the hope to liberate Indians from their age old traditions and customs. Many a times, gurus who formed a significant part in traditional schooling system were appointed as local teachers due to the non availability of educated converts. To achieve mastery over difficult languages missionaries used these gurus as translators to communicate with the locals. Visiting villages, mingling and interacting with the people in the temples, markets and other public places, entering the houses of common people and, responding to people who were affected by natural calamities such as famines, choleras, plague and disasters were some of their strategies whereby they could establish contacts with local people to

40 Amy W. Carmichael, *Things As They Are: Mission Work in Southern India*, Morgan and Scott Ltd., London, 1903, p. 68.

41 Bentinck continued in his 'Regulation XVII A.D. 1829 of the Bengal Code': "The practice of *sati*, or of burning or burying alive the widows of Hindus, is hereby illegal and punishable by the criminal courts." William Carey, the missionary as well as professor of Bengali at Fort William College, Calcutta, translated the proclamation into Bengali and 'the age-old horror was doomed.' See for details, C. H. Philips (ed.), *The Correspondence of Lord William Cavendish Bentinck, vol. I*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1977, pp. 335-345. See also Stephen Neill, *A History of Christianity in India 1707-1858*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1985, p. 158.

establish schools.⁴²

In Travancore missionaries and their social work went hand in hand. A Brahmin official of the Travancore Census, 1901, who witnessed LMS missionaries' educational efforts reported in the following lines:

But for these missionaries, these humble orders of Hindu society will forever remain unraised ... To the Christian missionaries belongs the credit of having gone to their humble homes, and awakened them to a sense of a better earthly existence. This action of the missionary was not a mere improvement upon ancient history, a kind of polishing and refining of an existing model, but an entirely original idea, conceived and carried out with commendable zeal, and oftentimes in the teeth of opposition and persecution ... the heroism of raising the low from the slough of degradation and debasement was an element of civilization unknown to ancient India.⁴³

It is to be noted that the missionaries had some code of conduct as to how they should function in their respective places. Missionaries, who were sent by the parent societies, had to take their positions of the mission stations assigned to them. They should go to the adjacent villages, visit the schools which were under his/her care and address the people both in the school-rooms as well as in the streets, distribute tracts and interact with them. Such engagements, daily pursued, were conceived largely for the usefulness of missionary and the preservation of his health.⁴⁴

In addition to this, missionaries were also required to negotiate contracts, build houses and plough fields or to supervise such works. They created policies that shaped the

42 John Charles Harris, *Couriers of Christ: Pioneers of London Missionary Society*, Livingston Press, Westminster, 1931, p. 86.

43 Quoted in Alden H. Clark, *India on the March*, New York, 1922, p. 134.

44 In a letter written to the LMS missionaries, who were visiting India, Daniel Tyerman and George Bennet wrote: "Allow us to recommend, brethren that you make yourselves more familiar with the people around you. Visit the bazaars, converse with the natives, invite them to your houses, and let them feel that you are concerned indeed for their welfare... Difference of country and of people makes no difference here. Familiar conversation on difficult subjects... is the most certain method of exciting interest, and bringing the subjects on which we speak within the comprehension of those with whom we converse. This will assist you too in acquiring the language in which you preach, in knowing the people's mode of thinking and reasoning, and in adapting your discourses to their capacities..." See for details, James Montgomery, *Voyages and Travels Round the World by the Rev. Daniel Tyerman and George Bennet, Esq., Deputed from the London Missionary Society to visit the various Stations in the South Sea Islands, Australia, China, India, Madagascar and South Africa between the years 1821 and 1829*, John Snow & Co, London, 1841, pp. 261-265.

colonial world regarding education. Establishment of schools, orphanages, hospitals, and dispensaries helped the missionaries to get favours from the colonial Government.⁴⁵ Evangelism and education were seen as complementary to each other by these missionaries.

The early Protestant missionaries, particularly at Tinnevely (Tirunelveli) in South India, designed and created whole Christian villages around mission stations, some of them bore Biblical names such as Nazareth, Jerusalem, Neyyoor and so on. Some embraced missionaries' name like Sawyerpuram, Schwartiyerpuram, named after Sawyer, and C.F. Schwartz. These missionaries provided food, clothing, relief to widows, monthly allowances to poor, health facilities, funeral expenses, employment in their schools and workshops, or assistance in obtaining employment elsewhere and, of course, the provision of education at all levels⁴⁶ and also kept a close contact with the lower castes who were discarded by the sections of the society to live in misery and apathy.

Their close identification with poor and illiterates attracted a great deal of attention. Missionaries too used the situation to their favour as means to the end. By and large their education was characterised by evangelism, edification and development. The missionaries could acquire a vast store of information, splendid oratorical powers, ready and astonishing argumentative resources, the warmth and kindness of his manner, happy gift of teaching, of seizing the attention, impressing the minds of the youngest, and above all, the missionary whose whole soul was in his work, in a very short time, won for him a reputation, both native and European. The sheer dint of good teaching, the school won its way into public favour. The natives forgot or sacrificed their fears and prejudices. Thus

45 Rhonda A. Semple, 'Professionalising their faith: Women, religion and cultures of mission and empire' in Sue Morgan and Jacqueline deVries (eds), *Women, Gender and Religious Cultures in Britain, 1800-1940*, Routledge, London, 2010, p. 123.

46 Quoted in Lionel Caplan, 'Class and Christianity in South India: Indigenous Responses to Western Denominationalism,' *Modern Asian Studies*, vol. 14, no. 4, 1980, pp. 649-650. Despite the fact that there was unanimity in missionaries' objectives, the way they executed them varied from one denomination to the other. The founder and the former Principal of St. Stephen's college, S. S. Allnut wrote in 1895: "The educational missionary who sets to work believing that education can be made a most effective agency in the evangelization of this country." See S.S. Allnut, 'The Present Needs of Christian Educational Enterprise in India,' *The Harvest Field*, March 1895, Wesleyan Mission Press, Mysore, 1895, p. 82.

missionaries began to set up their stations with a view to preach their religion using education as a tool.⁴⁷

With few exceptions, missionaries were always seemed to be very much an ‘upward mobile group’ as most missionaries came from occupational groups which were campaigning for greater recognition in the industrializing society to which they owed.⁴⁸ It is recorded that the ‘unfavourable’ and ‘simmering climate’ in India had lead to premature death of many missionaries and some went back to home in impaired and broken health.⁴⁹ According to a missionary data, the LMS lost twenty-nine out of fifty-

47 According to Ingram, there were fifty-six missionaries representing six Societies to be found in South India in 1833. Julius Richter refers to a census of missionary activities conducted in 1855 that around 350 missionaries working in India. Joseph Mullens said: “In 1860s, 32 missionary societies worked in India. Missionaries stationed at least 121 stations in whole of Madras Presidency until 1850 and occupied 146 stations in 1860. There were 161 missionaries worked in the early 1850s and this amount increased in to 210 by 1862.” The numbers doubled and no less than forty-five Protestant missionary organizations were in operation in South India at the end of the nineteenth century. By the year 1900, there were at least 249 missionary societies, representing some two dozen countries, where 13607 foreign missionaries, out of that 624 medical missionaries (421 men and 203 women), stationed in 5233 different places of the Globe; while 98 missionary societies were indirectly involved in generating income. In India, missionaries had thirty four missionary colleges, 340 boarding schools, forty six industrial training institutes, sixteen medial and nursing institutions, 106 general hospitals, forty three leper hospitals and 250 dispensaries, 107 orphanages, asylums and children’s home and nine blind and deaf schools in 1900. During the early twentieth century, there were at least 249 missionary societies, representing some two dozen countries, where 13607 foreign missionaries, were working throughout the globe.

In all thirty-four colleges, 22084 students (21643 men and 441 women) studying various courses. There were 29360 boys and 12096 girls, so a total of 41456 students were studying in the 340 boarding schools. The Industrial Training institutions admitted 4287 trainees (3278 male and 1009 female) and the medical and nursing institutions established, 57 males and 134 females (total 191) were studying. Also, the 106 hospitals and 250 dispensaries developed, 22902 in-patients, 877704 out-patients, and so a total of 2356731 patients were treated annually. Among the forty three leper hospitals were built, 2699 patients were treated. The missionaries had accommodated hundreds of students in the orphanages, asylums and children’s home as well as nine blind and deaf schools where 181 students had their education in 1900. See for details Joseph Mullens, *A Brief Review of Ten Years Missionary Labour in India between 1852 and 1862*, James Nisbet and Co., London, 1863, p. 75. See also James S. Dennis, *Statistical Summary of Foreign Missions Throughout the World, Ecumenical Missionary Conference New York, 1900*, vol. II, American Tract Society, New York, 1900, pp. 424-433 (hereafter cited as *Ecumenical Missionary Conference, New York, 1900*). Also see Julius Richter, *A History of Missions in India*, Edinburgh, 1908; Archibald G. Baker, ‘Enlisting the Missionary in Research Work,’ *The Journal of Religion*, vol. 4, no. 4, July 1924, p. 381. See also Kenneth Ingham, *Reformers in India, 1793-1833: An Account of Work of Christian Missionaries on behalf of Social reform*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1956. See also Lionel Caplan, ‘Class and Christianity in South India,’ p. 647.

48 Stuart Piggin, *Making Evangelical Missionaries, 1789-1858: The Social Background, Motives, and Training of British Protestant Missionaries to India*, The Sutton Courtenay Press, 1984, pp. 36-37.

49 John Reid, *Memoir of the late Rev. John Reid of Bellary*, Jackson & Walford, London & Glasgow, 1845, p. 171.

two missionaries during a decade between 1852 and 1862.⁵⁰

Despite the death of few LMS missionaries, there were few young men and women described by missionary scholars as ‘idealistic, altruistic adventurers’ were keen on doing the religious work.⁵¹ Robert Caldwell, initially an LMS missionary had not only learned Tamil but explored its rich literature and poetry. He had the history of making an 800 mile journey to Tinnevely via the Nilgiri Hills on foot to get acquainted with the people and their ideas, manners, and to talk with the people.⁵² This shows the dedication made by these missionaries to reach out the downtrodden, forgiven by every one and effectively discarded from every aspect of the society. Missionaries used education as a medium to reach out to these ignored, neglected and rejected section of the people to assimilating them into the mainstream of the Indian society.

Nonetheless, their motives were speculated by the people who were loaded with anti-colonial and anti-missionary ideas. As a result, the missionaries made attempts to disprove the ‘fear’ of missionary activity, by setting up schools and other establishments.⁵³ Consequently, they were keen on associating themselves in all programmes of the colonial Government, particularly the educational programmes. Thus, education had become a pioneering aspect of LMS than ever before.

The missionaries and their wives were prepared to do visit communities wherever they were assigned. The LMS missionary Charles Mault and his wife Eliza Mault at Nagercoil, never had a home leave throughout the thirty five years of their engagement with missionary work.⁵⁴ Few missionaries expressed their interest to be buried in India. For example, Robert Caldwell, a longtime missionary and later Bishop of Tinnevely had stated that he should be buried among his people at Edaiyankudi. In 1883, when he was

50 Joseph Mullens, *A Brief Review of Ten Years Missionary Labour in India*, 1863, p. 35.

51 David Gore, *Soldiers, Saints and Scallywags: stirring tales from family history*, London, 2009, p. 150.

52 *Ibid.*, pp. 150-151.

53 Laird, *Contribution of the Serampore Missionaries*, p. 169.

54 David Gore, *Soldiers, Saints and Scallywags*, p. 149.

in England and was requested by his friends to remain there, he answered, "I wish to die amongst the people for whom I have lived."⁵⁵

Significantly, when Evangelical and Keswick movement⁵⁶ made an impact on the British universities, especially Cambridge, new doors were opened to a new wave of university students with missionary aspirations. They were strongly influenced by the late Victorian missions through the student volunteer Missionary Union and other similar organizations.⁵⁷ The missionary movement became a widespread phenomenon in the western world by involving local volunteers in organizing door to door charity collections and working parties. And the missionary societies were able to build regional support for foreign missions. The Victorian philanthropy had been set in the early nineteenth century, relying heavily on the contributions at various levels from country side to the metropolitan cities. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the LMS, Society for Propagation of Gospel (SPG) and Basel Missionary Society (BMS), all began proliferating ladies unions, laymen unions, younger clergy unions and new organizations for children as well as adolescents for fund-raising and other missionary works.⁵⁸

However, the subject missionary contribution, especially Protestant missions, as an important element in the study of modern Indian history has evoked only a little response with much reaction from historians as well as scholars of history and of education largely due the heavy loaded ideas of nationalism, regionalism and linguism. The history of vernacular education and inculcation of new idealistic values by the missionaries were

55 Wyatt, *Reminiscences of Bishop Caldwell*, Addison and Co., Madras, 1894, p. 186.

56 Keswick movement was the conventions of Christian groups in the late eighteenth century, held mostly at the Lake District of England, introduced by D. L. Moody, Andrew Murray and others, where people committed themselves for doing Christian work. Amy Carmichael, the prominent woman missionary at Tirunelveli was one of the foremost Christian women, who was sponsored by this movement. See for details, J. Gordon Melton, *Encyclopedia of Protestantism*, Facts and Files, New York, 2005, p. 320. Also see Kenneth Hyden-Smith, *Evangelicals in the Church of England 1734-1984*, T & T. Clark Ltd., Worcester, 1988, p. 190.

57 Quoted in Robert A. Bickers and Rosemary Seton (eds), *Missionary Encounters: Sources and Issues*, Curzon, Surrey, 1996, p. 29. Also see Andrew Porter, 'Cambridge, Keswick and late Nineteenth Century Attitudes to Africa,' *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 1976, pp. 5-36; Porter, 'Evangelical Enthusiasm, Missionary Motivation and West Africa in the late Nineteenth Century, the career of G.W. Brooke,' *Ibid*, 6, 1977, pp. 23-46.

58 Robert A. Bickers & Rosemary Seton (eds), *Missionary Encounters*, pp. 27-30.

not given adequate importance in the scholarly discussions and other academic endeavours. In certain respects the influences created in intellectual, cultural and ideological spheres were deeper than the changes introduced in the political and administrative spheres. In the nineteenth century, the introduction of education and the stages of modernization through education, the role of missionaries had been a crucial one.

5. Objectives of the Study

The Protestant missionary organizations in India in the nineteenth century used education as a missionary tool to reach their motive of evangelization. East India Company had to agree for missionary engagement in India very reluctantly under the pressure from British Government in London. The study assumes greater significance as the political landscape of India during the nineteenth century was undergoing a dynamic transformation through a dialectical process of social change. In this scenario, missionary attitude towards Anglo-vernacular education with special reference to Madras Presidency will be the leitmotif of the study. Implementation of various educational strategies, relationship of various missionary organizations with the colonial Government, which made an indelible mark on the indigenous culture were critically analysed with a historical perspective. The efforts made by missionary societies in making an educational historiography in colonial India through Government-mission discourse will also be emphasized with a view to reconstruct the educational history of modern India.

Missionary schools and institutions were started not only to give Biblical instruction to the newly-converted Christians, but also to educate the millions, including people of all religions and castes, and girls, who had no opportunity to attend a school during their life time. One of the main reasons for the success of the LMS missionaries was their involvement in the field of education and using it as a means of change. The study also explores the progress and impact of modern education on Indian society, on the arrival of missionaries, primarily from the LMS, and the different stations the LMS missionaries established, schools and other educational institutions started for primary, secondary and

higher education, and the missionaries' attitude towards women and depressed classes in India, particularly in colonial Madras Presidency, which was often called as 'the benighted Presidency' and in the matter of education it was the 'most enlightened Presidency in India'⁵⁹ from the beginning of the nineteenth to the early twentieth century.

The study will focus on how missionaries, in the absence of government sponsored schools, excelled in providing education, and how this notion of modern education played a vital role for acquisition of knowledge, slowly and steadily, this knowledge opened up vistas for the emergence of indigenous leaders to question the existing order. Nevertheless, their conversion agenda could not yield expected results. Attention is paid to draw the distinction between the education aimed at the nation's elite through English education and the missionaries' attempt to educate the rural masses in the vernacular language, and how the missionaries succeeded in the latter.

6. Research Questions

1. How far missionary education which was pre-eminent in its theory and practice play a crucial role in Madras Presidency?
2. How did LMS missionaries, amidst local resistance, initiate measures to educate the masses?
3. How did the LMS missionaries use local support to promote educational institutions like Scott Christian College?
4. What were the significant changes which happened in the nineteenth century with special reference to women and their social standing? What was the role played by LMS?
5. How did vernacular education, introduced by missionaries stimulate the disadvantageous groups in unraveling their agenda of social upward mobility?
6. Why did missionary attempts to introduce 'preparatio evangelica' to achieve their end fail to make a radical change despite the fact that missionary education and evangelism go hand-in-hand?

59 J. A. Sharrock, *South India Missions*, Society for the propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, Westminster, United Kingdom, 1910, p. 222.

7. Literature Review

Robert Eric Frykenberg, who worked widely on missionaries, conversion, missionary education in Modern India, exhorts through his articles, books and edited volumes, how missionary societies stepped into Indian soil, established the mission centres, and started schools for the depressed and underprivileged, particularly in Madras Presidency.⁶⁰ He points out that the origins of Modern Education in South India lay in Northern Europe, and it was there that new techniques evolved for building radically new social institutions came from the inspiration of August Hermann Francke (1663-1727), Philip Jacob Spener's disciple, who propounded German Pietism, which was influenced by the missionaries, and that in turn promoted educational work in India in general and Madras Presidency in particular. Nevertheless, his work deals very little with 'hardcore' mission areas such as Southern Travancore.

Writings on the educational history of Princely States and British India by both Western and Indian scholars can be used to construct the knowledge system which existed in colonial India. Koji Kawashima explores how a self-declared 'Hindu State' Travancore changed itself into a modern state by introducing Western and English education. The way in which the State used LMS and other Christian missionary organizations, during the process of state-building and how the colonial officials kept themselves engaged in this process makes it clear that his study gets unwielded in the narrow and parochial religious identity.⁶¹ Similarly, Hugald Grafe critically looks into the way in which the LMS missionary Ringeltaube, who was then persuaded by the local Protestant convert, Vedamanickam (Maharasan before conversion) from Mayiladi, near Kanyakumari, to establish a mission station⁶² leaving an imprint in the meticulously established missionary stations. However, missionary education and its implications on the underprivileged masses have not been given adequate thought.

60 Robert Eric Frykenberg, 'Modern Education in South India, 1784-1854: Its Roots and Its Role as a Vehicle of Integration under Company Raj,' *The American Historical Review*, vol. 91, no. 1, February, 1986, p. 41.

61 Kawashima, *Missionaries and a Hindu State*, pp. 219-224.

62 Grafe, *History of Christianity in India*, pp. 28-29.

Missionary encounters with the depressed classes through education as one of their exclusive strategies in colonial South India need to be interpreted with the emerging trends. Susan Bayly, in her work, unravels the depth and resilience of South India's indigenous religious traditions in the encounters with the faiths of foreign missionaries and also enumerates that converted Christians were never isolated from the world of indigenous cult devotion among both Tamil and Malayali Christians. She also explains the nature and origins of religious conversion and the status of religious minorities,⁶³ their social organization and practice with a view to re-construct the history of South Indian religions. Nevertheless a range of issues with special reference to the dichotomy of education and conversion have not been given enough attention.

In addition to this, Dick Kooiman, and Jonathan Ingleby worked widely on missionaries, conversion, and missionary education focusing largely on the cultural impact of missionary education on the growth of modern India.⁶⁴ But the works are mostly concentrated on conversion and its effects on the indigenous population, and gave less importance to education, social awareness and liberation.

Eliza F. Kent and Nupur Chaudhuri made a significant contribution to the understanding of gender issues in general and the question of women's education in particular in the context of tradition-modernity dichotomy. Nevertheless Eliza's attempt to incorporate the colonial missionary feminists with that of the indigenous counterparts largely on cultural values in a way undermined the emerging consciousness of liberation from within.⁶⁵

Dick Kooiman and Duncan Forrester, observed that the extreme level of caste oppression on the 'lower' castes and untouchables, who were denied access to public roads, courts and schools. Also, they could not carry umbrellas, and worst of all, lower caste women were to present themselves in public bare-breasted as they were prohibited to cover their

63 Susan Bayly, *Saints, Goddesses and Kings: Muslims and Christians in South Indian Society 1700-1900*, Cambridge University Press, 1989.

64 Frykenberg, *Modern Education in South India*, p. 41.

65 Eliza F. Kent, *Converting Women: Gender and Protestant Christianity*, Oxford University Press, 2004. Also see Nupur Chaudhuri, Margaret Strobel (eds), *Western Women and Imperialism*, Indiana University Press, USA, 1992.

bosom.⁶⁶ The issue of ‘denial and discrimination’ continues to have not only intellectual significance but an integral relation to questions of value and of action.⁶⁷ Even though much emphasis was given to the questions of conversion and social change, the socio-political consciousness, witnessed by Travancore, missionary attitude towards education has not been given equal attention.

Hugald Grafe, on the other hand, critically looks into the communities - Nadars, Vellalas, Adi-Dravidas and Brahmins as well as the proselytisation activities among various groups in different parts of Tamil Nadu. Although an attempt to study the establishment of Christian settlements, exclusively for converts in Southern India, where en-masse conversion took place stands for its historicity. Nonetheless, missionary education and its crucial impacts on the disadvantageous masses have not been studied with an interdisciplinary approach.

In this context, Hayden Bellenoit’s work becomes significant. He examines the pre-colonial foundations upon which both Orientalist scholarship and comparative religious debate was based. He delineates how missionaries engaged with pre-existing studies of Hindu theism and how they moulded to fit their own agenda. He argues that the acquisition of knowledge, with partial re-action to the western curricula created a space wherein the rise of affective knowledge coupled with national consciousness, paved the way for Indian patriotism, and at a larger level, Indian nationalism.⁶⁸ This significant approach to the study of missionary education opens up new vistas to understand and locate the larger discourse of educational nationalism in the historical narrative.

8. Rationale of the Study

Studies which were made on the masses in general and the underprivileged sections in particular in the Madras Presidency during the nineteenth century play a significant role

66 Kooiman, *Conversion and Social Equality in India*, pp. 144-182.

67 Duncan B. Forrester, *Caste and Christianity: Attitudes and Policies on Caste of Anglo-Saxon Protestant Missions in India*, Curzon Press, London, 1980, pp. 185-202.

68 Heyden J. A. Bellenoit, *Missionary Education and Empire in Late Colonial India, 1860-1920*, Pickering and Chatto, London, 2007, pp. 190-205.

in this academic discourse to re-construct the socio-economic history of Madras Presidency. Nevertheless, the forgone studies dealt largely on the issues pertaining to religion, social patterns, customary practices, conversion, caste question, and post-conversion scenario. None of the studies provide adequate attention to the study of education with special reference to LMS in colonial Madras Presidency which played a significant role in the whole of Madras Presidency. The question of education was subsumed by the various crucial issues including colonialism, conversion and casteism in the nineteenth century, leaving no scope to education and its significance. The study gains pre-eminence, which aimed at exploring various forms of missionary engagement with regard to education to construct a possible theoretical paradigm as to how missionary education can be linked up with the notion of history from below at various stages in the annals of modern Indian history.

9. Research Methodology

The history of education in colonial India has become a major leitmotif of the recent historiographical discourse. Understanding the events of the past, which led to the empowerment of the oppressed communities, needs to be historically expounded and explicated with a view to construct the history of modern education in the light of the emerging new theories, evidences and tools. The historical method is applied to derive scientific conclusions because, ‘history is the descriptive study of human past... and to use historical knowledge is to go beyond history.’⁶⁹ Furthermore, Surendra Rao argues that history is the knowledge of a retrievable human past and is available to the historian and society as a collective of accumulated, debated, dialogued, refuted, amended, renewed knowledge to choose from and build on.⁷⁰ Sumit Sarkar argued that History acquired a new and vast pedagogical and intellectual domain in the nineteenth century, and in constructing the ‘colonial knowledge’ in India, English education played a vital role, which transmitted the traditional knowledge into modern, that is, from pathshalas,

69 Robert Baird, *Category Formation and History of Religion*, Mouton, Paris, 1971, pp. 32-33.

70 B. Surendra Rao, Not just drum-and-trumpet, *The Hindu*, April 17, 2012, p. 18.

tols and madrashas to schools and higher educational institutions.⁷¹

It may be argued that India became a kind of vast laboratory during colonial period where the ideology of missionaries towards the masses was worked out by various mission agencies, who dominated the social and political spheres of both the metropolis and the colonial periphery.⁷² In their quest for amelioration of these disadvantageous communities, missionaries had to face resistance from the Hindus and response reaction from the disadvantageous sections simultaneously. The depressed classes, who constituted a larger chunk, made use of this crucial missionary link for their socio-economic productivity largely through social upward mobility, leaving space for history from below.

It has frequently been argued that the historical interest in Indian Christians has so far been almost entirely fixed on foreign missionaries, and on the process of conversion that they supposedly inaugurated. In addition to this, a transition to Christianity is primarily situated in the initiative of the Western missions rather than in the experience and sensibility of Indian converts. Subsequently, the preoccupations revolve around the agents behind conversion - whether the hidden hand of the colonial state was more responsible for it, or it was the social advancement that the missionaries provided with their educational, and self-improvement schemes.⁷³

The construction of educational history of Madras Presidency through missionary writings, translations and missionary periodicals, available in repositories like National Archives of India (New Delhi), Nehru Memorial Museum and Library (New Delhi), Serampore Missionary Archives (West Bengal), Vidya Jyoti Seminary (New Delhi), Cambridge Brotherhood Library (New Delhi), Indian Social Institute Library (New Delhi), United Theological College and its Church History Archives of India (Bengalore), Tamil Nadu State Archives (Chennai), Gurukul Theological Seminary and Archives (Chennai), Madras Christian College Archives (Chennai), Theosophical Society

71 Sumit Sarkar, *Writing Social History*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1998, pp. 12-15.

72 Bellenoit, *Missionary Education*, pp. 197-202.

73 Tanika Sarkar, 'Missionaries, Converts and State in Colonial India,' *Studies in History*, vol. 18, no. 1, 2002, pp. 121-122.

Archives and Library (Chennai), Madras Institute of Developmental Studies, Roja Muthaiah Research Library, Adyar (Chennai), Tamil Nadu Theological Seminary (Madurai), Stephen Neill Study and Research Centre (Palayamkottai), James Duthie Library, Scott Christian College (Nagercoil), Kerala Council for Historical Research (Thiruvananthapuram) and Yale Divinity School Library (New Haven, USA) have now become probative and prodigious mainly due to missionaries' cutting-edge effort to study the attitudes and programmes with special reference to education.

10. Perspectives on missionary education in India

The modern education system in India is deeply indebted to the work of colonial government and the missionaries. Educational work had been undertaken by almost all the missionary societies in India in their respective mission stations. In missionary schools education was an attempt to socially reproduce both spiritual values and morals. But maharajas, pundits, and local elites patronized and supported mission schools to reproduce their own set of values.⁷⁴ The extreme poverty of the masses, the inadequate means of communication, caste, the purdah system, child marriage, child widowhood, the conflict of communal interests and ambitions and the seemingly unbridgeable chasm between urban and rural life, had qualitatively challenged the growth of a desire for education among the masses largely in rural areas.⁷⁵

With the arrival and establishment of the first Protestant missionaries, the foundation was laid for the implementation of modern education and thousands got attracted towards the missionary schools and colleges because these were the leading institutions which taught English and vernaculars, and there was a necessity for Government jobs. On this issue Sir Michael Sadler said that Christian missionaries working in India had been 'indispensable' to the progress of western education during the nineteenth century, that they were doing work of 'quite momentous importance' for the future of India.⁷⁶ Similarly few attempts

74 Bellenoit, *Missionary Education*, p. 192.

75 George Allen Odgers, Education in British India, *The Phi Delta Kappan*, vol. 8, no. 2, October, 1925, p. 2.

76 A.T.S. James, *Twenty-five years of the LMS, 1895-1920*, London Missionary Society, London, 1923, p. 29.

were made to show that the missionary education has laid the foundation for intellectual history. James Dennis noted that the missionaries had rendered in the education of the modern world had become a part of the intellectual history of mankind.⁷⁷ The ways in which missionary schools constructed within missionary residential areas had further added educational atmosphere attracting children from the below.

The exclusively fortified missionary compounds where the missionaries usually gathered for religious activities, constituted a unit, governed by the respective missionary, located in a few strategic centres.⁷⁸ There used to be a church, preferably built in stone in old English style, one hospital or dispensary, which provided ‘modern’ medicine and a school. Demonstrating the superiority of modern technology, the compounds with a large multi-storied colonial style ‘bungalow’ of the white missionaries were maintained by few servants. Missionaries built the school alongside of the church, and often these two were in the same building.⁷⁹ Robert Caldwell said,

In the district committed to me I made it my business to become acquainted with every village and hamlet if possible, with every family, and endeavoured, by myself, and with the help of my native assistants, to make known to ‘every creature’ the message of reconciliation to God ...⁸⁰

He underlined that the village where he took up his abode, called Edaiyangudi, the shepherd’s abode was a model Christian village, with a model church and model schools and institutions there in the missionary compound.⁸¹

The idea that the lower caste people found it difficult to read and write began to change slowly and steadily when missionary schools catered to their needs. According to them,

77 James S. Dennis, *Christian Missions and Social Progress: A Sociological Study of Foreign Missions*, Fleming R. Revell Company, London, 1906, p. 5.

78 Hardiman, *Missionaries and their Medicine*, p. 147.

79 John Dennis estimates the number of pupils in all protestant mission schools at one million at the end of the nineteenth century. These are gathered in 22,000 schools. Probably there are at least 40,000 teachers. Of these schools 112 are universities and colleges, 546 theological and training-schools, 1,087 boarding and high schools, and 17,773 day schools. James S. Dennis, *Ecumenical Missionary Conference New York, 1900*, pp. 424-434. Also see John W. Conklin, Necessity for Training in Teaching,” *Ecumenical Missionary Conference, New York, 1900*, p. 168.

80 Robert Caldwell, *Tinnevelly Missions*, p. 85. Also see James S. Dennis, *Christian Missions*, p. 146.

81 Wyatt, *Reminiscences of Bishop Caldwell*, p. 79.

without missionary schools there would have been very difficult and people would have struggled to learn. George noted that missionary education bridged the gap between rich and poor, irrigated deserts, saved lives, and liberated people as it did not ‘oppress’ people based on caste, colour and creed.⁸² The educational campaigns of missionaries, which is of great social value in India awakened interest of the Government of India in the education of Pariahs, Pulayas, Malas, Madigas, Panchamas etc., in the Madras Presidency. Missionaries could reach these ‘outcastes’, who had been ignored, rejected, neglected and forgotten from the educational scheme of the Government. The missionary efforts, to educate the unlettered masses and bring them to the mainstream scenario, though opposed with extreme condemnation initially, but of late, the Government came forward to help the schools.⁸³

Indian scholars have mixed response for missionary education. When one school of thought argues that Christian missionaries in India were the catalysts for ‘a rebirth of learning’ and ‘intellectual aspiration’ other school insists that missionary schools supported the efforts of ordinary people to arrive at a free and just society in the face of colonialism.⁸⁴ Apart from ordinary schools, there were orphan schools, which were started by the missionaries for the destitutes, widows, physically challenged—who were normally excluded from the social domain, each child was supported, clothed and educated in the orphan school for growing into propitious and gratifying intelligence.⁸⁵

The education system of the LMS was principally composed of three main parts: the central English school as the highest institution, which was normally established to impart English and modern science by selecting the most intelligent students from the congregations established, and also inviting the children from the elite and affluent families, where the graduates were absorbed either by the Native Kingdoms and their

82 Clayton G. Mackenzie, ‘Demythologizing the Missionaries: a reassessment of the functions and relationship of Christian missionary education under colonialism’ *Comparative Education*, vol. 29, no. 1, 1993, p. 45.

83 A. Andrew, ‘Panchamas and Education,’ *The Harvest Field*, June, 1895, pp. 228-231. Also see Dennis, *Christian Missions and Social Progress*, p. 35.

84 Quoted in Mackenzie, *Demythologizing the Missionaries*, p. 45.

85 John Reid, *Memoir of the late Rev. John Reid of Bellary*, Jackson & Walford, London & Gloscow, 1845, p. 144.

Maharajas or the quintessential Colonial Government, which always needed the English educated and talented students of the English schools.⁸⁶ Secondly, the boarding and Anglo-vernacular schools, where the missionaries admitted and taught, particularly girls, who were destitute or orphans, to whom missionaries offered clothes, food and primers apart from accommodation. Finally, the village schools as primary schools, where the students were taught the basics: listening, speaking, reading and writing of the mother tongue, mostly the vernacular language, arithmetic etc. Teaching was mostly in vernacular depending on the language skills of the children, but quite often English was also taught.⁸⁷

Missionaries were of the opinion that the Christian school must stand so high as a giver of knowledge so that no secular institution can afford to point the finger of scorn at its equipment or its alumni. A. M. Tracy, an American Madura Mission missionary opined in the South Indian Missionary conference that the duty of an educational missionary is to equip the student with knowledge so that he is capable of making a life profitable by getting an employment and other benefits.⁸⁸

As a result, education was envisioned largely as a necessary missionary tool,⁸⁹ and so formed an essential part of the missionary programme, and for the most of the colonial period the missions were almost the only agency for education among the depressed classes and tribes. The effect of this educational activity is reflected in the contrast between literacy and educational programmes among Christians as opposed to non-Christian members of these communities.⁹⁰ Mission schools aimed to be vibrant spiritual

86 Dick Kooiman, 'Who is to Benefit from Missionary Education? Travancore in the 1930s' in Robert A. Bickers and Rosemary Seton (eds), *Missionary Encounters*, pp. 153-173.

87 Carl C. Campbell, *The Young Colonials: A Social History of Education in Trinidad and Tobago, 1834-1939*, University of West Indies Press, 1996, p. 231.

88 *Report of the South India Missionary Conference 1858*, held at Ootacamund, Press of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, Madras, 1858, pp. 170-171.

89 C. P. Williams, 'Not Quite Gentlemen': an Examination of 'Middling Class' Protestant Missionaries from, 1850-1900, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, vol. 31, no. 3, July, 1980, pp. 301-315.

90 J. H. Beaglehole, 'The Indian Christians - A Study of a Minority,' *Modern Asian Studies*, vol. 1, no. 1, 1967, p. 61.

centres, in which religion and spirituality were comparatively discussed.⁹¹ This was all done with the aim of persuading Indian students that Christianity was the ultimate manifestation and progeny of their civilization's religious and moral evolution.⁹²

Nevertheless, missionary institutions, as part of their educational programme, generally adopted English as the medium of instruction for the elites and the vernaculars for the rural masses for obvious social and economic reasons.⁹³ The missionaries, who were committed to teaching vernaculars in principle, began to teach English in practice largely in response to student demand for English education. Heyden Bellenoit argues: "In terms of pedagogy, this religious factor effectively ensured that missionaries and mission schools were neither Anglicists nor Orientalists,⁹⁴ but a quizzical admixture of both."⁹⁵ Yet, in the case of South Travancore, the vernacular education was more popular than English education.

11. Imbibing Pietist Tradition

The educational missionaries in their respective work places, were always in the forefront, not only to establish a school wherever it was possible, but also steadfastly trying to print and distribute literature which was needed for their proselytisation. A missionary who had done educational work in South Travancore observed that the close association between Christianity and education in the following lines: "Has a missionary society which takes no responsibility in providing healthy Christian literature any right to assume the task of education? ... Our schools must be held to high academic standards; they must also be unmistakably Christian."⁹⁶ Thus, the Protestant missionaries attempted

91 Bellenoit, *Missionary Education*, p. 88.

92 *Ibid.*

93 D. H. Emmott, 'Alexander Duff and modern Education in India,' *British Journal of Educational Studies*, vol. 13, no. 2, May 1965, p. 163.

94 Quoted in Bellenoit, *Missionary Education*, p. 87. See also Lynn Zastoupil and Martin Moir (eds), *The Great Education Debate: Documents Related to the Orientalist-Anglicist Controversy, 1781-1843*, Curzon, Richmond, 1999.

95 Bellenoit, *Missionary Education*, p. 86.

96 Quoted in Maina Chawla Singh, *Gender, Religion, and "Heathen Lands": American Missionary Women in South Asia (1860s-1940s)*, Garland Publishing, Taylor & Francis, New York, 2000, p.

to imbibe pietistic traditions and ideas of religious reformation into education.

If 'Pietism' and 'Enlightenment' appeared to have shaped the course of educational historiography in the West⁹⁷ the missionaries with Pietist background in India were more interested in education, playing a crucial and seminal role⁹⁸ in planning and propagating the ideas of modern education throughout India in general and South India in particular.⁹⁹ Pietist's emphasis was placed on personal enlightenment, spiritual vitality, and moral transformation by means of a proliferating network of small training groups called *collegia philobiblica*. German Pietism, from its outset, generated radical impulses among missionaries.

As initiators among the various *seminaria praeceptorum*, the Pietists had founded the *Institut der praeparandie* in 1717 in Halle, Germany with the object to train future primary school teachers for the various Halle schools, which also included missionaries like Ringeltaube.¹⁰⁰ The movement, advanced by Francke from Halle University, spread to the royal houses of Denmark and Hanover and the Court of St. James and helped generate the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK), which in turn promoted educational work in India.¹⁰¹ As a matter of fact, a range of massive movements in Europe, particularly in Germany, focused solely on the teaching of reading at home, later on resulted in the founding of primary schools, charity schools and orphanages. The Lutheran Pietists played a vital role in this movement, especially under the influence of the Halle orphanage created by Francke.

By the end of the seventeenth century, both Protestants and Catholics began to show

144. Also see Board of Missionary Preparation, *The Preparation of Missionaries for Literary Work*, Board of Missionary Preparation, New York, 1917.

97 Frykenberg, *Modern Education in South India*, pp. 40-41.

98 Dominique Julia, 'Christian Education' in Stewart J. Brown & Timothy Tackett (eds), *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, vol. 7, Enlightenment, Reawakening and Revolution (1660 – 1815), p. 153.

99 Jon N. Hinkson, *Missions among Puritans and Pietists*, p. 35.

100 *Ibid.*, p. 154.

101 K. S. Latourette, *A History of Christianity*, New York, 1953, pp. 894-97. Also see Frykenberg, *Modern Education in South India*, p. 41.

interest in professionalization of teaching in the primary schools and started both schools and teacher training centres.¹⁰² Meanwhile, John Amos Comenius, a Moravian bishop and pedagogue, considered to be one of the founders of modern schools, proposed a concept called ‘twelve grades of compulsory learning.’¹⁰³ Among the Protestants, the first missionaries to start regular schools in India for general education were the Danes working at Tranquebar in Madras Presidency.¹⁰⁴

12. Education as a Missionary Ideology

Education as an ideology was meticulously articulated and enthusiastically approached by missionaries irrespective of sects and denominations as they believed that it had the power and potential to enlarge, and invigorate human beings. The idea that education imparts knowledge was quantitatively experimented and qualitatively analysed by a range of missionary organizations. Education as an ideological discourse appeared to have assisted its seekers for more truth and a ‘better’ life to appropriate for themselves of what is real, important, useful and satisfying. Similarly, education is seen with discriminatory approach with a view to transfer knowledge from ‘more mature members’ to ‘less mature.’¹⁰⁵

M.N. Srinivas demonstrates that every human society has to perform the task of transmitting its accumulated stock of knowledge, skills, beliefs and wisdom from one generation to another. He calls the transmission as the essence of education.¹⁰⁶ Nevertheless, missionary idea of education was something which had values equivalent to inclusivism, egalitarianism and social transformation.

Missionary education which seeks not only to impart knowledge but also to foster a particular quality of living ‘cannot ignore the fundamental elements in human society --

102 Julia, *Christian Education*, pp. 148-154.

103 Martin Carnoy, *Education as Cultural Imperialism*, David McKay Company, New York, 1967, p. 4.

104 Rudolf C. Heredia, ‘Education and Mission: School as an Agent of Evangelization,’ *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol. 30, no. 37, September 16, 1995, p. 2333.

105 Nels. F.S. Ferre, *Christian Faith and Higher Education*, Harper & Brothers Publishers, New York, 1954, p. 15.

106 M. N. Srinivas, *Education, Social Change and Social Mobility in India*, New Delhi, 1977, p. 1.

health, industry, citizenship and recreation.¹⁰⁷ The aims of missionary education in were characterised by ‘education for salvation,’ ‘education for the state’ and ‘education for the progress.’ Throughout history, religion has been a major force in structuring and controlling societies, including the provision of education and educational aims.¹⁰⁸ So, the new religion could be the solace to the thousands of oppressed people to find equality, liberty and freedom, and the missionary intervention was to help them with so many means, really became a boasting factor.¹⁰⁹

It may be pointed out that education as an ideology for equality and empowerment is echoed in a both missionary and other works. The fact that the ignorance of the poor is the direct result of the whole situation of economic, social and political domination of the oppressors, where the disadvantaged are kept ‘submerged’ and undermined. Through the right kind of education, every human being, no matter how impoverished or illiterate, can develop a new awareness of self which would free them to be more than passive objects responding to uncontrollable change.¹¹⁰ The missionary movement, like any other, during the modern period, particularly in the nineteenth century, investigated the area, where the missionaries had to work, contacted a significant number of local inhabitants, mostly poor, depressed and illiterate, and approaching them to form an informal meeting during which they could talk about the objectives of their presence in the area.

The missionaries started teaching them the benefits of literacy, with other things to earn a mutual understanding and trust. They called for some volunteers to be their assistants and offered them reasonable remuneration as well. Thus from the very beginning, ‘thematic investigation’, was expressed as an educational pursuit, as cultural action.¹¹¹ Missionaries pursued the idea of opening schools that would disseminate modern

107 Alice B. Van Doren, *Christian High Schools in India: Being the Report of a Survey conducted on behalf of the National Christian Council of India, Burma and Ceylon*, YMCA Publication House, Calcutta, 1936, p. 102.

108 Richard Aldrich, ‘Education for Survival: An Historical Perspective,’ *History of Education*, vol. 39, no. 1, January, 2010, pp. 1-5.

109 G. Aloysius, *Religion as Emancipatory Identity: A Buddhist Movement among the Tamils under Colonialism*, Critical Quest, New Delhi, 2009.

110 Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, New rev. edn., Penguin Books, London, 1996, pp. 26-37.

111 *Ibid.*, pp. 91-92.

education, and saw education as a key to missionary success. This later gave them heightened importance over other endeavours.

On the other hand if we look into the inland scenario of the entire Madras Presidency, including Travancore, as Frykenberg argues, slavery and other social evils, subjugated the predominant population, representing the entire lower castes for ages, who were to be liberated by imparting proper modern education.¹¹² The Christian missionary movement in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries can be seen as an important medium for the dissemination of modern concepts and institutions into non-western societies, mainly through education. Missionary education has been considered as a pillar of social efficiency movement, for it made the deprived society stronger intellectually. Their education taught the people the ideas of self-respect and made them politically-aware.¹¹³

It is an historical reality that the missionaries used education as one of their strategies for liberating their converted masses. For them education was more in line with the integral part of development and liberation. Education at all levels came to be seen by them as a creative tool for societies, characterised by inequality, slavery and other rigid social orders. Favoring self-determination and promoting the sense of community consciousness, missionary education affirmed and asserted new dimensions of development to people in general and converts in particular.¹¹⁴

13. Summary of Chapters

The first chapter deals with the introductory aspects of multiple issues—early Christianity, arrival of Catholic and Protestant missionaries in India, a brief crucial background of the nature of missionaries from different denominations, methods of proselytisation, purposes of schools, colleges, technical institutions including embroidery

112 Robert Eric Frykenberg, *Christianity in India: From Beginning to the Present*, Oxford University Press, New York, 2008, pp. 226, 272.

113 Carey A. Watt, 'Education for National Efficiency: Constructive Nationalism in North India, 1909-1916,' *Modern Asian Studies*, vol. 31, no. 2, May, 1997, pp. 334-336.

114 Klaus Koschorke, Freider Ludwig, Mariane Delgado (eds), *A History of Christianity in Asia, Africa and Latin America, 1450-1990: A Documentary Sourcebook*, William Eerdmans Publishing, Michigan/Cambridge, 2007, p. 395.

and lace industries and medical mission centres, and implications of based on ‘Pietistic’ traditions on missionary work in India.

The second chapter delineates the historical background of LMS, the ways in which it was designed to send missionaries to non-Western countries including India, modes of their visits, kinds of strategies they adopted and exemplifies how the LMS is different from other missionary organisations in its approach, adoption and assimilation.

The third chapter enumerates the school education system in South India, and the educational work had been undertaken by LMS. The study also looks into the aspect of missionary intention for the setting up of printing press, publication of text books, and establishment of *bazar* schools, adult education and public libraries, culminating into mass education, to argue that it was an attempt to keep the targeted people in tact.

The fourth chapter discusses the missionary attitude on higher education. It makes a critical analysis as to how higher education as an unavailable commodity became an available reality for the lower sections of the society, through the establishment of Scott Christian College. The ways in which the college played an appertaining and incisive role in catering to the needs of underprivileged as a centre of higher learning in South Travancore will also be discussed. The chapter will also explain the various stages of development—the college as a Central English school and Seminary during the early nineteenth century, a centre of higher learning, and analyse the enrollments, participation of girl students and prospective candidates.

The fifth chapter is a quintessential re-visit of women’s education and changes that took place during various stages. An attempt to display the diverse ways of women, in a range of contexts across the South India emerged actively in the nineteenth century to participate in the public sphere, would be critically dealt with. Women’s participation including a direct engagement with the growing discourses of consciousness of empowerment on the one hand, and challenging the social rigidity on the other, explain to

how far the traditional ethos underwent a historic transition to various facets of development will be given adequate importance. Attention is also given to the establishment of mission oriented schools, boarding schools for women, women missionaries for women, Bible women, and Zenana missions.

In the sixth chapter an attempt is made to explore the local response and resistance to missionary activities. It demonstrates the complex and paradoxical nature of missionary presence in Travancore. The reactionary response from nationalists and responsive reaction from maharajas, local kings and lower caste people on the other with special reference to religion and education will be critically explored and historically examined.

Chapter II

London Missionary Society

1. Formation of the LMS¹

The missionary movement from the West is an historical reality in countries like India.² The LMS³ was one of the predominant missionary societies to carry out religious work during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.⁴ Its idea to send missionaries to foreign countries was a result of the united efforts by leaders of different Christian denominations.

In September 1794, David Bogue, a priest of Gosport church and the head of Gosport Academy in England, later became one of the founders of the society,⁵ wrote an earnest appeal to Christians in London and its neighbourhood calling upon them, to combine

-
- 1 *Report of the Directors of the LMS in the Annual General Meeting* held on 13 May 1819, p. 1. See also John Morison, *The Fathers and Founders of the London Missionary Society*, The Caxton Press, London, 1839; William Ellis, *The History of the London Missionary Society*, London, 1844; London Missionary Society, *Fruits of Toil in the London Missionary Society*, John Snow & Co, London, 1869; C. S. Horne, *The Story of the LMS*, London, 1895; Lovett, *The History of the LMS*; Basil Mathews, *Builders in the Waste: The Popular Report of the London Missionary Society, London, 1915-16*, 1916; A. H. Cullen, *Blazing the Trail: London Missionary Society*, London, 1916; Cecil Northcott, *Glorious Company: One Hundred and Fifty Years life and work of the London Missionary Society, 1795-1945*, The Livingstone Press (L.M.S), London, 1945; Norman Goodall, *The History of the London Missionary Society, 1895-1945*, Oxford University Press, London, 1954. See also Harris, *Pioneers of London Missionary Society*, pp. 17-20. Also see A.H. Cullen, *Blazing the Trail: Some LMS Pioneers of 1816*, London Missionary Society, London, 1904. Roger H Martin, The Place of the London Missionary Society in the Ecumenical Movement, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, vol. 31, no. 3. July 1980, pp. 285-291.
 - 2 Walls, *The Cross-Cultural Process in Christian History*, pp. 1-10. Also see Lamin O. Sanneh, Andrew F. Walls, Akinunde E. Akinade (eds), *A New Way: Essays on World Christianity in honour of Lamin Sanneh*, Peter Lang, New York, 2010, pp. 1-20. See also Jeffrey Cox, *The British Missionary Enterprise Since 1700*, Routledge, New York, 2008, pp. 1-21.
 - 3 Morison, *The Fathers and Founders of the London Missionary Society*, p. vii.
 - 4 Goodall, *A History of the London Missionary Society*, p. 2. Also see Robert W. Merry, *Sands of Empire: Missionary Zeal, American Foreign Policy and the Global Ambition*, Simon & Schuster, New York, 2005, p. 408.
 - 5 Goodall, *A History of the London Missionary Society*, pp. 2-3. See also Thomas Jafferson, Barbara B. Oberg, *The Papers of Thomas Jafferson*, vol. 38, Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 2011, p. 563.

all their efforts for carrying into effect the commission of a new society. Bogue's letter in an *Evangelical Magazine* appealed for all major denominations, including the Church of England, and Baptists, who had already formed Baptist Missionary Society. He felt that it was the time for his denomination, Presbyterian, to follow the suit.⁶ Bogue observed many of his Christian brethren were roused and interested on the theme.⁷ Accordingly, the founding fathers of what soon to be called the 'Missionary Society' (later London Missionary Society) met at the Dissenter's Library, Red Cross Street in London, to discuss missions in general and Melville Horne's letter, *Letters on Missions: Addressed to the Protestant Ministers of the British Churches*, in particular. In September 1794, Bogue had a sermon at Founder's Hall, addressed to a group of evangelicals on the formation of the missionary society.⁸

It was on 8th January 1795, leaders including David Bogue, Thomas Haweis, John Eyre, Alexander Waugh, James Steven, John Love, and Matthew Wilks met at Baker's Coffee House in London to formally plan the new organization and form its first committee. Thomas Haweis, priest in the Church of England at the inaugural meeting of the new society declared that the petty distinctions among them of names and forms, the adversities of administrations and modes of church order, should be merged in the 'greater, nobler, and characteristic name of Christians.'⁹ Consequently, an address to pastors and friends was published in the *Evangelical Magazine* in January 1795 accompanied by an appealing letter from John Love, a Presbyterian priest.¹⁰

A committee of nine ministers was formed for correspondence to communicate and circulate the society matters in the city and the countryside.¹¹ In a statement David Bogue formulated the formation of the society and summoned into action. The formation event was addressed to Christians throughout the United Kingdom and 15000 copies of his address were distributed at different parts of the country. The group had

6 Staurt Piggin, *Making Evangelical Missionaries 1789-1858*, The Sutton Courtenay Press, 1984, Appendix, p. 213-234.

7 Morison, *The Fathers and Founders of the London Missionary Society*, pp. ix-x.

8 Ellis, *The History of the London Missionary Society*, p. 22.

9 Goodall, *A History of the London Missionary Society*, p. 3.

10 Morison, *The Fathers and Founders of the London Missionary Society*, p. xii.

11 *Ibid.*, p. xiv.

grown into a larger body of friends later and preparatory meetings were held and minutes were signed by them.¹² The members agreed to attach their names to a declaration of their desire to promote the organization of a missionary society and requested John Love to be its secretary. The committee also nominated twenty five men as directors to deal with the day-to-day activities of the society.¹³ By September 1795, the Society was named as ‘Missionary Society.’¹⁴

Joseph Hardcastle, a merchant of London, had ability to organize with his familiar intercourse, attracted a great deal of things, including drafting of documents, furnishing evidences of accounts, became the treasurer. Identified for his ‘cherished mind’ and ‘Christian hospitality,’ Hardcastle had long been pledged to the cause of missions, had already devoted much of his time and property to the furtherance of the Society, chaired most of the meetings of the directors. Many of the early documents of the society, such as its instructions to missionaries, annual reports, occasional address to the public, letters to colonial governors, and other despatches, were prepared by Hardcastle.¹⁵

In addition to this, a public meeting was held in September 1795 to popularize the plan of the Society. It was resolved that the Missionary Society should be changed into London Missionary Society. It became a reality only after the 25th General Meeting of the Directors held in London on 14 May 1818.¹⁶ The sole object was to spread the knowledge of Christ among ‘heathen’ and other ‘unenlightened’ nations. Persons subscribing one guinea, or more, amounting to fifty pounds, or upwards were made members. General

12 Morison, *The Fathers and Founders of the London Missionary Society*, pp. xiii-xiv.

13 Ellis, *The History of the London Missionary Society*, p. 28. See also Morison, *The Fathers and Founders of the London Missionary Society*, p. 52.

14 The pillars of the English missionary movement were its five largest denominational missionary societies: the Anglican evangelical Church Missionary Society (CMS), the high church Anglican Society for the Propagation of Gospel (SPG), the (largely) congregational LMS, the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society (WMMS), and the Baptist Missionary Society (BMS). The denominational societies were the leaders of concerted missionary effort. In 1899, contributions to foreign missions and their auxiliary societies from all sources in the United Kingdom stood at about 1,600,000 pounds, of this seventy-two per cent of English contribution went into these five largest established denominational societies. Goodall, *A History of the London Missionary Society*, p. 3. Also see Ellis, *The History of the London Missionary Society*, p. 22. See also Robert A. Bickers and Rosemary Seton (eds), *Missionary Encounters*, Curzon Press, Surrey, 1996, pp. 15-16.

15 Morison, *The Fathers and Founders of the London Missionary Society*, pp. 66-67.

16 LMS Directors’ Report, London, 1819, pp. 1-10. See also *Evangelical Magazine*, London, June, 1818, p. 263. Also see Goodall, *A History of the London Missionary Society*, p. 3.

Meetings were proposed to be held annually in London. The meeting also decided to elect twenty five directors from its members. Donations, legacies, subscriptions, and collections were some of the strategies to raise funds for the organisation. The Secretary received salary as decided by directors but the directors transacted the business of the society without any emolument.¹⁷

The declaration of the object for which the directors of the society had united was approved by the members present in the meeting, held on the 17th of February 1796.¹⁸ This meeting necessitated the need for further course of action. Accordingly, the Society's 'future plan' was discussed in the first general body meeting held in London in the same year, where about two hundred clergymen from different denominational background attended.

Its 'fundamental principles,' on which the work was established, entered in the society's 'by-laws' on 9th May 1796.¹⁹ John Eyre, who pioneered largely on the formation, naming, selecting the directors, and also holding a three-fold character of director, editor of the *Evangelical Magazine*, and one of the secretaries of the society, originated the conception of a union of various denominations,²⁰ so it was declared that the union of Christians of various denominations in carrying on this work is the most desirable object. It was declared to be a fundamental principle of the missionary society that its design was not to send Presbyterianism, Independency, Episcopacy, or any other form of church order and government, but the gospel of the blessed God, to the 'heathen.'²¹

The directors, including Samuel Greathead, independent pastor at Newport Pagnell, appealed to Wesleyans and Baptists to support the Society. As a part of its extension work the LMS founders decided to include in their society Anglicans, Arminian Methodists, and even Baptists, as well as the Calvinistic independents.²² Despite the

17 Morison, *The Fathers and Founders of the London Missionary Society*, pp. xxii-xxiii.

18 Ellis, *The History of the London Missionary Society*, p. 18. Also see *The Chronicle of the London Missionary Society*, John Snow & Company, 1894.

19 *Report of the Directors of the LMS in the Annual General Meeting held on 13 May 1819*, p. 1.

20 Morison, *The Fathers and Founders of the London Missionary Society*, p. 9.

21 LMS Directors' Report, London, 1819, pp. 1-10. Also see Goodall, *A History of the London Missionary Society*, p. 3.

22 Piggin, *Making Evangelical Missionaries*, p. 108.

fact that the LMS was considered to be an interdenominational missionary organisation,²³ though its fundamental principles, the Anglicans, Welsh Calvinistic Methodists, Baptists, Wesleyans, and Presbyterians had a kind of suspicion on LMS for its close identification with the Congregational denomination. Piggin, one of the authorities on the LMS argued that the rigidity of denominationalism at the time could be interpreted as a ‘solid achievement,’ but it could hardly be hailed as a ‘major ecumenical victory.’²⁴

British Parliament and East India Company had similar views on sending missionaries to India. The Clapham Evangelicals along with William Wilberforce, a member of the British Parliament and Charles Grant, a former East India Company colonial official,²⁵ actively involved in debates and discussions in promoting their religion outside London in general and British colonies in particular, as they felt that the observations made by colonial officials on Indian subjects were worth referred to.

For the founders of the LMS the voyages of exploration had providentially opened an entirely new field before them in 1790s as they saw it as a challenge to Christians who had remained ‘safe’ in Europe.²⁶ Hardcastle, the treasurer of the LMS asserted that there was ample funds in hand ‘to secure a vessel devoted solely to the missionary object,’ and urged that at least twenty missionaries should be sent, so as to exhibit a ‘model of the happiness,’ amongst whom they were supposed to work. So, for the sum of £ 4,800, the ship Duff of 300 tons of weight was bought. On the 9th of August 1796, the Duff carried thirty missionaries, twenty men, two boys, six women (wives of missionaries), and three children, and had its maiden voyage towards South Seas Islands, Tahiti, New South Wales, China and Malacca.²⁷ The ship also carried some of the sympathizers of

23 Goodall, *A History of the London Missionary Society*, p. 2.

24 Piggin, *Making Evangelical Missionaries*, pp. 109-110.

25 Charles Grant, worked more than twenty years in India, wrote an article on *Observations on the state of society among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain, particularly with respects to morals; and on the means of improve it*, in London in 1792. He also became a member of British Parliament in 1794 and was also appointed as a Director of East India Company in 1802.

26 Kirsten Murray, ‘In the Shadow of the Missionary Captain: Captain James Wilson and the LMS Mission to the Pacific,’ *International Bulletin for the Missionary Research*, vol. 31, no. 2, April 2007, p. 73.

27 Harris, *Pioneers of London Missionary Society*, pp. 21-23. See also Ellis, *The History of the London*

LMS coupled with the spirit of the merchant adventurism.²⁸ Hence, attempts to unify members of different denominational backgrounds gave the LMS a new idea of reaching out to people of other countries.

Another effort was put forth in 1814 to obtain a missionary ship. The new ship building project of the *Haweis*, initiated in November 1817, made its first voyage to the Society Islands. The LMS built *The Messenger of Peace* was not a successful one as it got stranded at the Rarotonga Island. Williams, a missionary of the LMS started building a ship very soon with the help of natives in less than four months time, and travelled towards Raiatea, and visited Tongatabu and Samoa islands. The LMS directors' sought and appealed earnestly the general public to contribute for a new missionary ship, *Camden*. *Camden*, had its maiden journey on 11 April 1836, sailed towards the Cape of Good Hope, and visited Tahiti and the Society islands and again went to Samoa, and served the society for seven successful years before returning to England in July 1843.²⁹ The LMS launched another missionary ship, one of the largest, 'John Williams,' in the memory of its former missionary John Williams in 1844 in England.³⁰

Charles Buck, an independent priest, in his landmark sermon preached in 1800 for the LMS, valued strongly the success of the society, as its worthy and zealous patrons expected, the union of so many different sects into one body, and its combined influence of some of the most interesting things the religious world exhibited.³¹ Claudius Buchanan, the Vice-Provost of Fort Williams College, Calcutta, observed that the London Missionary Society, which was initiated on the 'liberal principles,' had well-grounded confidence in the ultimate success of the great design. The ways in which the society purchased a ship and sent the first trip of missionaries to the Pacific according to him was a 'great event in the history of the missions.'³²

Missionary Society, p. 40.

28 Harris, *Pioneers of LMS*, pp. 20-21.

29 Ebenezer Prout, *Missionary Ships Connected with the London Missionary Society*, London Missionary Society, London, 1865, pp. 52-60.

30 *Ibid.*, pp. 60-104.

31 Piggin, *Making Evangelical Missionaries*, Appendix, p. 39.

32 Claudius Buchanan, *Christian Researches in Asia*, published by Richard Scott, New York, 1812, pp. 57-58.

2. Purpose of the Society

The first idea of sending out missionaries to foreign lands was conceived by Thomas Haweis, the then Rector of Aldwingle Seminary.³³ In fact, the LMS, aimed at sending missionaries to the Pacific, Central Asia, India, China, Ceylon and West Indies in the early nineteenth century.³⁴ An essay in the form of a letter, written by William Carey, the founder of the Baptist Missionary Society, who was already there in India as a missionary, 'On Enquiry,' stressed the need of sending missionaries to India. The letter sent to John Ryland of Bristol,³⁵ which narrated Carey's first six weeks in Bengal, necessitated the 'urgent need' of sending the fellow country men as missionaries to unknown lands.³⁶

The LMS sent out its missionaries to carry out religious work in Papua, India, China, Madagascar, and Africa. Its work among the people of southern part of India, the scattered inhabitants of the North China plain, the forest lands of Madagascar, and in Central African territories from which slavery and tribal warfare had not yet vanished then, played a crucial role³⁷ in presenting Christianity as a 'necessary appendage' to the process of modernization. Promoting a 'progressive outlook' and contributing to alternative models of social behavior, with a view to liberate the savaged masses from slavery, illiteracy and other social evils were some of the objectives of the mission.³⁸

The LMS had made its beginning with few candidates selected on the principles laid down by Thomas Haweis and most of them were laymen. Initially, a party of thirty missionaries along with their wives and children were sent out to Pacific islands in 1796. Four of them were dissenting members. The team also included six carpenters, two weavers, two tailors, two bricklayers, two shoemakers, a harness-maker, a gardener, a cooper, a hatter, a shopkeeper, a gentleman's servant, a blacksmith, a

33 Ellis, *The History of the London Missionary Society*, pp. 20-21.

34 Anna Johnston, 'The Book Eaters: Textuality, Modernity, and the London Missionary Society,' *American Theological Library Journal*, Semeia, 2001, p. 13.

35 Goodall, *A History of the London Missionary Society*, pp. 2-3.

36 C. Silvester Horne, *The Story of the LMS, 1795-1994: With maps and many illustrations*, London Missionary Society, John Snow & Co., London, 1894, p. 4.

37 Goodall, *A History of the London Missionary Society*, p. 6.

38 Quoted in Anna Johnson, *The Book Eaters*, p. 32.

surgeon,³⁹ a cotton worker, a linen draper, and a cabinet maker.⁴⁰

The LMS missionaries who went to Pacific island had mixed objectives. In India the LMS expanded its role from evangelism to education as a way to spread the former. Benjamin Rice, a missionary of LMS worked in Bangalore and other stations of Madras Presidency from 1836 to 1887, wrote that he looked upon education as a very important means of diffusing the Gospel in India with special reference to education on Christian principles.⁴¹

The missionary strategist Rufus Anderson commented that the missionary society was a voluntary organization, to reach masses.⁴² This particular idea is one of the salient features of the LMS, where the society had a much bigger affair of influencing masses on regular participation, and developed means of communication at national, provincial and rural levels. The LMS could influence the people largely because the founding members and sponsors like David Bogue and George Burder, who were more recognised than many of their contemporaries. In fact, they experimented the idea in London and Warwickshire by collecting and influencing a bulk of volunteers, sponsors and collectors.⁴³ The missionaries, in some cases, had to defend themselves, in favour of helping and protecting the rights of the people in the places they worked. It is clearly evident in India from missionary records but the way in which it was applied differed from region to region.⁴⁴

3. Background of the Missionaries

The LMS was preferred by missionaries of different denominational backgrounds for its selection of candidates, position of the leading missionaries, and its inclusion of people

39 At that time, of course, an occupation mainly concerned with sawing off damaged limbs, and still associated with the barbers.

40 Walls, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History*, p. 166.

41 Goodall, *A History of the London Missionary Society*, p. 459.

42 Cited in Walls, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History*, p. 250.

43 Walls, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History*, p. 250.

44 Geoffrey A. Oddie, *Imagined Hinduism: British Protestant Constructions of Hinduism, 1793-1900*, Sage, 2006, New Delhi, 2006, p. 273. Also see Walls, *The Cross-Cultural Process in Christian History*, p. 96.

even from the lower ranks of English society.⁴⁵ It had the support of many members of Church of England also known as Dissenter ministers, expatriate Scottish community in London, and Anglicans like Thomas Haweis and Rowland Hill. The LMS also made it clear that the deficiencies of the missionaries in formal education would not be a hindrance to the spread of gospel as the society valued practical skills to its positive advantage.⁴⁶

The LMS in Europe and America selected more than 2500 missionaries, in between 1795 and 1950s, and sent them to various parts of the world including Africa, Madagascar, India, Ceylon and China. Among them there were 151 missionaries holding university degrees, sixty six with medical degrees, and 85 were non-medical backgrounds. Most of the LMS missionaries with university training were from Scotland.⁴⁷ Language difficulty was easily sorted out by missionaries as they could learn the local languages of the countries wherever they were sent with the help of language experts and local converts.⁴⁸

It is to be noted that the LMS had its large chunk of missionaries from lower strata of the society.⁴⁹ In the nineteenth century missionaries came largely from the semi-skilled and artisan classes. They were neither from middle nor from working class but were comprised of those who felt society deprived them of ‘deserved status’ and privilege and who constantly sought rectification by way of radical social change, and so ‘not quite gentlemen.’⁵⁰ But with India the case was different. Those who were selected for

45 Walls, *The Cross-Cultural Process in Christian History*, pp. 98-100.

46 Rhoda Anne Semple, *Missionary Women: Gender, Professionalism, and the Victorian Idea of Christian Mission*, The Boydell Press, New York, 2003, p. 62. Also see Walls, *The Cross-Cultural Process in Christian History*, p. 226.

47 Robert A. Bickers and Rosemary Seton (eds), *Missionary Encounters: Issues and Sources*, Curzon Press, London, 1992, p. 152. Also see Walls, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History*, pp. 189-192.

48 Basil Mathews, *Builders in the Waste: The Popular Report of the London Missionary Society*, 1916, London, p. 10.

49 Duncan B. Forrester, *Caste and Christianity: Attitudes and Policies on Caste of Anglo-Saxon Protestant Missions in India*, Curzon Press, London, 1980, pp. 193-202. Also see C. P. Williams, ‘‘Not Quite Gentlemen’’: an Examination of ‘Middling Class’ Protestant Missionaries from Britain, 1850-1900,’ *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, vol. 31, no. 3, July 1980, pp. 301-315.

50 Piggin, *Making Evangelical Missionaries*, p. 37. See also Williams, ‘Not Quite Gentlemen,’ pp. 301-315.

India during the second half of nineteenth century, about one-fifth in the sample of sixty candidates were young men studying in different colleges in Europe.⁵¹

A considerable number of missionaries with less educational qualifications considered their induction marked the status of 'worldly advancement'. On the other hand, the directors of the society were keen on achieving the educational standards necessary for ordination. Accordingly, the missionaries who were selected were offered free education and training at Gosport Academy in London,⁵² a missionary centre for training men for overseas work, as well as for the home field.

Noted as an 'upward mobile group,' missionaries who came from 'occupational groups' were looking and even campaigning for greater recognition in the places where they were working⁵³ and mastered over many languages in India.⁵⁴ They were keen on showing interest in every aspect to reach people through vernacular language. Similarly, the heads of missionaries in London were kept informed of issues relating to their salaries, budget for the year and other crucial events.⁵⁵

There were missionaries drawn from different streams. Many a times, printers, booksellers, drapers, grocers, farm labourers, shoemakers, carpenters, servants, cabinetmakers, gardeners, ironmongers, sailors, shop assistants, tailors, engravers, brewers, soldiers, weavers, bookbinders, butchers, coopers, curriers, cutters, glovers, hosiery manufacturers, house painters, master dyers, miners, molecatchers, potters, silkmercers, silver platers, stone masons, surgical instrument makers, umbrella manufacturers, woolcombers, and traders opted for missionary work.⁵⁶

51 Quoted in Geoffrey A. Oddie, *Social Protest in India: British Protestant Missionaries and Social Reforms 1850-1900*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1979, p. 12. See *LMS Candidates Papers, 1796-1899* and Answers to Printed Questions, Boxes 26-28, CWM Archives, London.

52 Lovett, *History of the LMS*, pp. 668-670.

53 Piggin, *Making Evangelical Missionaries*, p. 36. See also Antony Copley, *Religions in Conflict: Ideology, Cultural Contact and Conversion in Late Colonial India*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1999, p. 10.

54 Horne, *The Story of the LMS*, p. 275.

55 Norman Goodall, *A History of the London Missionary Society*, p. 34.

56 Piggin, *Making Evangelical Missionaries*, p. 33-36.

Wardlaw Thomson, who worked at Bellary station and later became the foreign secretary of the LMS opined that they had ‘splendid, capable and devoted workers’⁵⁷ and showed unwavering attitude towards school education in arranging school building, getting books, performing or streamlining the curriculum, collecting students from the unlettered families, clothing and feeding the students, selecting teachers of different categories -- elementary, lower and upper primary, high school and matriculation, raising funding for their salaries.⁵⁸

4. Arrival of LMS Missionaries in India

Ever since the LMS was formed the directors and board members had deep insight and were keen on sending its missionaries to India. They realized the difficulty that reaching India in 1795 was a serious undertaking, involving a voyage of long and uncertain duration. When the society decided to send missionaries to India, they knew so little of the country. According to Lovett, not even one percent of the supporters of missionary enterprise could name the chief languages spoken in India.⁵⁹

For missionaries, India was known to be a country, where the people were dominated by the powerful dogmatic religious superstitions and birth dictates caste oppression and utmost gender disparity. They conceived that the Indian people were self-contained, and never knew anything about enlightenment and Christianity, and were unlettered for centuries. The directors in London, spent few years in discussion, had explained the missionaries that there were ‘strong forces’ against the gospel in India mainly from the Hindus, their manners, customs, laws and beliefs and from the East India Company, who were the rulers of majority of the parts of India.⁶⁰

The LMS missionary E. P. Rice observed that the institution of caste, was characterized by division of people into many sections, absence of all religious and social liberty,

57 Goodall, *A History of the London Missionary Society*, p. 12.

58 Semple, *Missionary Women*, pp. 13-14. See also Goodall, *A History of the London Missionary Society*, p. 34. Also see Sally K. May, *Collecting Cultures*, Altamira Press, Plymouth, England, 2010, p. 81.

59 Lovett, *History of the London Missionary Society*, II, pp. 3-4.

60 Oddie, *Imagined Hinduism: British Protestant Constructions of Hinduism*, p. 81. Also see Lovett, *History of the London Missionary Society*, II, p. 4.

perverted standard of conduct, oppressive supremacy of the Brahman class, the polytheistic idolatry, fear of malignant demons, pantheistic teaching, degradation of woman, oppression of low castes and superstitious beliefs and corrupt practices.⁶¹ Hence, missionaries were keen on identifying a frugal, home loving, docile, courteous, and religious people to make them to be a part of their religion.⁶² In fact it was considered by the LMS as one of its tasks.

William Carey, the first Protestant missionary who arrived in Bengal at the end of the eighteenth century attracted a great deal of attention of LMS missionaries. Carey's 'attempt great things for God' slogan was later followed by many missionary societies in general and LMS in particular. Declaring Carey as their model the missionaries of the LMS, set the ground ready to reach India.⁶³ Andrew Porter argued that as agents of enlightenment, missionaries saw themselves as entering worlds without science, achieving 'heroic status' in significant measure by their efforts to introduce new knowledge and technology.⁶⁴

Since its inception and the first eight years of its existence the society was able to send and to maintain in India only one solitary missionary. Nathaniel Forsyth, the first LMS missionary came to India in 1797, was basically denied permission into the East India Company's territory. G. Georgely, one of his immediate successors in the Bengal Mission noted that he had no dwelling-place, but lived in a small boat in which he went up and down to preach at the different towns on the banks of the river.⁶⁵ He was forced to live in the Danish settlement, at Chinchurah in Bengal, though he was allowed to come occasionally to Calcutta and preach in the General Hospital. Forsyth sent his report in 1798 to the home society in London updating the difficulties he underwent.⁶⁶ It was

61 Lovett, *History of the London Missionary Society*, II, pp. 4-10.

62 Kenneth Scott Latourette, *Christianity Through the Ages*, Harper & Row, New York, 1965, p. 215. Also see Lovett, *History of the London Missionary Society*, II, p. 7. See also Patrick Harries & David Maxwell (eds) *The Spiritual in the Secular: Missionaries and Knowledge about Africa*, William Eerdmans' Publishers, London, 2012, p. 215.

63 Lovett, *History of the London Missionary Society*, II, p. 11.

64 Andrew Porter (ed.), *The Imperial Horizons of British Protestant Missions, 1880-1914*, William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, Grand Rapids, 2003, p. 7.

65 Lovett, *History of the London Missionary Society*, II p. 15

66 Penelope Carson, *The East India Company and Religion 1698-1858*, Boydell Press, Woodbridge, 2012, p. 55. Also see Lovett, *History of the London Missionary Society*, II, p. 12. See also Anna

during this period the Danish Government, which owned a small patch of land around Serampore, through its officials, opened the doors to missionaries, William Carey and his colleagues, Joshua Marshman and William Ward of Baptist Mission, a close ally of LMS in London.⁶⁷ Baptist missionaries and the LMS did their religious work only in few places. After eighteen years of work, Forsyth died at Chandernagore on 14th February 1816, at the age of 47.⁶⁸

When the LMS realised that it was a difficult task to convert more people to their religion, it aimed at extending its territory in South India. The society's idea to widen its operations to South India, particularly to the Tamil and Telugu districts, was aroused initially by the invitations received from Danish missionaries of Tranquebar John, Rottler and Caemmerer.⁶⁹ In their letter of December 1799 to the directors of the LMS, they appealed that:

Most happy we should find ourselves, if your Ministers should also come into our vicinity; we should embrace them as brethren in Christ, and be with them of one spirit.⁷⁰

When the intentions of LMS to begin its religious work in South India were known to missionaries in London, W.T. Ringeltaube came forward and offered his willingness to go to India. The directors of the society readily accepted his offer as they felt that his previous experience as a missionary in India in connection with S.P.C.K was 'encouraging.'⁷¹ In 1804, a group of six missionaries was sent out by the LMS to establish mission stations both in Ceylon and South India.⁷²

Johnston, *Missionary Writing and Empire*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 2003, p. 65.

67 Lovett, *History of the London Missionary Society*, II, pp. 12-14.

68 The LMS missionary J. H. Budden and his wife travelled northward to Almora, in 1850s and started a mission at this station in the hill country near the source of the Ganges, and made one of the most striking development of the mission by establishing an asylum for the most despised and most piteous class of all sufferers-the lepers. These miserable creatures were utterly uncared for when Budden went to Almora. Indeed they were shunned and regarded with horror by their fellow-creatures. The Leper Asylum became a veritable city of refuge, where at least they might live and die in peace, and the arrival of the missionary couple was something of the reality of the 'divine compassion.' See for details, Horne, *The Story of the LMS*, pp. 282-283. Also see, Lovett, *History of the London Missionary Society*, II p. 15.

69 Jacob, *A History of the London Missionary Society*, pp. 19-20.

70 C. M. Agur, *Church History of Travancore*, SPS Press, Madras, 1903, p. 464.

71 Agur, *Church History of Travancore*, pp. 464-465.

72 Horne, *The Story of the LMS*, p. 93.

Apart from Ringeltaube, the first batch of LMS missionaries to South India⁷³ included Augustus Desgranges and George Cran, who reached Tranquebar, identified as the cradle of Protestant mission in India, on 5th December 1804, and the other two missionaries went to Ceylon.⁷⁴ Making use of Tranquebar as their base, these men, soon supplemented and strengthened by others, further extended their missionary work in various parts of Ceylon, Travancore, Madras, Vizakapatnam, Surat, and Bellary.⁷⁵ It should be particularly noted that the society had left the choice of stations entirely to the discretion of the missionaries not to the directors. Hence, Ringeltaube was sent to superintend the churches already established in Tinnevely, where no preachers settled till 1771. He was made in charge of the region as the region was noted for absence of resident missionaries. Yet, itinerant preachers occasionally travelled to the place to do evangelization work.⁷⁶

According to missionary records, Cran and Desgranges were sent to extend their religious work among the people of the Telugu districts, a distance of 500 miles away from the other missionaries. When Cran and Des Granges were invited by a civil servant to Palamcotta and Travancore, they refused as they wanted to keep themselves from colonial officials. They were keen on observing and learning vernacular languages. On the language spoken in Travancore they wrote that it was entirely different from Tamil. On the geographical land scape they noted that a great part of it was covered with wood.⁷⁷ They remained there in Tranquebar for a few months, studied

73 Lawrence Kitzan, 'The London Missionary Society and the Problem of Authority in India, 1798-1833,' *Church History*, vol. 40, no. 4, December, 1971, pp. 457- 473. The Baptist Missionary Society, formed in 1792, sent its first missionary, William Carey to India in 1793 at Serampore, near Calcutta, and the Anglican Church Missionary Society sent its missionaries since 1813 onwards after the passing of the Charter Act.

74 Mateer, *Land of Charity*, pp. 258-270; also see Yesudas, *History of the LMS*, p. 26. See also Lovett, *History of the London Missionary Society*, pp. 18-19.

75 Lovett, *History of the London Missionary Society*, II, p. 20.

76 Kooiman, *Conversion and Equality*, p. 58. Also see Agur, *Church History of Travancore*, p. 474. See also Yesudas, *History of the London Missionary Society*, p. 31.

77 Agur, *Church History of Travancore*, p. 471.

the vernacular languages and then moved to Telugu speaking areas.⁷⁸

Ringeltaube, the first LMS missionary to Madras Presidency, was a remarkable German, born at Silesia in 1770 and educated at Halle University. In 1797 he went to Calcutta as a missionary of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (SPCK), but soon returned to England. In 1803 he joined the LMS and again came to India as a missionary to Madras Presidency in 1804. When Ringeltaube was urged by his own missionary colleagues and others to settle in Madras, he assiduously set himself up to study Tamil language under the guidance of John at Tranquebar, and made up his determination, which he expressed in his letter from Tranquebar of the 29th January 1805 to the secretary in the following lines:

As soon as I am sufficiently advances in the language I mean to proceed to the Southward ... knowing of what importance for our society it is, that we should meet with a speedy success; and behold the fields are white for the harvest.⁷⁹

At this time, Gratian, who lived in Manappad wrote a letter to his missionary friend at Tranquebar, on 8th June 1805, in which he gave an account of the sufferings and persecutions of Tinnevelly Christians by their Hindu and Mohamedan neighbours. He impressed on his mind that the Christians would not have so much suffered if they had a single missionary to represent their affairs to Government and plead for them. He further earnestly requested Ringeltaube to hasten to the rescue of these suffering Christians.⁸⁰ When Ringeltaube was hesitating in his mind in August he received many more letters from 'sympathizing friends' from various parts of Tinnevelly urging him to devote his attention for the amelioration of the poor Christians of Tinnevelly whose persecution had greatly increased by then. He began to weigh in his mind that in Tinnevelly and Travancore there were men to follow Christ with better motives than mere pecuniary help from missionaries.⁸¹ In February 1806, Ringeltaube could lent a little horse owned by a Portuguese merchant, visited all the scattered Christians in the

78 Goodall, *History of the London Missionary Society*, p. 58. Also see Agur, *Church History of Travancore*, p. 465.

79 Agur, *Church History of Travancore*, pp. 466-469.

80 William Robinson, *Ringeltaube, the Rishi*, Sheffield Press, Sheffield, 1908, pp. 70-85. Also see Agur, *Church History of Travancore*, pp. 482-483.

81 Ringeltaube admired the activity of the Roman Catholic missionaries who had already established thriving missions between Tanjore and Tinnevelly. Agur, *Church History of Travancore*, p. 484.

villages of South of Palamcotta in six days.⁸²

After having visited the Christian villages, Ringeltaube preferred and decided to go to South Travancore on the invitation of Vedamanickam,⁸³ a recent convert from Mayiladi,⁸⁴ a tiny village, near Kanyakumari (Cape Comorin) and reached there on 25th April 1806.⁸⁵

Travancore was a little kingdom in the south-west coast of India, where Ringeltaube began to work among people of different castes. Ringeltaube, who initiated a range of culturally sensitive programmes, were directed largely against Brahmins of Travancore.⁸⁶ In his letter of 25th April, 1806 he said that:

My timid companions trembled at every step, being now on ground altogether in the power of the Brahmans, the sworn enemy of the Christian name...we were no more on British territory. I laid down to rest in a caravansary, appropriated for Brahmans only, when the magistrate immediately sent word for me to remove, otherwise their god would no more eat.⁸⁷

From 1806 to 1810 Ringeltaube carried on an active evangelistic work in Tinnevelly, with Palamcottah as his centre, paying also frequent visits to Travancore. He immensely sympathized with the suffering converts, and attributed all their failings to poverty. He said that his heart was bleeding for the suffering Christians.⁸⁸ Similarly the ways in which he travelled to different parts of the district and the manner he was helped by colonial Resident were mentioned in a letter of 11th September 1806, which he had written to the directors of the society in London. It said:

I have taken *ad-interim*, charge of the Mission in Palamcotta, where I have labored

82 Agur, *Church History of Travancore*, p. 492.

83 Vedamanickam, also called as Maharasan before conversion, was a devout Hindu, went to a pilgrimage to the holy Saivite temple at Chidambaram in Tanjore to receive spiritual enlightenment, but on his way back turned to a church, where his relatives were attending, and embraced Christianity. He met Ringeltaube at Tranquebar and invited him to come to South Travancore. See J.W. Gladstone, *Protestant Missionary and Peoples Movement in Kerala, 1850-1936*, Seminary Publications, Kerala United Theological Seminary, Trivandrum, 1984, pp. 58-59.

84 Hacker, *A Hundred Years in Travancore*, p. 20. Also see William Robinson, 'Where the Peacocks Dance – The Story of Maharasan,' *The Chronicle of the LMS*, May 1903, p. 107.

85 Kawashima, *Missionaries*, p. 55.

86 Horne, *The Story of the LMS*, p. 93.

87 Lovett, *History of the London Missionary Society*, II, pp. 27-28.

88 Agur, *Church History of Travancore*, p. 503.

these last six months, travelling from congregation to congregation ... I have travelled ... 1000 miles mostly on horseback ... I have made a journey through Travancore and Cochin ... Col. Macauley obtained leave from the King to introduce our religion in that country.⁸⁹

Consequently, Colonel Macaulay, the British Resident in Travancore, exerted his influence to get permission from the Rajah to build a church and reside in the country at Mayiladi. Thus, the foundation of the Travancore Mission was inseparably linked with his name. Ringeltaube established seven chief centres of missionary work, six schools with 188 students within a span of eleven years when he departed from Mayiladi in 1816.⁹⁰

Some of the other popular LMS missionaries who worked in the southernmost part of India were, Frederick Baylis at Neyyoor, Samuel Mateer at Parassala, John Cox at Trivandrum, G.O. Newport at Parassala and Nagercoil, John Smith at Nagercoil and Quilon, Richard Knill, W. B. Addis, John Roberts, Charles Miller, J. O. Whitehouse, E. Lewis, S. Jones, A. L. Allen, J. E. Dennison, George Parker, Sydney Cave, R. H. Eastaff, G. W. Trovell, T. Y. Harris and G.H. Marsden- all at Nagercoil;⁹¹ H. T. Wills, T. W. Bach, Arthur Parker at Trivandrum, William Harris, J. C. Thompson, William Crowe, J. W. Gillies and W. J. Edmonds at Quilon. These missionaries were known not only for their religious work but educational and medical works at large.

The medical missionaries associated with Neyyoor Medical Mission hospital in Travancore were: Archibald Ramsay (1838-1840), Charles Leitch (1852-1854), John Lowe (1861-1868), Thomas Smith Thomson (1873-1885), E. Sargood Fry (1885-1892), Arthur Fells (1892-1905), Samuel Hickman Davies (1901-1902), William Charles Bentall (1902-1907), James Davidson (1905), Herbert Charles Orrin (1909-1910), Oswald Huntly Bulloch (1911-1913), Stephen Horatio Pugh (1912-1926), Garth Ap Thomas (1913-1916), Theodore Howard Somervell (1923-1945, 1948-49, 1950-51), Dudley P. Marks (1926-1928), Ian M. Orr (1927-1937), Miss Joan Thomson (1936-

89 Robinson, *Ringeltaube*, pp. 52-62. Also see Agur, *Church History of Travancore*, p. 507.

90 Lovett, *History of the LMS*, II, pp. 29-31. See also Michael Tharakan, 'Socio-Economic Factors in Educational Development: Case of Nineteenth Century Travancore,' Part I & II, *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol. 19, no. 46, November 17, 1984, pp. 1959-1967.

91 Hacker, *A Hundred Years in Travancore*, pp. 51-108. See also Appendix XVI.

1950), James Romanes Davidson (1937-1946), Geoffrey Wilberforce Milledge (1950) and Derek Griffin Jenkins (1950).⁹²The medical missionaries were in great demand by people and Travancore officials.

Charles Mead, a pioneering LMS missionary who worked in Travancore for more than thirty five years was appreciated by converts for his range of measures to uplift the weaker sections. John Abbs wrote that Mead was the founder of both Nagercoil and Neyyoor mission, father of the South Travancore Mission and the principal agent in the formation of (nearly) all the stations there. Bradley also expressed his views in line with John Abbs.⁹³

In this way religious centres were established in different towns of Madras Presidency with a view to preach and propagate their religion, which attracted a great deal of attention by people and native rulers who responded and reacted to missionary methods. By this handful of workers the foundations for missionary work in South India was carried on throughout the nineteenth century.

In the Madras city, there were great difficulties for the missionary work among natives. The LMS missionary Loveless was instrumental in founding the missionary station in 1805, where he established two large schools later. In 1816 Richard Knill reached Madras and returned back to Travancore due to some practical difficulties including economic compulsions. On Loveless, the first LMS missionary in Madras city Richard Lovett stated: "For many years Loveless received no pecuniary from the LMS. This is what every real minister will do, if he can, but every missionary has not the opportunity. No missionary on his arrival in Madras should go to an inn for accommodation while Loveless is alive. Loveless, who was a pioneer of the Madras mission served for 20 years."⁹⁴

92 *Report of Ten Years Work in connection with the South Travancore Medical Mission of the LMS for the Years 1901-1910, Including the Annual Report for 1910*, London Missionary Press, Nagercoil, 1910, pp. 13-19. *South Travancore Medical Mission, Annual Report for the Year 1913*, LMS, London Mission Press, Nagercoil, 1913, p. 4. Also see LMS Directors' Annual Report, London, 1939-1940, p. 4; Dhas, *Missionary Medical Work in Travancore*, pp. 159-161.

93 Agur, *Church History of Travancore*, p. 647.

94 Lovett, *History of the London Missionary Society*, II, pp. 41-42.

In Canara, the LMS was extended by John Hands. According to Joseph Mullens, a missionary historian the first attempt to missionary labour among the Canarese territory was made by John Hands in 1810 and followed by William Reeve.⁹⁵ John Hands founded the Bellary Mission of the LMS initially and expanded his territory towards Bangalore in 1820 and other areas in the succeeding years.⁹⁶ Hands, as his name speaks, not only put his hands in establishing a school for the children of the European and East Indian residents and a mission station, but also translated scriptures into Canarese (Kannada language). When Hands decided to make the instruction in the school more distinctly in Christian character, he faced native opposition initially. As a result, he opened another school for the natives. He was keen on visiting annual and other harvesting festivals. Particularly, in 1815, Hands visited the annual festival at Humpi, one of the largest gatherings in South India, where 200000 natives attended.⁹⁷

When the missionaries established their base in southernmost India, Augustus Desgranges and George Cran travelled northwards from Madras and reached Vizakapatam (at present Vishakapattanam or Vizag) and founded a mission in 1805.⁹⁸ Cran could learn the Telugu language and became a master over it in few years.⁹⁹ The LMS missionary navigators Daniel Tyerman and George Bennet visited Vizagapatnam in 1826 and witnessed by meeting missionaries Gordon and Dawson, who were doing their religious work among the people through establishing schools for the lower caste people.¹⁰⁰

Having started the Vizagapatam and Cuddapah mission stations very early, the LMS missionaries concentrated Kistna, Ganjam and Anantpur stations, where they served among the Telugu speaking population, particularly among the Malas and Madigas, and

95 Joseph Mullens, *Missions in South India*, W. H. Dalton, London, 1854, pp. 21, 12.

96 *LMS Directors' Annual Report*, 1821, p. 82.

97 Lovett, *History of the London Missionary Society*, II, pp. 42-43.

98 Lovett, *The History of LMS*. Also see Goodall, *The History of the London Missionary Society*.

99 David Bogue, *A Sermon on the Death of the Reverend George Cran, Augustus Desgranges and Jonathan Brain, Missionaries in India from London Missionary Society*, preached at Gosport, 17 March, 1811, American Edition, Boston, p. 23.

100 Daniel Tyerman & George Bennet, *Journal of Voyages & Travels*, vol.III, Crocker & Brewster, Boston, 1832, p. 32.

continued till the 1950s.¹⁰¹ Despite the fact that the LMS work among these untouchable castes, were found to be fruitful exercise, lack of popular and proper teachers refrained the society many a times not to expand their mission fields particularly establishments of new schools, as people, in some parts of the Madras Presidency were thronging to the mission schools for getting support.¹⁰²

It is to be stated that by 1860s, twelve hundred missionaries were involved in their work in various parts of the world, and of these, India had secured the largest share. Thus more than one third of the missionaries scattered through the world have been located within its ample territories.¹⁰³ In 1860s, there were thirty LMS missionaries-twenty two in the Madras Presidency and eight in Travancore.¹⁰⁴

According to LMS reports, the LMS committee in London sent at least 338 missionaries, both men and women in between 1797 and 1895. Out of these, 135 missionaries served in South India, 46 in Travancore, 91 in North India and only 9 in West India. There were 53 women missionaries served during this period in South India and four missionaries served in North India. 345 missionaries, both men and women worked in India during the period between 1895 and 1945.¹⁰⁵ The LMS missionaries, who headed the mission stations also appointed hundreds of native assistant missionaries and catechists. By and large, the numerical strength of women missionaries were very few compared to their male counterparts.

5. LMS Women Missionaries

The need for women missionaries was felt by the LMS when it was founded in London, though the society directors were not inclined to select and send women missionaries to

101 Harper, 'The Dornakal Church on the Cultural Frontier' in Judith M. Brown & Robert Eric Frykenberg (eds), *Christians, Cultural Interactions*, pp. 183-211.

102 Norman Goodall, *A History of the London Missionary Society*, p. 14.

103 Joseph Mullens, *Missions in South India*, W. H. Dalton, London, 1854, p. 1.

104 London Missionary Society, *Fruits of Toil in the London Missionary Society: Illustrated with maps and sketches*, John Snow and Ivy League, London, 1869, pp. 54-56.

105 Lovett, *A History of the London Missionary Society II*, pp. 737-741. Also see Goodall, *A History of the London Missionary Society*, pp. 595-623.

foreign countries¹⁰⁶ By the mid-nineteenth century there was a widespread view, particularly in the mission fields, that the chief obstacle to the successful transmission of the Christian message was the absence of women. The LMS, according to its records, seemed to have kept itself from recruiting women as missionaries during the early stages. Rather, the society utilized most of the wives of the missionaries for their service in their respective stations. The norms of selecting and sending women missionaries started only after the establishment of the LMS Ladies Committee in 1875.¹⁰⁷

Initially, women missionaries were supposed to engage in works other than evangelisation. The wives of the missionaries had very distinctive contribution at home affairs, an immense volume of works in schools and other institutions, hospitals and dispensaries, cottage and embroidery industries, in translation and literary work and also in the training of native women.¹⁰⁸

The LMS had set up its Ladies' Committee to oversee all aspects of the process of recruiting, selecting and placing suitable female missionaries in the field as Jane Haggis calls, 'professional ladies and superior talents,' as well as having responsibility for raising the funds to pay for this extension of the Society's work.¹⁰⁹ Until 1900, out of the 400 applications received by the Committee, only 186 were selected to the mission field, the remaining majority having been rejected as unsuitable, usually on the grounds of age and education. There were 35 women missionaries on the LMS Indian Staff in 1900 and were increased to 45 in 1920.¹¹⁰

LMS gave importance to single woman missionaries than the wives of the missionaries. When this woman missionary already holding an appointment in her own right married another missionary, intending to share his work, she was required to resign her position

106 Rosemary Seton, "'Open Doors for Female Labourers": Women Candidates of the London Missionary Society,' 1875-1914, in Robert A. Bickers and Rosemary Seton (eds), *Missionary Encounters*, pp. 50-69.

107 Goodall, *A History of the London Missionary Society*, p. 13.

108 *Ibid.*, p. 14.

109 Isabella Thoburn, 'The Power of Educated Womanhood,' *Ecumenical Missionary Conference, New York, 1900*, p.132. Also see Margaret C. Davis, 'Aim of Manual Training,' *Ecumenical Missionary Conference, New York, 1900*, pp. 181-182.

110 A.T.S. James, *Twenty-five years of the LMS, 1895-1920*, London Missionary Society, London, 1923, p. 44.

as a missionary. Norman Goodall argued that the habit of asking the woman missionary to resign during her marriage with another missionary never showed ingratitude on the part of the society, rather it registered the fact that the continuing service which she rendered was offered by her without any contractual obligation.¹¹¹ The women missionaries were offered 100 pounds per annum for their work apart from their facilities like house, maid and so on.¹¹²

They also continued their work when the salary was reduced to half. When there was a rumour that LMS was going to close down and transfer some of the stations and its institutions to other missionary organizations, several missionaries, particularly women missionaries went voluntarily on half-pay for a time in hope of staving off the disaster. It was during this period 'we can live on less' slogan became the order of the day. Writing on the restricted consumption during difficult times missionaries wrote that "it will chiefly mean economy in dress and elegance of life, the same black bonnet and serge dress year in year out, but it is worth being considered a dowdy old maid if we can supply the funds for fresh missionaries ' I am not in favour of consume ...'¹¹³

6. Contributions of the LMS Missionaries

In fact, there appeared to have been few restraints on the ecumenical enthusiasm, which marked the meetings in September 1795, when LMS was founded.¹¹⁴ The people in England and in the West, were generously willing to contribute missionary. John Williams, who was doing the missionary work with the LMS during the first decade of the nineteenth century, stated that when he asked for donations, people cheerfully offered and even requested him to write for contribution if required.¹¹⁵ This shows that the missionaries were fully supported by the people of the West in general and England in particular. In another case an individual who supplied ships with filtered water, filled the casks with upwards of twenty tons; and instead of receiving payment, which would

111 Goodall, *A History of the London Missionary Society*, p. 13.

112 *Social Science Probings*, vol. 17, Peoples Publishing House, New Delhi, 2005, p. 87. Goodall, *A History of the London Missionary Society*, p. 12.

113 Goodall, *A History of the London Missionary Society*, p. 33.

114 Piggin, *Making Evangelical Missionaries*, p. 108.

115 John Williams, *The missionary's Farewell: Valedictory services of the Rev. John Williams*, D. Appleton and Co., New York 1838, pp. 102-103.

perhaps cost forty or fifty shillings on being asked about the amount, John Williams replied:

I know for what this ship is going for, and I too will have the pleasure of giving a cup of cold water.¹¹⁶

The LMS missionaries, most of them, who were self-motivated, became achievers of converts in one way or the other. They made pioneering contributions in the languages, literature, cultural affairs, and carried out rich literacy, scientific and intellectual pursuits to human knowledge. A few among them achieved distinction as scholars, explorers, and collaborators. As lexicographers and philologists they excelled, reducing in many instances unwritten and obscure languages to written form, and produced the first grammars and dictionaries of common use. Much may be credited to their courageous pioneering as explorers.¹¹⁷

Historically, the LMS, from its first valedictory in 1796 until 1900, sent out 1120 missionaries, including women missionaries. Of these, 115, more than 10 per cent of the total missionary force produced original works. The society had its share of experts in many fields. They prepared grammars, modern vocabularies, and dictionaries in oriental languages. At least 146, or 13 percent, produced books in English or in the languages of the countries in which they worked and became authors. 22 of these 115 produced linguistic or lexical studies, grammars, dictionaries and so on. The language presented includes Chinese, Sanskrit, Hindi, Samoan, Motu, Herero, Bemba, Malagasy, and Modern Greek.¹¹⁸ The most considerable single achievement was undoubtedly James Legge's scholarly editions of the Chinese classics. The LMS missionaries of this period seemed to have been less notable as translators of Indian than of Chinese literature, though they produced historians of and commentators on Indian literature like E.P. Rice,

116 *Ibid.*, p. 103.

117 Missionaries had achieved unique results of scientific value in philology, as explorer, discoverer, inventor, and producers, and took long years of etymological and philological study with diligent practice. For details, see James S. Dennis, *Christian Missions and Social Progress*, vol. III, Fleming H. Revell Company, New York, 1906, pp. 406-417.

118 The LMS missionaries made remarkable contributions in the Polynesian languages of Tahiti, Rarotanga, Samoa, Niue, Lifu, Mare, Urea, and New Guinea, Malagasy literature also. The LMS missionary H. Nott translated Bible and other books into Tahitian language. Captain Hore of the LMS made the earliest scientific surveys of lake Tanganyika. For details James S. Dennis, *Christian Missions and Social Progress*, pp. 416-424.

who wrote a *History of Kanarese Literature*, Edwin Greaves, who shared in a descriptive catalogue of Hindu Christian Literature and, above all, John Nicol Farquhar, who was both a historian and interpreter of Indian religious traditions.¹¹⁹

The books they have written already form a considerable library corpus. Nearly half the missionary authors produced works which might be called descriptive, historical, anthropological, or literary. It includes some famous names and some famous books: the Milnes, *Father and Son*, Ellis, Moffat, John Williams, John Philip, George Turner, Livingstone, Chalmers, MacKenzie, MacGown, Slater, Gilmour, Sibree, Mathews, W.C. Willoughby, Mateer, and Farquhar, are some of the pioneering authors. Some of their works reflected a considerable scientific detail, presenting a serious anthropological recording and others displayed a careful historical research involving knowledge of oral and literary traditions.¹²⁰ Edwin Greaves, a language expert, was the principal of United Language School for Missionaries, authored *Grammar of Modern Hindi* (1896) and *Notes on the Grammar of the Ramayan of Tulsidas* (1896) apart from scripture translations.¹²¹

If there was one particular missionary organisation which had developed a big impact on the vernacular education and literature among the masses, particularly in India, it was the LMS. But one of the crucial implications of all missionary work in India in the nineteenth century was to be found in the vast changes produced among the unlettered Indian population.¹²² Observing missionary strategies and its implications on the lower caste people, Dennis noted that ‘the missionary must be a man of faith, and must serve in love and patience, if he aims to be the educator of Orientals. He must wait in humility and prayer upon the workings of the divine spirit. However ardently he may desire to record results, he must be content to refrain until they have been written first in the book of

119 Walls, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History*, pp. 189-192. Also see Robert A. Bickers and Rosemary Seton (eds), *Missionary Encounters: Issues and Sources*, Curzon Press, London, 1992, p. 152.

120 Some of the outstanding literary giants were: Nathan Brown in Telugu, Ziegenbalg in Tamil, Basel missionary Gundert in Malayalam and English, Lorrain and Savidge in Luishai, Andrew Campbell in Santhali. For details James S. Dennis, *Christian Missions and Social Progress*, p. 411. See also Walls, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History* p. 190.

121 Goodall, *A History of the London Missionary Society*, p. 31.

122 London Missionary Society, *Fruits of Toil in the London Missionary Society*, John Snow & Co, London, 1869, p. 56.

providence, where tune along will make them legible.¹²³ The ways in which the missionaries engaged in educational activities created historic impacts than their religious work. A large amount of LMS missionaries who represented Church of Scotland were more involved in educational endeavour than evangelistic activities in which they could achieve significant success.¹²⁴ This was largely credited to their dedication to learn native languages.

In a conference specially organised for the missionaries of LMS at Liverpool in 1860, the missionaries were reportedly instructed:

Every missionary going to a heathen land should thoroughly master the current vernacular and be able to address the people in their own tongue. He may for twelve months give attention to his new languages to the verbs, nouns and common terms; and endeavour to secure the thorough acquisition of a small vocabulary. The pronunciation he should learn under a competent teacher.¹²⁵

Similarly, in a report of the Secretary of State of India, presented to the House of Commons in 1892, there were references to the work of missionaries. It said that the various lessons which they inculcated had given to the people at large new ideas, not only on purely religious questions, but on the native of evil, the obligations of law, and the motives by which human conduct was becoming familiar to the people, especially to the young which had been set before them not merely by public teaching but by the millions of printed books and tracts which were scattered widely through the country. The general influence of their teachings, in a way benefited uneducated masses at large.¹²⁶

It may be argued that in almost all commissions and educational planners in India missionaries were undeniably admitted to be a part of it. The Hunter Commission, where at least three of the educational missionaries were part of it, devised the advanced

123 Dennis, *Christian Missions and Social Progress*, p. 22.

124 From 1860 to 1884 the English Anglican church sent a total of 21,362,041 pounds (26%) of its church contribution for Elementary Education throughout the globe. Walls, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History*, p. 193. See also Robert A. Bickers and Rosemary Seton (eds), *Missionary Encounters*, Curzon Press, Surrey, 1996, pp. 15-16.

125 Joseph Mullens, 'European Missionaries abroad' in *Liverpool conference Report, 1860*, p. 20.

126 Cited in Dennis, *Christian Missions and Social Progress*, p. 23.

programme in the interests of primary education, had been neglected.¹²⁷ While a preponderance of LMS missionaries in the mufassal districts put their primary emphasis upon basic literacy in the vernacular languages of each region, they preferred upper levels of education, that was High school, Matriculation, and college classes would be conveyed, almost exclusively, in English, for the examinations for these higher classes were conducted in English only by the Madras University.¹²⁸ And also there was a chance of getting the Government aid to those schools, which were considered to be Anglo-vernacular.¹²⁹

The LMS missionaries not only invited thousands of students to the educational institutions, but also trained them to be teachers of the village schools.¹³⁰ It is to be noted here the fact that the LMS educational missionary Mackichan, was one among its seven members while there were four missionary educators among the witnesses, who were asked to give evidence before the University Education Commission of 1902.¹³¹

Apart from their educational works, the modern medical system in India is deeply indebted to the work of the missionaries during the nineteenth and early twentieth century. The fact of the matter is that missionaries tried to introduce various new medical measures to relieve the people from the contagious diseases not only reduced the death rate substantially less than it was in the large hospitals of the other Presidencies, but opened up vistas to have a better livelihood and created a space for the missionaries to garner much support from their parental countries and well-wishers.

Herbert Lankester, one of the speakers at the Student Volunteer Missionary Union conference reported that the medical missionaries were the heavy artillery of the missionary army.¹³² Cholera,¹³³ small pox, tuberculosis, leprosy, and other widely

127 William Miller, Scottish missionary and principal of Madras Christian College, W.R. Blackett of the Church Mission College (now Bishop's College) and Jean, Rector of St. Joseph's Jesuit college were leading member of the Hunter Commission of 1882. See for details, Dennis, *Christian Missions and Social Progress*, p. 16.

128 Frykenberg, *Christianity in India*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2008, p. 302.

129 H.P. Thomson, *Educational Missions at Work*, p. 57.

130 *Ibid.*, pp. 53-57.

131 Dennis, *Christian Missions and Social Progress*, p. 16.

132 Quoted in Walls, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History*, p. 214.

prevalent diseases had challenged the ordinary Indian citizens in rural and remote corners, where no well-equipped medical facility was available for a sudden and immediate healing. Cholera was particularly lethal, and the people were like ‘living skeletons’ and ‘repulsively dirty’ and the medical missionary could spend most of his time to clean them up.¹³⁴ David Arnold in his work pointed out that the small pox was ‘the scourge of India’ and ‘one of the most violent and severe diseases to which the human race was liable’ and it was held responsible for ‘more victims all other diseases combined,’ outstripping even cholera and plague in its ‘tenacity and malignity.’¹³⁵

Believed widely that leprosy ‘cannot be caught by a handshake,’ it was thought to be almost impossible to dislodge.¹³⁶ The sudden spread of these diseases in some places of India horrified the people at large, and was criticised by western observers including missionaries for negligence of basic requirements including food, clothing and lodging.¹³⁷

The LMS missionary Samuel Mateer narrated an eye witness account in 1871:

... Soon fever, dysentery, and other diseases appeared. About the middle of August, cholera commenced; and whether on account of the want of rain, the intense heat, or other peculiar condition of the atmosphere, or the deficiency of food, it rapidly increased to an alarming and unprecedented extent. Its ravages were most severe in the Pareychaley and Neyoor districts, though not confined to these. Within four months there were 460 deaths...In some villages as many as twelve or fourteen... died in a single day... the people having fled, leaving several of their relations lying ill of cholera. Many of the dead were unburied ... where the remains were devoured by jackals before there was time to bury them.¹³⁸

It was in this scenario, missionaries as health educators had to deal with ethical dilemmas in making decisions to promote healthy environments and lifestyles with different

133 Sheldon Watts, in his pre-eminent work, argued that cholera emerged in epidemic form in India in 1817, and reached in London in 1831. Sheldon Watts, *Epidemics and History: Disease, Power and Imperialism*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1997, pp. 167-212.

134 Hardiman says: “... it was no coincidence that the year 1900 had the highest annual mortality from cholera ever recorded for India as a whole.” See David Hardiman, *Missionaries and their Medicine: A Christian Modernity for Tribal India*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2008, pp. 107-109.

135 David Arnold (ed.), *Imperial Medicine and Indigenous Societies*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1988, p. 45.

136 Lauren Wilks, ‘Missionary Medicine and the ‘Separatist Tradition’: An Analysis of the Missionary Encounter with Leprosy in Late Nineteenth-Century India,’ *Social Scientist*, vol. 39, nos. 5-6, May-June 2011, p. 48.

137 Francis Buchanan, *A Journey from Madras through the Countries of Mysore, Kanara and Malabar*, vol. I, T. Cadell and W. Davies, London, 1807, p. 336.

138 Mateer, *Land of Charity*, pp. 307-308.

approaches.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the notion of Christ as the ‘great physician’ became increasingly prominent in missionary discourse and its iconic representations as western medicine, supposedly aspired to ever higher status, missionaries increasingly saw themselves as ‘healers of bodies’ as well as ‘savers of souls,’¹³⁹ and moved into the colonial quarters with the motto ‘heal the sick.’¹⁴⁰ More or less it became obligation on the part of the missionaries to develop medical work as an essential part to emulate Christ himself.¹⁴¹ Hence, it had mixed responses from the people.

It was in this context, India as a ‘land of death’ was also projected against India and its people, as they visualised that the people were fixed in ‘unhealthy’ chain and in ‘urgent need of improvement’ in all respects.¹⁴² Missionaries very often spoke of health, medicine and healing in the public domain, set up hospitals and healing centers, meant for the suffering people who flocked to them, and were treated mostly of free of cost. Most of the patients could get healing help from nowhere else, and the medical missionaries who relieved those sufferers from the pain were well appreciated by the people.¹⁴³ Theodore Howard Somervell, a mountaineer-cum-medical missionary, who worked in the LMS medical mission at Neyyoor in South Travancore, wrote that he was struck by the way people suffered in India, especially in the south, which made him to be with the people to do his medical mission there.¹⁴⁴

Accordingly, the LMS sent William Lockhart, the first genuine medical missionary to be appointed to China,¹⁴⁵ Archibald Ramsay, a trained physician to India, and many other medical missionaries to different parts of the world. Ramsay reached Neyyoor in South

139 John M. MacKenzie in ‘Introduction’ in David Hardiman, *Missionaries and their Medicine*, p. xi.

140 G. H. Choa, ‘*Heal the Sick*’ was their motto: *The Protestant Missionaries in China*, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong, 1990, p. xii.

141 Raj Sekhar Basu, ‘Medical Missionaries at Work: The Canadian Baptist Missionaries in the Telugu Country, 1870-1952,’ in Deepak Kumar (ed.), *Disease and Medicine in India*, p. 181.

142 David Arnold, *Deathscapes*, p. 351.

143 Harris, *Couriers of Christ*, pp. 91-92.

144 T. Howard Somervell, *Knife and Life in India: The Story of a Surgical Missionary at Neyyoor, Travancore*, The Livingston Press, London, 1940, Author’s Preface.

145 Walls, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History*, p. 213.

Travancore in 1838 and subsequently the LMS Hospital was established since then.¹⁴⁶ Ramsay, during the first three months of his medical practice treated 1500 cases at Neyyoor, including every caste, even the Brahmins.¹⁴⁷ This was the first mission hospital LMS established in India. The LMS had also opened a hospital at Erode, Jammalamadagu, and Chikka-Ballapura (Wardlaw Thompson hospital) at a later stage.¹⁴⁸ Twenty LMS missionaries served different hospitals in Madras Presidency only.¹⁴⁹

LMS missionaries made a significant contribution to the development of medical facilities in South Travancore,¹⁵⁰ including Neyyoor¹⁵¹ in the erstwhile Madras Presidency and established the South Travancore Medical Mission.¹⁵² For a long time, this medical mission was considered to be one of the largest¹⁵³ and biggest in the world in the first decade of twentieth century¹⁵⁴ as far as the patients treated in the missions were concerned. A medical training school, which was one of the most significant activities of the medical mission, was started by John Lowe, the Scottish medical missionary. He was also influential and instrumental in framing medical missionary work,¹⁵⁵ for the study and training of medicine and surgery in 1864. In fact, it continued until 1914 with a few

146 As early as 1804 a medical missionary was appointed by the LMS to Surat, but for some reason he never entered upon his work. See Harris, *Couriers of Christ: Pioneers of London Missionary Society*, pp. 89-90. See also I. H. Hacker, *Memoirs of Thomas Smith Thomson: Medical Missionary at Neyyoor, Travancore, South India*, The Religious Tract Society, London, 1887, p. 52. Also see Dick Kooiman, *Conversion and Social Equality in India: The London Missionary Society in South Travancore in the Nineteenth Century*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1989, p. 46; Kawashima, *Missionaries*, pp. 114-122.

147 Kooiman, *Conversion and Social Equality*, p. 54.

148 Balfour, *The Work of Medical Women in India*, pp.78-81. See also Christian Work; *The News of the Churches*, vol. I, Magazine of Religious and Missionary Information, S.W. Partridge & Co, 1867, London, pp. 542-544.

149 Dhas, *Missionary Medical Work in Travancore*, pp. 159-161.

150 Balfour, *The Work of Medical Women in India*, pp. 126-127.

151 Dhas, *Missionary Medical Work in Travancore*, p. 10.

152 Somervell, *Knife and Life in India*, p. 3.

153 During the nineteenth century, Neyyoor mission hospital of the LMS is the largest medical work of its kind in any mission field in the world. Besides this central hospital there are ten branch hospitals and eight dispensaries distributed over the area of the mission by the year 1920. A.T.S James, *Twenty-five years of the London Missionary Society, 1895-1920*, London Missionary Society, London, 1923, p. 40. See also Kawashima, *Missionaries and a Hindu State*, pp. 126-127. Also see Somervell, *Knife and Life in India*, p. 3.

154 R. N. Yesudas, 'Preface' in Dhas, *Missionary Medical Work in Travancore*, p. vii.

155 Esme Cleall, *Missionary Discourse of Difference: Negotiating Otherness in the British Empire, 1840-1900*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2012, p. 88.

interruptions.¹⁵⁶

Once the LMS formed its Ladies Committee to meet the growing demand from the field for trained ‘medical ladies,’ the missionaries insisted the Committee to implement in a three-way approach to medical training in 1880s. Those qualified as teachers were encouraged to undertake short courses in first aid and midwifery; other candidates, trained as probationers in hospitals or those who enrolled in medical degree courses, had to complete their training successfully before final acceptance.¹⁵⁷ However, the inadequate training received by the women missionaries was criticized, and there were still constructive arguments within the missionary circles as one supporter argued that there were ‘nearly a thousand female missionaries in the field, among them not a few gifted medical missionaries.’

In 1900, out of 258 women missionaries, who registered in the British Medical Register, 72 were serving as medical missionaries, among whom 45 of them in India. There were 168 (88 women and 81 men) qualified medical missionaries from American, British, and European- stationed in Indian missions. In 1910, the Protestant missions employed 341 women doctors throughout the world, of this half of them were serving in India.¹⁵⁸ The LMS employed women medical missionaries in India. The LMS¹⁵⁹ sent its first missionary nurse Margaret Macdonnel to Neyyoor in 1892, and she organized the nursing department and became the first nursing Superintendent for fourteen years, followed by a series of Superintendents. Similarly LMS sent fourteen other missionary nurses to south India.¹⁶⁰

156 *Report of the Meeting of the Conference of Foreign Mission Boards in Canada and in the United States, 1926*, vol. 33, p. 350.

157 *Ibid.*, pp. 174-176.

158 Hardiman, *Missionaries and their Medicine*, p. 141. Also see Fitzgerald, ‘*A Peculiar and Exceptional Measure*,’ pp. 176-196. Quoted in Haggis, ‘*A heart that has felt the love of god...*,’ p. 172.

159 John Jacob, *Report of Ten Years Work in connection with the South Travancore Medical Mission of the LMS for the Years 1901-1910, Including the Annual Report for 1910*, London Missionary Press, Nagercoil, 1910, pp. 13-19. *South Travancore Medical Mission, Annual Report for the Year 1913*, LMS, London Mission Press, Nagercoil, 1913, p. 4. Also see *LMS Directors’ Annual Report*, London, 1939-1940, p. 4; Dhas, *Missionary Medical Work in Travancore*, pp. 159-161.

160 Miss Edith Annie Hacker was appointed Nursing Superintendent in 1923, and she laid the foundation for the school of Nursing by training men as ‘male nurses’- when girls were not available. Edith Mills and Eileen Pidcock reached Neyyoor in 1926 and 1927 respectively to serve

The LMS missionaries took efforts to travel in and around, far and wide, in bullock-carts and bicycles, to different places, particularly the settlements of those upper castes, who never wanted to be mixed with the lower castes, and treated them to save the dying patients.¹⁶¹ This had a range of implications on individuals at that time, and missionaries accomplished themselves by running ‘touring clinics’ to distant rural areas and surrounding villages.¹⁶² The missionary attitude of sending medical missionaries and nurses, inviting the rulers and other officials to open their mission hospitals and dispensaries, and catering to the needs of economically weaker sections of the society is still being cherished as one of the legacies for its philanthropic and cost-free medical treatment. Medical mission and philanthropy, united in urging the claims of the noble enterprise of medical mission even though the missionaries could not learn the importance of the indigenous medical system. The benefits of the Neyyoor medical school and hospital of the LMS medical mission were later on utilised by both Travancore Government and missionaries and acknowledged that ‘the death rate of the surgical cases was substantially less than it was in the large hospitals in London and in the Presidency towns in India.’¹⁶³

When the great famine of 1813 in Travancore caused many people’s death, these LMS missionaries organised funds, arranged medical camps and distributed rice and milk. In September that year, the drought was complete and huge number of people was perishing without food. Though the severity of the famine was felt in the country, the Government still insisted on the tax being paid up, and Ringeltaube seeing the sufferings of his converts, with a view to relieve them, took a trip as far as Quilon and then back up to Palamcotta and collected funds from the West. He then returned to Mayilaudy and helped the poor. He was so generous that he had distributed the whole of his quarter’s salary

the mission, and Miss Gwyneth Lawrence became the Nursing Superintendent in 1928. See Gnanadason, *A Forgotten History*, pp. 128-129.

161 Jacob, *Ten Years Work, South Travancore Medical Mission of the LMS*, pp. 13-19. *South Travancore Medical Mission, Annual Report for the Year 1913*, LMS, London Mission Press, Nagercoil, 1913, p. 4. Also see LMS Directors’ Annual Report, London, 1939-1940, p. 4; Dhas, *Missionary Medical Work in Travancore*, pp. 159-161.

162 Eleanor Abdella Doumato, ‘An Extra legible Illustration of the Christian Faith: Medicine, medical ethics and missionaries in the Arabian Gulf,’ *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations*, vol. 13, no. 4, p. 378.

163 Quoted in Kawashima, *Missionaries and a Hindu State*, p. 128.

almost as soon as it reached his hands.¹⁶⁴

During 1876-77 famine, one of the worst famines that ever devastated India raged over its southern and central districts of South India. In Bellary, the LMS missionaries observed that the distress was terrible. Missionaries including Coles and Lewis distributed relief packages and started orphanages with the funds they received from England to relieve the starving people,¹⁶⁵ while Government officials strained every nerve to provide relief to the distressed people.¹⁶⁶ Similarly, Robert Caldwell, a missionary-cum linguist and historian observed that there was a great famine in 1877, which devastated a large number of people. To obtain help from England, for the relief of the sufferers, he initiated relief works with various other committees that were instituted for the distribution of money and materials.¹⁶⁷ Hence, the missionaries used these natural calamities for their favour.

One of the things that attracted a great deal of attention of missionaries was the erection of a central paddy go down or granary where they could store up all the produce from the extensive mission fields and prevent further wastage in storing and transporting paddy at different places.¹⁶⁸ They used these granaries for converts and other lower caste people.

Ever since the founding of the missionary societies in Europe, the missionaries came out with so many programmes to support their newly converted, particularly those, who were from the bottom ranks of the society. The missionary initiative of uplifting and raising the lives of unlettered masses through handicraft industry, and other technical education made an indelible imprint in the history of handicraft education in India. Since a large proportion of the earliest missionaries sent forth by the LMS were trained artisans in a particular art,¹⁶⁹ they introduced vocational training with the help of their wives and women missionaries.

164 Agur, *Church History of Travancore*, p. 605.

165 Friends of the London Missionary Society contributed £10,665

166 Harris, *Couriers of Christ: Pioneers of London Missionary Society*, p. 86.

167 J.L. Wyatt, *Reminiscences of Bishop Caldwell*, Addison & Co., Madras, 1894, p. 166.

168 Agur, *Church History of Travancore*, p. 675.

169 Watson Grace, 'Industrial Education,' *Ecumenical Missionary Conference, New York, 1900*, p. 151.

The establishment of small-scale industries like, lace-making, embroidery, kiln making, etc., where the missionaries could teach not only the women to learn how to develop themselves capable of doing things, but also the people learned how to be self-reliant. Under the care of the missionaries' wives a prosperous lace industry had grown up amongst people in different parts of Madras Presidency.¹⁷⁰ As early as 1821, the LMS missionary wife Martha Mault who had been trained in lace-making began to teach this industry to a few girls at Nagercoil.¹⁷¹ The wives of missionaries, Louisa Sewell Abbs and Baylis Johnson began the embroidery industry in their respective stations.

Lace industry was carried on steadily in Nagercoil and embroidery industry in Neyyoor, Marthandam, Parassala and Trivandrum. The workers in these industries, mostly unlettered women, were paid a reasonable salary and the surplus was used mostly in building up institutions intended for women.¹⁷² In Trivandrum, the Zenana missionaries arranged fancy sale in the Government gardens to raise funds for developing the caste girls' school,¹⁷³ and there were instances that the Travancore lace and embroidery was popular among the elite and influential women in Europe and was sold in London, Edinburgh, Paris and other important cities.¹⁷⁴

In the mission industrial and agricultural schools, hundreds of boys and girls from the huts of the outcastes and humble village homes, who had never been given such opportunities, were taught trades and trained in improved methods of farming. The living conditions and life style of the whole communities was raised by this helpful way of missionary endeavour.¹⁷⁵ The missionaries concentrated their best efforts on character building of children, teaching them moral, physical and intellectual values - a good child was considered to be the one, who was not bad, that is, he would not lie, nor cheat, nor

170 James, *Twenty-five years of the London Missionary Society*, p. 41.

171 R. N. Yesudas, *The History of the London Missionary Society*, Kerala Historical Society, Trivandrum, 1980, p. 82.

172 Yesudas, *The History of the London Missionary Society*, p. 82.

173 Jane Haggis and Margaret Allen, 'Imperial Emotions: Affective Communities of Mission in British Protestant Women's Missionary Publications, c 1880-1920,' *Journal of Social History*, vol. 41, no. 3, Spring 2008, p. 713.

174 James, *Twenty-five years of the London Missionary Society*, p. 41.

175 Clark, *India on the March*, p. 84.

steal, and he would reach school in time, learn his lessons well, and changing into a better child causing comparatively little mischief.¹⁷⁶

Throughout Travancore this had been a constant interest and helped to deal with the unemployment, where the lower castes and oppressed sections had been denied opportunities for ages by the Nair landlords.¹⁷⁷ As a result, a school was established for promoting useful arts, in which students belonging to many castes made progress in printing and book-binding, and some of were taught the art of tanning and currying leather.¹⁷⁸

The formation of the LMS in London made an epoch in the history of missionary movements. The missionaries, who were recruited and represented the LMS, were from the average 'occupational classes.' But their achievement in their respective fields, particularly in India, was influential and historic. The self-motivated missionaries, both men and women, entered into every aspect of the lives of the lower caste people who were found to be either illiterate or ill-equipped with the normal facilities available to other sections of the society. The methods adopted by the LMS missionaries in Travancore made the Maharajas Government to adopt new policies in giving modern education to their people, which later resulted in the formation of the Elementary Education Committee in 1866 much before the formation of the same by the Government of Madras.

176 Frank Morton McMurry, 'Controlling Ideas in Curricula,' in *Ecumenical Missionary Conference*, New York, 1900, p. 172.

177 Gnanadason, *A Forgotten History*, pp. 14-20. Also see James, *Twenty-five years of the London Missionary Society*, p. 41.

178 *LMS Directors' Annual Report*, 1823, London, p. 71.

Chapter III

The LMS Schools in Madras Presidency

The complex nature of traditional education had a close identification with religious traditions and was restricted to the religiously influential sections. In India the history of traditional education can be traced back to Vedic period where the notion of *guru* and *shishya* was one of the deeply embedded cultural practices. It was in this context, terms such as *gurukula*, *tol*, *maktab*, *pathshala*, *vedashala*, *madrasah*, and so on were used to indicate various forms of traditional education before the introduction of modern education in India.¹ When modern education was introduced in the West, particularly in Germany, the ‘Pietists’ established a range of learning groups, generally called *studium generale*. In fact, historical accounts suggest that these study groups, which were converted into schools and colleges, and later became universities in Germany was disseminated by Pietists in other parts of the world including India. The educational system, came out of small groups, rendered service as schools in the long run, and benefitted millions of students.

By establishing schools and other institutions for all classes, the missionaries made an indelible imprint in the history of Indian education. In the traditional educational system, the lower classes were debarred from having any association with or for education, were heavily challenged by the missionaries and their schools. The missionary efforts of vernacular schools changed the scenario throughout the colonial India, particularly in the Madras Presidency and South Travancore. Though the Portuguese officials took some initiatives in introducing schools on the western coast, the vernacular education, was established for the first time on the eastern coast by Danish-Halle Protestant missionaries from Germany.

1 Poromesh Acharya, ‘Indigenous Education and Brahminical Hegemony in Bengal’ in Nigel Crook (ed.), *The Transmission of Knowledge in South Asia: Essays on Education, History, and Politics*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1996, pp. 98-118.

The mass education was carried out by the Protestant missionaries, particularly the LMS, during the early part of nineteenth century by establishing vernacular schools in many parts of South India. The missionary intervention for the setting up of printing press, publication of text books, schools of various levels, urged the public not only to send their children to the missionary schools but also to adhere to the educational principles at the best possible level.

1. Traditional School Education in Madras Presidency²

Education in some form or the other did exist in India as early as the Vedic period. As a result of this, learning, and a particular mode of training for the religiously affluent community became a necessary idea for priestly functions,³ and was considered most essential. The early Tamil Sangams at Madurai, Tanjore and Kumari were centres of learning and discussions, particularly on Tamil language.⁴ The earliest teachers in society were first the medicine-men, later, the Brahmins and Buddhist monks became the teachers. Eventually, education was institutionalized in *ashrams* and monasteries.⁵ Despite the fact that the Brahminic education was the earliest traceable method of learning in the

2 Madras Presidency in the nineteenth century comprised of 24 districts, including the Travancore and Cochin, which could be grouped into four natural linguistic divisions. Of these, the West Coast division, with its dense population and vegetation was most advanced in literacy; the people of this area spoke Malayalam, Kannada and Tulu. The southern division, the land of the Tamils, had the largest urban population in the Presidency, and in literacy the people came second only to West Coast. Both Tamil and Malayalam could meet at Cape Comorin (Kanyakumari). The Madras city division, which is considered to be the third, naturally attracted educated people from all parts of the Presidency, and contained many Europeans and Eurasians, and the Nilgiri hills. The best educated, richest and most urbanized districts were Tanjore, Malabar and Tinnevely. The East Coast division, possessing the two large irrigated areas in the deltas of Godavari and Krishna and inhabited by the Telegu speaking people, lagged behind the Western Coast and Southern divisions. The other division, the Deccan division, was sparsely populated; the people lived in small villages, were dependent almost entirely on agriculture, and were for the most part illiterate. See Joseph Mullens, *Missions in South India*, W.H. Dalton and Co., London, 1854, p. 6. See also C.D. Mac Lean, *Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency: In Illustration of the Government*, Government of Madras, Government Press, Madras, 1885, vols. I-III, I: 182-188. Also see Aparna Basu, *The Growth of Education and Political Development in India, 1898-1920*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1974, p. 121.

3 Romila Thapar, *Ancient Indian Social History: Some Interpretations*, Orient Longman, New Delhi, 1978, p. 140.

4 Sumathi Ramaswamy, *Passions of the Tongue: Language Devotion in Tamil India, 1891-1970*, University of California Press, Los Angeles, 1997, p. 222.

5 Heredia, 'Education and Mission,' p. 2332.

ancient India,⁶ LMS missionaries witnessed the existence of different types of schools, particularly, *Thinnaipallikoodam* (Veranda School), *Ezhuthupalli*⁷ or Pyall school, Kalari⁸ and Vedic schools⁹ when they arrived in the first decade of the nineteenth century.¹⁰

James Smith, one of the mission officials who observed the day-to-day functioning of the traditional education in colonial India noted that in India, there was traditional educational system. Those indigenous schools were known by different names like *vedashala* and *padashala* and subjects including native arithmetic and accounts were taught.¹¹ In addition to these subjects, the curriculum of the indigenous schools included astronomy, horoscope, *neethi sastram* (law), Sanskrit and general poetry.¹² Apart from teaching songs, which were from *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*, the reading and writing of the vernacular with the addition of a partial knowledge of arithmetic was imparted by a single master or teacher.¹³

In Bellary, the LMS missionaries John Hands and William Reeve had observed that the traditional education had created crucial implications on students. Nonetheless, the missionaries alleged that the educational system was restricted only to a microscopic minority. They appealed to the officials to do away with the Veda based education as they felt that it would benefit only affluent sections of the society. They wrote a letter to the then District Collector A.D. Campbell in 1824 challenging the nature of traditional

6 Santhosh Kumar Das, *The Educational System of the Ancient Hindus*, Calcutta, 1933, p. 18.

7 Where alphabets were taught; the children wrote on ground and then an 'ola' was given and the students memorized devotional pieces and simple arithmetic. 'Ola' is a dried piece of Palmyra leaf used for writing, 'olei' in Tamil. See A. Sreedhara Menon, *Kerala Gazetteers*, Trivandrum, 1975, p. 649.

8 Kalari was a private school run by high caste people, where physical education was taught by a 'guru'. The students, generally called 'shishyas' lived with the guru, until he finished his studies and gave fees either in kind or cash. *Ibid.*

9 Vedic schools taught vedas, sastras, upanishads, and other such classics. 'They were the Ujjains of ancient Kerala' says Sreedhara Menon. The students resided in 'salais', where they were given free boarding and lodging. The students memorised brief portions from the vedas, upanishads and other hymns, and was really in the 'true tradition of Gurugula ideal.' See A Sreedhara Menon, *Kerala Gazetteers*, Trivandrum, p. 650.

10 *Ibid.*, p. 649.

11 James Smith, 'Industrial Education,' *Ecumenical Missionary Conference, New York, 1900*, p. 147. Also see Jeyaraj, *Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg*, p. 5.

12 Nagam Aiya, *Travancore Manual*, vol. II, 1903-1906, pp. 153-4.

13 *The Harvest Field*, August 1866, p. 170. See also Kawashima, *Missionaries and a Hindu State*, p. 94.

education. The letter said that:

The education of a Hindu youth generally commences when he is five years old... The three books which are most common in all the schools, and which are used indiscriminately by the several castes, are the *Ramayana*, *Baratha* and the *Bagavatha* ... Everything was in Sanskrit, no translation. Children of the most opulent are taught, others being unable, from poverty, to pay what is demanded.¹⁴

On the other hand, the LMS travellers, Daniel Tyerman and George Bennet, who were deputed by the directors in London to visit the various mission stations between the years 1821 and 1829, wrote in their letter to the LMS missionaries stationed in India. This letter asked the missionaries to be vigilant while establishing schools and emphasised the need of frequent visit to schools. The letter added that the school system in India was diffusing 'much light' and scriptural knowledge among the people. Cautioning against the attempts to multiply schools the letter appealed the missionaries to superintend the schools at least once or twice. The letter expressed the hope that close, vigilant, and frequent inspection would rival traditional schooling system.¹⁵

In a way indigenous educational system was criticized by missionaries partly because of accommodating only the influential section, and partly due to its religious rivalry. This was evident from the fact that the missionaries and colonial officials in 1860s, alleged that there were indigenous schools—*pyals* and *chattrams*—which mainly focused on Sanskrit learning, where learned pundits taught only the Brahmin boys. These institutions were not designed for the common people. In these schools, there was no proper class room. Verandahs of a temple or of the house of someone of the more comfortable inhabitants of a town or village were used as class rooms.¹⁶ Missionaries were keen on attacking the

14 William Reeve adds: "The children of the manufacturing class of people have, in addition to the above, books peculiar to their own religious tenets, such as *Nanalengienacatha*, *vesnavkermapurana*, *Kamatiaswavrakalekamahathu*, and the *Lingum* ... The lighter kinds of stories, which are read for amusement, are generally *Punchathantra*, *Bathala-vumshathe*, *Bathesaputhete*, *Mahatherungane*. The books of a purely educational kind are the several *Neguntu*, *Ahmarashesthamunchare*, *Shebthamaneth urpana*, *veahkarana*, *Hunthrahapekai*, *Hunthranama-sungraha* etc..." Refer the Letter of John Hands & William Reeve, Missionaries to A.D. Campbell, Collector of Bellary (undated), *LMS Report, 1824*, Appendix, A, pp. 137-141.

15 James Montgomery, *Voyages and Travels Round the World by the Rev. Daniel Tyerman and George Bennet, Esq, Deputed from the London Missionary Society to visit the various Stations in the South Sea Islands, Australia, China, India, Madagascar and South Africa between the years 1821 and 1829*, John Snow & Co, London, 1841, pp. 261-265.

16 Editor, 'National Education and Christian Missions in India' *The Harvest Field*, August 1866, pp.

traditional schools, its curriculum, its system of function and its structure. Mission officials expressed their dissatisfaction in their records and publications.

John Murdoch wrote that the curriculum for the first standard¹⁷ comprised of reading, writing and arithmetic, where clear and intelligent reading of easy school books were allocated; legible handwriting was preferred for writing, and arithmetic for market and household purposes. For the second standard, reading of advanced text with explanation; correct forms of dictation, and complete forms used for arithmetic were preferred. In standard three, easy poetry and history for reading, translation onto the vernacular in writing, dictation and written English; and finally, complete arithmetic including mensuration were taught.¹⁸

For instance, the functioning of the traditional schools, particularly elementary schools in India in 1870s was recorded in missionary journal *Harvest Field* as follows:

The school apparatus consists of nothing beyond the light cane in the master's hands, which he employs merely as the ensign of his office, for, to do him justice, it seldom falls on the susceptible back of his pupil. A dozen such schools might be visited in succession without finding a printed book in one of them.¹⁹

According to missionary records, the students were found to be instructed by private tutors throughout the Madras Presidency. Wealthy merchants, influential and affluent people in the society used to invite well-established tutors to their homes and educate their children.²⁰ Even in the early twentieth century, thousands of such tutor-instructed students appeared every year in the Government-conducted Elementary examination.

It was in this scenario, Sir Thomas Munro, the then Governor of Madras in 1822, ordered for a survey to be conducted to initiate further action, whereby, it was reported that there were 35,212 villages, each with population of about 2000 people, which did not have even a single elementary school.²¹ It also showed that the instruction imparted in indigenous

169-170.

17 Here Standard I is Form I or today's Class VI.

18 Mac Lean, *Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency*. See also John Murdoch, *Indian Teacher's Manual*, The Christian Vernacular Education Society, Madras, 1885.

19 *Ibid.*

20 *The Harvest Field*, August 1866, p. 170.

21 Munro's Minute, 1822-1826, Government of Madras, 1828, TNA, Madras. See also Rev. G. R. Gleig,

institutions was of little practical value tending to burden the memory rather than to train the intellect.²² Yet, the advent of Jesuit missionaries, the initiation of English and vernacular education by the western missionary societies changed the scenario throughout the colonial India, particularly the Madras Presidency.

2. Modern Education in Madras Presidency

The Portuguese were the first to establish a Tamil school at Punnakayal, a town on the eastern coast, where the Catholic Jesuit saint Francis Xavier lived in southern Madras Presidency in 1567.²³ The colonial officials opened small free schools for imparting elementary education in English at Fort St. George immediately after the establishment of East India Company in Madras in 1640. Designed for the English children, the school later admitted Portuguese and local children. When Ralph Ord and John Baker were in-charge of these schools, school masters were appointed in between 1678 and 1682. Both of them governed the institution for twenty five years.²⁴ Furthermore, in 1715 the Company officials started St. Mary's Charity school at Fort St. George, meant primarily for Eurasian children, where 18 boys and 12 girls were admitted and all of them were taught in English.²⁵

It was during the end of the eighteenth century, a system of 'Benevolent Institution' and the 'monitorial system' into a modern school were developed by Andrew Bell in the form of 'Madras School System,' considered by many as model to be followed in the modern educational system. Bell, who was chaplain at Madras and Superintendent of the Male Military Asylum (1789-96), began to utilise senior students as monitors to teach their juniors, which had been already in practice sometime in the indigenous schooling system. He propounded the spreading of 'diffusing useful knowledge' to widen the values of

The Life of Major-General Sir Thomas Munro, Late Governor of Madras: With Extracts from his Correspondence and Private Papers, vol. II, Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, London, 1830, Appendix XVII, pp. 407-413.

22 S. Sathianadhan, *History of Education in the Madras Presidency*, Srinivasa Varadachari & Co., Bombay, 1894, pp. 1-2.

23 S. Jayaseela Stephen, *Portuguese in the Tamil coast: Historical explorations in commerce and culture, 1507-1749*, Navajothi, Pondicherry, 1998, pp. 310-312.

24 Henry Davison Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras*, vol. II, John Murray, London, 1903, p. 163.

25 Raman, *Getting Girls to School*, p. 2. Also see Narendranath N. Law, *Promotion of learning in India by European settlers up to 1800 A. D.*, Longman Green, London, 1915, p. 21.

industry, discipline and order, initially in Madras and later in England and other areas.²⁶ Bell argued that the acquisition of the rudiments of letters, and of morality and religion were the leading objects of elementary education which was in harmonious union with the progress and amusement of the scholars. According to him, satisfaction of the master, gratification of the parents, making good subjects, good men, good Christians were the objectives of his model.²⁷

Bell started this 'innovative' model with the guidance and support of the officials of the East India Company, for tutoring the pupils on the elementary processes of reading, spelling, writing, arithmetic, and principles of morality and religion.²⁸ He returned back to England very soon and published an account of his method which later attracted a great deal of interest as it received much public support.²⁹

Similarly, missionaries established vernacular schools in southern parts of Madras Presidency. James Hough, the chaplain for the East India Company at Palamcottah (Palayamkottai) in Tinnevely (Tirunelveli) district opened one English school and fifteen Tamil schools for the children.³⁰ It was followed by other missionaries. The arrival of missionary C.T.E. Rhenius in Tirunelveli, however, completely altered the situation. He immediately set about increasing the number of Tamil schools. Calling for donations from both individuals and missionary societies, he did not wait for the company to provide subsidies. He recruited teachers from different caste and religious backgrounds. Many a

26 Paul Sedra, 'Exposure to the eyes of God: Monitorial Schools and Evangelicals in Early nineteenth-century England,' *Paedagogica Historica*, vol. 47, no. 3, 2011, p. 264.

27 Andrew Bell, *Instructions for conducting a School, through the Agency of the Scholars themselves: Comprising the Analysis of an Experiment in Education, made at the Male Asylum, Madras, 1789-1796*, London, 1813, p. 3.

28 *A Vindication of Mr. Lancaster's System of Education by a member of the Royal Institution*, London, 1812, pp. 40-41.

29 M. A. Laird, 'Contribution of the Serampore Missionaries to Education in Bengal, 1793-1837,' *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, University of London, vol. 31, no. 1, 1968, p. 95.77

30 Very soon these schools reached a combined enrollment of 610 pupils. From 1816 to 1819, Hough used funds from his own pocket and obtained help from the SPCK (Society for Propagation of Christian Knowledge) and the Church Missionary Society (CMS) to erect two small school houses, acquire books, and hire teachers. Classes in English grammar, composition, and arithmetic drew 59 students, mostly sons of Indian officers, civil and military. Hough maintained that the use of "Christian scriptures" as teaching materials "excited no alarm in the minds of natives." But when he asked for a monthly grant of twenty-five pagodas, because his schools were "a public benefit," he was turned down. The Government of Madras was not interested in schools of such a "private character." see for details James Hough, *A History of Christianity in India*, vol. V, 1839, London, pp. 354-395.

times, Brahmins and Vellalas, were appointed. He used the growing demand for literacy and provided a new approach for learning and literacy.³¹

Though English education started in the eighteenth century, the progress was very slow throughout the Madras Presidency because the German missionaries were not given proper support for establishing schools by them. Moreover, the missionaries who had landed during the early nineteenth century found that the East India Company's initiatives to educate the people were 'unsatisfactory.'

The Madras Presidency comprised of four major regions with different languages, the missionaries identified the benefits of vernacular language, representing the regions rather than the English. In the first half of the nineteenth century, the LMS missionaries at their respective stations had to undertake a range of initiatives for the progress of its school education. For the first time, English education became popular in the Tamil speaking areas. Apart from Madras city, Tanjore and Tinnevely had the largest population of English-speaking people. Munro's enquiry had revealed that, of all districts, Tanjore had the largest number of vernacular schools.³²

As a result, the Madras Government appointed a committee to organize a system of public instruction and an annual grant of Rupees fifty thousand was sanctioned for the establishment of schools. In 1826, 14 collectorate and 81 taluk schools with a central school at Madras were opened. Nevertheless, in 1836, this scheme was pronounced a failure and the schools were abolished as inefficient. In 1840, a University Board was constituted by Lord Ellenborough's Government to organize and establish a central school and a few provincial schools. In 1841, the central school was converted into Madras high school. Elphinstone, then Governor, suggested the establishment of a central collegiate institution and the reconstitution of the Committee on Native Education. Subsequently the

31 In fifteen years, from 1820 to 1835, he established 107 small schools, 2 secondary schools, and a training college for 40 scholars. It was a metamorphic development what happened in Tinnevely district during this period, and was only the most dramatic among several similar movements within the Madras Presidency. The schools had a combined enrollment of 2,882 pupils, 159 of whom were female. By 1858, the year in which Company rule ended, efforts by fourteen missionary societies had brought a total enrollment at some 500 schools in South India to 38,607 students. Frykenberg, *Modern Education in South India*, p. 43.

32 Basu, *The Growth of Education*, p. 60.

University Board was constituted with George Norton as the President. By June 1843 the University Board prepared a report which was 'unhappy' with the condition of the Madras High School. The report further pleaded for the opening of new colleges in Madras.³³

Tweeddale, who became Governor in 1842, took this opportunity to review the state of education there in Madras. He was opposed by the native communities in his moves since he was increasingly showing a personal interest in the religious instruction in schools.³⁴ Various controversies in the system led to the dissolution of the Board and a new Council of Education was organised in 1845. The Council was in favour of opening nine Provincial schools at Chicacole, Rajahmundry, Cuddapah, Nellore, Chittoor, Bellary and three in Tamil speaking areas.

In addition to these initiatives, a college department was added to it in 1853 and later it developed into the Presidency College. In 1854, the Court of Directors issued its Despatch (Wood's) regarding education. Thereupon the Department of Education, with the Directorate of Public Instruction and its inspecting staff was organized. The University College was remodeled and designated into Presidency College. A normal school was established. Zilla or district schools were opened. The grant-in-aid system was introduced. This further created space for the increase of schools and students. While in 1853 there were 460 educational institutions with 14900 pupils studying, by 1904, this number had risen to 26771 with 784000 pupils.³⁵

3. LMS Missionary Schools

Ever since their arrival in India, the missionary idea of 'personal enlightenment,' was disseminated among the people of all castes through education. Missionary schools were established by almost all missionaries immediately after their position taken at the

33 Government of Tamil Nadu, *Tamil Nadu Human Development Report: Education in Early Years of Madras Presidency, 2007*, Chennai, p. 10.

34 Tweeddale became the Governor in 1842. He was known for his bias towards Christianity. His educational schemes were vehemently opposed by the 'native community' of Madras which severely criticised him in their 1846 memorandum. See Frykenberg, *Modern Education in South India*, pp. 56-59. Also see Pandian, *Brahmin and Non-Brahmin*, pp. 25-30.

35 Sathianadhan, *History of Education in the Madras Presidency*, pp. 12-25. Also see *Tamil Nadu Human Development Report: Education in Early Years of Madras Presidency, 2007*, p. 10.

appointed mission stations. The first LMS missionary to Madras Presidency, W.T. Ringeltaube³⁶ at Tranquebar in 1804, who stayed at the Danish settlement for more than a year, began to study the history and culture of the people there. He came and settled in the small village called Mayiladi in South Travancore in 1806, and lived all alone for eleven years. His salary was completely spent on his 'poor' converts in the form of wages and charities. As a result, he was identified by the Christians of South Travancore as an ascetic and eccentric, who cared little for personal comfort and the customs of the society.

Missionaries, provosts and colonial officials from Madras, Bombay and Bengal Presidencies acknowledged the part played by Ringeltaube. Claudius Buchanan, the then Vice-Provost of Fort William College, Calcutta, during his visit to Madras Presidency and Travancore in 1806, heard and read about Ringeltaube and his published journals,³⁷ acknowledged Ringeltaube's knowledge in Tamil language and requested the loan of his only Tamil Bible, for he wanted the commencement of the Malayalam translation soon after.³⁸ The LMS had penetrated into the four regions in the Madras Presidency, where the society had supervised more than twenty superintending stations and established hundreds of schools and other institutions.³⁹

In the Tamil speaking region, especially in and around Madras, the LMS missionary Loveless established a Missionary Free School in the city in 1805 where 75 boys studied.

36 *The Missionary Magazine*, the American Baptist Missionary Union, vol. LI, Boston, 1871, p. 135. See also William Robinson, *Ringeltaube, the Rishi: Letters and Journals*, Sheffield, 1902; William Robinson, *Ringeltaube, the Rishi*, Sheffield, Sheffield Independent Press, 1908. See also Agur, *Church History*, pp. 460-623. See also Andrew Walls, 'The Eighteenth Century Protestant Missionary Awakening' in Brian Stanley (ed.), *Christian Missions and the Enlightenment*, William B. Eerdmans, Michigan, 2001, p. 34. See also Harris, *Pioneers of London Missionary Society*, pp. 77-78. Also see Richard V. Pierard, 'Ringeltaube,' in D. M. Lewis, *Blackwell Dictionary of Evangelical Biography*, vol. II, Oxford University Press, 1995, p. 940.

37 Ringeltaube's journals bear his name only and some of them are preserved in the LMS Archives, which is now a part of School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), London. See for details M. Christhu Doss, *Protestant Missionaries and Depressed Classes in Southern Tamil Nadu 1813-1947* (Un-Published Ph. D., Thesis), Submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, 2009.

38 Claudius Buchanan, *Christian Researches in Asia*, published by Richard Scott, New York, 1812, Appendix, pp. 92-93.

39 The LMS Superintending stations were at Madras, Nagercoil, James Town, Santhapuram, Neyyoor, Parassala, Thiruvananthapuram, Kollam, Selam, Coimbatore, Cumbaconam, Nilgiris, Bangalore, Mysore, Bellary, Belgaum, Krishna, Cudappa, Jammulamadagu, and Vizagapatam. Samuel Zachariah, *The London Missionary Society in South Travancore (1805-1855)*, LMS Press, Nagercoil, 1897, p. 98. See also Lovett, *History of the LMS*.

A Native Female school was opened by Mrs. Crisp in the same year,⁴⁰ before the establishment of 17 native schools under a new management. A Central School, also, has been formed for the youths, and had met with much encouragement by the people.⁴¹ In addition to this, there were schools established in 1830s at Selam, Coimbatore, Nilgiri, and some other southern parts of Madras Presidency. The English high schools were supported by public contributions by donors, school fees, and grand-in-aid although larger than what is fixed for native schools as it was inadequate.⁴² The LMS missionary Walton started a mission school at Salem in 1832.⁴³

The South Travancore region, where the LMS missionaries had concentrated more was well-established with schools and other institutions by the missionaries. Ringeltaube started a school at Mayiladi, immediately after his arrival in 1806, and this school is considered to be the first modern school, which taught both English and vernacular.⁴⁴ In fact, from this village the missionary work was monitored and carried out to other villages.⁴⁵ When the chief mission station was shifted to Nagercoil, the LMS had its large number of its followers took interest to get their children educated and demanded the missionaries to establish more schools in and around a large number of villages.⁴⁶ As a result, at the end of the nineteenth century, the LMS mission with fifteen European missionaries, 426 teachers, and 200 women teachers, could establish 301 boys' schools

40 *LMS Directors Annual Report*, 1816, London, p. 361.

41 Edmund Crisp, 'London Missionary Society 1805,' in *CMS Missionary Register*, Madras, 1825, p. 82.

42 Sarah S. Gostling, 'Education in India: 'Why it takes more to cure a European of ignorance than it does a native','*LSE Selected Pamphlets*, 1885, p. 3. See also Franklin J. Balasundaram, *Depressed Class Movement and Protestant Missions in the Tamil Speaking Districts of the Madras Presidency, 1919-1939 with Special Reference to the London Missionary Society Areas in Salem, Attur, Coimbatore and Erode*, Unpublished M. Th. Dissertation, United Theological College, Bangalore, 1982.

43 John Reid, *Memoir of the late Rev. John Reid of Bellary*, Jackson & Walford, London & Gloscow, 1845, p. 134.

44 William Carey, the "Father of English Missions in India," in his letter dated Calcutta, 5 April 1805 wrote: "Schools are highly important ... but more especially affectionate conversation, must by no means neglected ... le us unite heartly in the same work in our different departments laying aside all inferior considerations ..." Quoted in Agur, *Church History of Travancore*, p. 468. More over, Ringeltaube started schools at Pichaikudiyiruppu, Thamaraiikulam, Puttalam, Attikadu, Koilvilai and Ethamozhy, where a total of 188 students received modern education by 1815. LMS Director's Annual reports, 1806-1815. See also R. J. Hepzi Joy, *History and Development of Education of Women in Kerala, (1819-1947)*, Seminary Publications, KUTS, Thiruvananthapuram, 1995, p. 246.

45 Zachariah, *The London Missionary Society in South Travancore*, p. 98. See also Lovett, *History of the LMS*.

46 Agur, *Church History*, p. 771.

with 11352 boys and 40 girls' schools where 4206 students got education.⁴⁷

Some of the most prominent schools established by the LMS during the nineteenth century included Petta High School in Bangalore, High school in Vizagapatam, High school in Belgaum, Bentinck High school in Madras, Khagra High school in Berhampur, High school in Salem, High school and Boarding school for boys in Coimbatore, Wills students' hostel in Trivandrum, High schools at Nagercoil, Marthandam, Neyyoor, and Trivandrum in Travancore.⁴⁸

The missionary method of attracting the illiterate, unfed and unclothed children by offering food, cloth and money, initially found favour among the parents, and was a breakthrough to bring the children to their schools. After they had been brought to some appreciation of the disadvantages of the instruction, the payments were discontinued from the colonial officials, and subsequently the tables were turned, and the pupils were required to contribute money towards the expenses of their own tuition in the later stages.⁴⁹ Bernard Cohn commented that the missionary schools became the crucial centres of moral education as these schools were keen on producing people,⁵⁰ with a sound moral, social, and transformative characters appropriating principles of social transformation.⁵¹

Subsequently, Bellary, which was the first missionary station for the LMS in Kannada (Canarese, according to missionary records) region, was set up by John Handa in 1810. Though it was always considered to be a separate region with people from all over South India, since its proximity towards Bangalore, Belgaum and other cities, the missionaries affiliated Bellary with the Kannada region. John Hands not only started a charity school for the education of European and Eurasian children in 1811, but also founded another school in 1813.⁵² The concept of free school was introduced in Kannada for the first time

47 *LMS Director's Annual Report*, 1900, London, p. 272. See also James, *Twenty-Five Years of the LMS*, p. 38.

48 James Dennis, *Christian Missions and Social Progress*, p. 25

49 *Christian Work: The News of the Churches*, vol. I, Magazine of Religious and Missionary Information, S.W. Partridge & Co, 1867, London, p. 246.

50 Cohn, *Colonialism*, p. 3.

51 William J. Abraham, 'Education, Social Transformation, and Intellectual Virtue,' *Christian Higher Education*, vol. V, no. 1, 2006, p. 8.

52 John Hands started his work at Cowl Bazaar and Bruce Pettah, grappled with Bellary's multilingual and multiethnic people, and obtained a plot and established the school for the education of "country

by the LMS missionaries. The LMS missionary from Bellary William Reeve in his letter dated 13th Feb 1818 stated that the Bellary Free School, instituted in November 1813 was intended for the purpose of educating, and clothing the poor, destitute native, half-caste, and European children.⁵³

Bellary had a huge European and Indian population representing different regions, compared with other neighbouring cities.⁵⁴ It became a challenging task for the LMS missionaries to start institutions because people of separate languages had to be taught in a very special way. Hence, in the missionary schools, Kannada, Tamil, English and other sections had to be established. LMS missionary John Hands founded a Central English School in 1816, for the students to make them suitable in government office as writers and copyists.⁵⁵ Wardlaw Institution for higher education was established in 1846 by Wardlaw as a central school. Joseph Taylor, LMS missionary, founded a mission station at Belgaum in 1820 and then established a school soon after in the missionary compound.⁵⁶ While almost all missionary organizations wanted to have their share in Bangalore by establishing schools and other establishments, the LMS had a major share in establishing institutions. Mrs. Laidler, commenced a school for the children of the descendants of European in Bangalore in 1820s.⁵⁷

The Telugu speaking area of the Madras Presidency, including the Ganjam District, had been in the forefront of missionary work since 1805, when LMS missionaries Augustus Desgranges and George Cran started their mission at Vizagapatam (today's Vizakapatnam), where they started the first school immediately after their arrival. John Hay spent forty-two long years of mission work there and established schools.⁵⁸ The LMS

born and native youth.” See Reid, *Memoir of the late Rev. John Reid of Bellary*, 1845, pp. 126-132. See also Chandra Mallampalli, *Race, Religion and Law in Colonial India: Trials of an Interracial Family*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2011, p. 28.

53 In 1818, there were 11 schools with 470 children. Letter of the LMS missionary William Reeve, dated February, 13, 1818 from Bellary Mission – House to the Secretary of the LMS in London. See for details *LMS Director's Annual Report*, Appendix, No. X, 1822, London, p. 161(See Appendix for the letter).

54 *Ibid.*, p. 154.

55 James Hough, *History of Christianity in India*, London, 1837, p. 101.

56 John Reid., *Memoir of the late Rev. John Reid of Bellary*, p. 132.

57 *LMS Director's Annual Report*, 1833, London, p. 61.

58 Silvester Horne, *The Story of the LMS*, London, 1895, p. 293.

missionary Howell started a mission station at Cudappa in 1832.⁵⁹ The LMS missionaries in Telugu regions took initiatives to set up schools wherever they went. The reports published by them suggest that the schools had functioned as rivals to traditional schools in one way or the other.

In Tinnevely, Robert Caldwell (1814-1891)⁶⁰ found that the state of basic education was deplorable. He was convinced that modern education was an unknown phenomenon to the bulk of the population. He added that there was no formal system of vernacular education as the medium of educating the people. Realizing the difficulty of the children, he established schools both in English and vernacular education. He attracted the attention of people with the scope for lucrative employment by means of English education. He, indeed, had penetrated the minds of the lower classes and the peasantry in the remotest districts of the country. He asserted that the educational work of the Society occupied a place of great importance. It was evident from the fact that the school and the congregation went hand in hand with regard to primary schools, boarding schools, and colleges.⁶¹

The following tables give us an idea of the LMS missionary stations, from where the concerned missionaries established, supervised and monitored schools in different parts of the Madras Presidency, including South Travancore. Even though the first school was established at Madras, the missionaries concentrated more on their nucleus area of South Travancore, where they founded more schools than any other mission station, and keep on

59 Reid, *Memoir of the late Rev. John Reid of Bellary*, p. 132.

60 Robert Caldwell was born in a Scottish Presbyterian family, studied at the University of Glasgow, and came to Madras in 1837 as an LMS missionary. As a missionary he was so grounded to the cause of the upliftment of the people, particularly the converts, so decided to work at Edaiyankudi in Tinnevely District since 1841. Due to the area bifurcation of the different missionary societies, certain parts of the Tinnevely District was allocated to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) in Foreign Parts and Caldwell decided to work with the SPG. Robert Caldwell's works like *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages*, Madras, 1856; *A Political and General History of Tinnevely in the Presidency of Madras from the Earliest period to its cession to the English Government in A.D. 1801*, Madras Government Press, 1881; *The Tinnevely Shanars: A Sketch of their Religion, and their Moral Condition and Characteristics, as a Caste*, Christian Knowledge Society Press, Madras, 1849; Benjamin Schultze's *Notices of Madras and Cuddalore*, Longman and co., 1858, and J. L. Wyatt, *Reminiscences of Bishop Caldwell*, Addison and Co., Madras, 1894 played a crucial role. See Pandian, *Brahmin and non-brahmin*, p. 21. Also see Y. Vincent Kumaradoss, *Robert Caldwell: A Scholar-Missionary in Colonial South India.*, ISPCK, Madras, 2007, pp. 27-30.

61 Wyatt, *Reminiscences of Bishop Caldwell*, pp. 122-130. Also see Kumaradoss, *Robert Caldwell*.

moving into new stations till the dawn of the twentieth century. Almost every school they had at the head stations, the central school used to be outstanding in teaching, infrastructure, curriculum, boarding etc, and produced most popular students who later on becoming prominent personalities in the colonial and native Governments.

Table I: LMS Mission Stations and Schools established till 1900.

S.No	Mission Stations	No. Branch Station	Mission started	Schools			
				Boys		Girls	
				No. of Schools	No. Scholars	No. of Schools	No. Scholars
1	Madras	6	1805	8	321	6	832
2	Thirupathur	10	1861	8	355	2	131
3	Salem	8	1824	10	635	8	839
4	Coimbatore	24	1830	22	1586	6	397
5	Travancore (Nagercoil Neyyoor, Parassala, Tiruvandrum, Quilon)	-	1806	358*	10585		4705
6	Bangalore	5	1820	5	645	8	597
7	Chik Ballapura	6	1890	4	93	3	73
8	Kadari	6	1890	8	311	1	35
9	Belgaum	6	1820	4	532	4	155
10	Bellary	10	1810	7	629	5	339
11	Gooty	49	1855	45*	709	-	236
12	Anantapur	12	1890	7	96	3	31
13	Cuddapah	172	1824	113*	1753		470
14	Vizagapatam	-	1805	4	703	5	410

Source: *LMS Directors' Report*, 1900, London, p. 272. Also see James, *Twenty-Five Years of the LMS*, p. 38.

*Mixed Schools(Co-education schools)

Table 2: LMS Mission Stations and Schools established till 1908.

S. No.	Mission Stations	No. Branch Station	Mission started	Schools			
				Boys		Girls	
				No. of Schools	No. Scholars	No. of Schools	No. Scholars
1	Madras	11	1805	13	397	9	918
2	Thirupathur	11	1861	8	695	-	-
3	Salem	15	1827	12	868	8	989
4	Erode	63	1839	57	1664	6	310
5	Coimbatore	77	1830	3	892	7	421
6	Travancore-(Nagercoil Neyyoor Parassala Trivandrum Alleppey)		1806	319	11586	37	4390
11	Bangalore	-	1820	5	902	3	750
12	Chik Ballapura	6	1890	8	223	2	175
13	Kadiri	19	1890	16	354	1	42
14	Bellary	9	1810	6	388	6	422
15	Gooty	67	1855	61*	951	-	292
16	Anantapur	18	1890	12	193	3	101
17	Cuddapah	214	1824	162*	1669	-	691
18	Vizagapatam	7	1805	6	994	1	147

Source: *LMS Directors' Report*, 1908, London, p. 292.

*Mixed Schools (Co-education schools)

4. Grant-in-Aid, Teaching, Learning and Examinations

In the annals of Indian education, Grant-in-Aid system was considered to be a crucial factor, as it was a distinguishing feature in the Education Despatch of 19 July 1854.⁶² It

62 This education despatch is usually called Wood's Despatch, after its Chairman Charles Wood. See Murdoch, *Education as a Missionary Agency in India*, p. 102.

was after the introduction of the policy of ‘downward filtration’ of the colonial Government, there was a change in the policy on education. Consequently, the Department of Public Instruction (DPI) was established and A. J. Arbuthnot became its first director. The missionaries were the best beneficiaries of this despatch as Government willingly contributed to almost all schools which had been running without any hindrance. Moreover, there were instances that the district collectors used to report the Governor-in-Council at Madras on the well-being of missionary schools and other institutions, and the activities of missionary teachers.⁶³ The despatch also recommended for the establishment of the universities in the Presidential cities and the elevation of some of the best run high schools into colleges. The Madras High School established in 1841 was remodeled into Presidency College.

It is to be stated that the missionary schools, which were established during the colonial era in India were not fully funded by the colonial government. Their funding agency was the parental committee represented by the directors and committee members, operated from the West. The case of the LMS was also the same, as the society represented as a non-denominational one, and so secured hundreds of donors and sponsors every year. The LMS made it clear that every pound received was made accountable through the treasurer. Obviously, the missionary stationed at the mission centre used to be the one who would receive the fund from the parental society, and would redistribute a partial amount to the schools run under the mission.⁶⁴ Nevertheless, the missionary schools enjoyed the benefits of Woods Despatch,⁶⁵ but during the introduction, it was an added advantage, as missionaries had a consummative amount of schools in the later part of the nineteenth century. On the Grant-in-Aid system and its implication on missionary schools John Murdoch wrote:

63 For instance, here the district collector of Salem in Madras Presidency forwarded a letter of the LMS missionary, Lechler for financial aid to the Governor. See Public Consultation dated 31 May 1853, File Nos. 34-36, TNA, Chennai.

64 In every annual report of a missionary society it was customary that the directors had to submit a report in the Annual General Body meeting, usually held in the month of May. The Treasurer of the society, who used to be the responsible person, would present the accounts in the meeting. In a normally hundred plus page annual report, one can observe dozens of pages used to be allocated for the Treasurer’s report and sponsor’s list.

65 Satakopachari, *The Educational Policy of the State in India*, Satakopachari & Co., Madras, 1904.

It was intended that the system of Grants-in-Aid should take its place among the educational arrangements of India as one of the most important means of extending the opportunities of education to the great mass of the population. It was indeed, anticipated that the system of Grants-in-Aid might to a great extent, take the place of Government schools and widely spread with a comparatively less expenditure of public money.⁶⁶

According to this plan, the Grant-in-Aid was to be awarded only on the principle of 'perfect religious neutrality' and that no preference was to be given to any school on the ground that any particular religious doctrines were taught and the Government was not to interfere with the actual management of a school thus aided, but would seek upon the frequent reports, of its inspectors to judge from results whether a good 'secular' education was practically imparted, or not, and it would withdraw its aid from any school which might be for any considerable period adversely reported, which also included teaching methods.⁶⁷

When few missionary schools were suspected for its alleged violation of the principles of the Grants-in-Aid system, alternative methods were sought. The question of funding for missionary establishments was seriously discussed by different missionary organisations in India. The missionary schools had decided to get financial assistance from three major sources—a grant from a home society abroad, fees of students, and a Government grant which never exceeded one half of the total expenditure.⁶⁸

For the missionary institutions another major source was the income generated from the hundreds of donors and contributors located in European and American countries.

66 In Madras Presidency, the system was first introduced, and the grant was used for payment of teachers – school masters and mistresses, payment of normal, scholarships, books of references, maps school books, school libraries and public libraries, school buildings, furniture etc. Murdoch, *Education as a Missionary Agency in India*, pp. 102-104.

67 Most of the missionary schools, though privately managed received Government grants. In Travancore, out of a total of 933 missionary schools in 1882, LMS had 212 schools and 149 were aided, and received Rupees 7617 and 12 *chakkarams*. In Madras presidency for instance, which had the largest mission schools in India, in 1901-02, of the upper secondary schools under mission management, 61 were aided by government and only 3 received no grants. In 1916-17, of the mission-controlled schools for Indian boys, 99 were aided. See for details Murdoch, *Education as a Missionary Agency in India*, p. 103. See also Mac Lean, *Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency*, p. 292. See also Reports on public instruction in Madras for 1901-02 and for the Quinquennium 1897-8 to 1901-02, vol. II, Table II, TNA, Chennai.

68 S.S. Allnut, 'The Present Needs of Christian Educational Enterprise in India' *The Harvest Field*, March 1895, Wesleyan Mission Press, Mysore, 1895, pp. 83-84.

Contributions to the parental societies and individual sponsors to the various projects of the mission field directly were also used for teachers' payment.⁶⁹ The LMS also received generous donations in London and distributed the same to its missionaries around the globe.

While the idea to gain education without having a teacher was a widely prevalent practice, missionaries tried to change the scenario upside down. They found that education was characteristically the work of teachers. To ensure efficiency and faithful discharge of duties by teachers, the LMS missionaries introduced innovative methods.

Despite all the engaged evangelistic works, every LMS missionary was destined to be a teacher in one way or the other. Missionaries discovered the kind of education needed in the rural villages of India, and planned accordingly for the preparation of teachers with adequate training.⁷⁰ They selected Anglo-vernacular teachers passed out from the teachers' training institutes.⁷¹ They also selected teachers from a variety of people comprising of both Christians and non-Christians, whosoever would be the most suitable candidate for the purpose. John W. Conklin, a missionary, who worked in India for almost a decade noted:

I secured a head master who was a bigoted Brahman, but a graduate of a teachers' college, and knew how to teach teachers to teach. His Brahmanism did not appear to hurt us; his pedagogy greatly helped us, and education in that field took a step forward.⁷²

Missionaries, particularly in India, professionalized teaching from the primary classes.⁷³

69 For instance, Septimus Scott of London individually contributed £5000 in 1899 for the establishment of Scott Christian College, Nagercoil, and so the college was named after him. See Chapter IV.

70 Mason Olcott, *Village Schools in India: An Investigation with Suggestions*, Association Press, Calcutta, 1926, pp. 1-5.

71 Norman Goodall, *A History of the London Missionary Society*, p. 34.

72 Conklin, *Necessity for Training in Teaching*, p. 178.

73 Throughout the nineteenth century in the Madras Presidency, a peculiar system of school education was followed. The professional school teaching used to start from the Upper Primary class (Class VI), otherwise most popularly called Form I or Standard I, so the Upper Primary classes were Class VI and Class VII (Form I and Form II); Middle classes were Classes VIII and IX (Form III and Form IV); High school class was Class X (Form V); and finally the highest class in every High School was Class XI (Form VI), generally and popularly called the Matriculation Class. There was no Board during this period and the examinations upto High school was not so popular like the examination for the Matriculation Class as it was conducted by the Madras University only. This exam most likely prepared all students for writing in professional discourses, regardless of whether or not the students

The teachers were recruited at different levels: Elementary, Primary, High School and Matriculation. By the end of the nineteenth century, both Protestants and Catholics began to show great interest in professional teacher training.⁷⁴ The Madras Government conducted Licentiate of Teaching (L.T) examination for those who had completed the course on teaching, conducted at different centres.⁷⁵

One of the most important facilitation for teachers was the distribution of their monthly remuneration. In 1870s, the teachers of the missionary- run schools in Madras Presidency were divided into five grades.⁷⁶ The Grade I teacher was a B.A passed; Grade II was a F.A (First in Arts) passed; Grade III was a Matriculation passed; Grade IV, a High school examination passed; and Grade V was an Elementary School certificate holder. The first grade teacher was given Rs. 100; Grade II- Rs. 75; Grade III- Rs. 50; Grade IV- Rs. 25; and finally, Grade-V teacher was offered a monthly remuneration of Rs. 10 only.⁷⁷ The salary grant was offered based on the qualification and teaching capabilities, not on the seniority. There were certificated and un certificated teachers.⁷⁸ In fact, a half-salary grant was allowed to certificated teacher and only one-third could be claimed by an uncertificated teacher.⁷⁹

Since these missionary institutions were autonomous, the certificate of the institution or the 'guru' was more sufficient for securing a moderate job even though examinations were

pursued their education beyond the Matriculation examination. See Superintendent, *Report of the Administration of the Madras Presidency, During the Year 1896-97*, Education, Government Press, TNA, Madras, 1897, pp. 168-184; See also Joseph Jeyaraj, 'British Indian Grammar, Writing Pedagogies, and Writing for the Professions: Classical Pedagogy in British India,' *Technical Communication Quarterly*, vol. 19, no. 4, 2010, p. 379.

74 Julia, 'Christian Education,' p. 154.

75 In 1896, there were 42 such centres run by both Government and missionaries in the Madras Presidency. Report of the Administration of the Madras Presidency, During the Year 1896-97, TNA, Chennai, pp. 178, 183-186. Also see Malathy Ramanathan, *Sister Subbalakshmi: Social Reformer and Educationist*, p. 25.

76 John Murdoch, *Education as a Missionary Agency in India*, Caleb Foster, Madras, 1872, pp. 104-105.

77 *Ibid.*, p. 104.

78 Certificated Teachers were usually those who attended some classes of a school master and acquired some knowledge to teach the village children after receiving a certificate from the master. The Uncertificated Teachers were the ones who acquired some innate knowledge to teach but never received a certificate from any master or institution. See *Ibid.*, p. 105.

79 Six hours a day of mental effort was expected from every teacher of a school getting aid from the Government. The missionaries also received half-grant for teaching secular instruction for four hours in a day in Madras Presidency, but some of the missionaries taught more than the stipulated time. *Ibid.*, pp. 104-05.

not popular till the mid-nineteenth century. More over, when there was a demand for highly qualified persons for the colonial and native Governments, systematization of the secondary education was made, particularly in the late nineteenth century. The public examination for the elementary schools was open to all students who were interested to attend in the Madras Presidency.⁸⁰

It was during in the 1850s the Madras Government appointed a Director of Public Instruction and under his guidance persons with higher educational qualification were employed as School Inspectors, throughout the Madras Presidency.⁸¹ These inspectors were authorized to regularly visit the missionary schools, either alone or in company of missionary and inspected the schools and reported the outcome of the same to the Government. School inspectors were also employed, under the missionaries' superintendence, to instruct the school masters, when they assemble at the head stations on one day in each week.⁸²

5. Education for Underprivileged

The missionary intervention on education among the oppressed people was one of the predominant aspects of Indian educational historiography. Christian missions in India critiqued and challenged the certain social customs and protested the operation of slavery as an institution and the immolation of widows on the pyre of their diseased husbands.⁸³ Similarly, caste as a social practice had controlled the social structure of the communities and became a powerful tool socially, economically and politically.⁸⁴

European observers of the nineteenth century regarded the caste system of Madras Presidency in general and Travancore in particular as the most rigid in the subcontinent.⁸⁵

80 At the higher level, examinations were introduced after the establishment of the Madras University for Matriculation, F. A. (First in Arts), B. A., and M. A. (Refer to Chapter IV). Malathy Ramanathan, *Sister Subbalakshmi: Social Reformer and Educationist*, pp. 11, 21.

81 *Report of the Administration of the Madras Presidency*, 1896-97, pp. 174-175.

82 *Report of the South India Missionary Conference May 1858*, held at Ootacamund, printed by D.P.L.C. Conner at the press of the Society for Promoting Christian knowledge, Madras, 1858, p. 115.

83 Quoted in D. Christudas, *From Tranquebar to Travancore*, p. xv.

84 Samuel Mateer, *Native Life in Travancore*, H. Allen & Co., London, 1883, pp. 31-32.

85 Cohn, *Colonialism*, p. 139.

Nairs, Vellalars, Mudaliars were from the Sudra caste, and Shanars (Nadars),⁸⁶ Ezhavas, Vokkaligas etc., enjoyed a social status between the high caste Sudras and the low caste or untouchables - Parayars, Pallars, Pulayas,⁸⁷ Pallars, Sambhavas, Chakkiliars, Malas, Madigas⁸⁸ etc. These depressed classes, due to their social and economic disabilities, excluded from the core values and privileges of the society and were not allowed to educate themselves. Having seen the nefarious caste system, John Charles Harris argued:

Nowhere in the world were the circles of exclusion more impenetrable than in India: barricades of religious bigotry, of racial and temperamental diversity, and most of all the cruel system of caste, inbred through centuries of custom, and inwoven into the whole social fabric. But love had the wit to win, and enter through the one gateway no laws can shut the gateway of pain.⁸⁹

The lowest section of the society was occupied by the 'slave castes,' who had very poor living conditions, and were allegedly treated worst by the upper castes.⁹⁰ Severe taxes were imposed on the lower caste people for conducting marriages and other functions,⁹¹ their presence anywhere in the vicinity of a Brahmin was considered to be polluted, and they were not permitted to construct homes and were asked to live always in the makeshifts made at the embankment of the paddy fields by the landlords and left with no scope for education. Samuel Mateer, who was an LMS missionary at Pareychaley (Parassala) said:

So dreadful is the ignorance of the people through want of education ... the ignorance of the Pariahs and Pulayas, who could never read proclamations themselves, nor ordinary approach the places of public resort where Government notices are proclaimed.⁹²

Mateer again argued that by 1870, half a million low-caste people constituting no less than

86 Robert Hardgrave, *Nadars of Tamil Nadu: The Political Culture of a Community in Change*, California University Press, 1969, p. 21.

87 The LMS had established separate the 'Pulayas Charity School' in Trivandrum in 1861. See Kawashima, *Missionaries*, p. 88.

88 The *Malas* were traditionally weavers, but forced to become agricultural workers during early twentieth century, and *Madigas* were leather workers engaged in the tanning of skins and the making of leather articles. See Susan Billington Harper, 'The Dornakal Church on the Cultural Frontier' in Judith M. Brown and Robert Eric Frykenberg (eds), *Christians, Cultural Interactions, and India's Religious Traditions*, William B. Eerdmans, Cambridge, London, 2002, pp. 185-186.

89 Harris, *Pioneers of London Missionary Society*, p. 89.

90 R.N. Yesudhas, *A Peoples Revolt in Travancore*, Kerala Historical Society, Thiruvananthapuram, 1975, p. 33.

91 Mateer, *Native Life*, p. 333.

92 *Ibid.*, pp. 24-25.

one-third of the whole population of Travancore, should be educated, enfranchised, enlightened about the rights and liberties of citizenship.⁹³

The oppressed classes lived on meager daily wages from agricultural and leather work. They were prohibited from drawing water from common wells and from living in the main village. Their touch was considered to be polluting. In addition, these untouchable groups had a long-standing rivalry among them over who occupied the higher position in the social hierarchy.⁹⁴ Their children were found to be ‘literally naked, merely starved and almost ignorant as brutes’ when they were found on the streets and taken by the missionaries to schools, where they were provided education with free boarding and clothing.⁹⁵

It could be summed up that in the nineteenth century India, the poor classes were predominantly illiterate, underwent extreme poverty, there were inadequate means of communication, the conflict of communal interests and ambitions and the seemingly unbridgeable chasm between rural and urban life - all of which had operated to prevent the growth of a desire for education among the masses which were largely rural and agricultural, while the middle classes were educated in a proportion equal to that of countries which were socially and economically much more highly developed.⁹⁶

As a result, conversion to Christianity in the nineteenth century was often perceived as one of the ways of escaping from caste oppression.⁹⁷ It is observed that the missionaries attempted to ‘free’ the people from what they saw as the ‘thralldom of the caste system,’⁹⁸ where the lower classes disgruntled with the rigid Hindu system of *varnashramadharma* for endorsing the caste system, and turning them to Christianity and English education in

93 Mateer, *Land of Charity*, p. 68.

94 Harper, *Ibid.*, p. 186.

95 *LMS Directors Annual Report*, 1820, London, p. 161.

96 George Allen Odgers, ‘Education in British India,’ *The Phi Delta Kappan*, vol. 8, no. 2, October, 1925, p. 2.

97 Rowena Robinson and Joseph Marianus Kujur, ‘Introduction’ in Rowena Robinson and Joseph Marianus Kujur (eds), *Margins of Faith: Dalit and Tribal Christianity in India*, Sage, 2010, p. 5.

98 Cohn, *Colonialism*, p. 140.

order to escape their caste oppression.⁹⁹

The missionary model of establishing schools was later on picked up by other sections of the people including foreigners who associated themselves with the growing anti-colonial struggles. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the Theosophical Society also took interest in establishing some schools for the untouchables in the Madras region. Henry Steel Olcott, who founded these schools, specifically for the Pariah children not only gave admission to the poorest of the poor, but also supported the children through other means. By 1902, four such schools were in operation under the direction of Miss. E.E. Parmer of the University of Minnesota.¹⁰⁰ Gradually the indigenous groups as well as individuals also came up to help the masses by launching their programmes.

In addition to this, the Pariah Mahajana Sabha had complained to the Madras Government that admission of Pariah children to the Government schools in Madras was difficult and fee concessions were not extended to them in many schools. The Sabha also requested the Government to lower the standard of the qualifying test for admission to subordinate medical services.¹⁰¹

It was in this context, the depressed class leaders, particularly Sree Narayana Guru, Kumaran Asan, Aiyankali, Jothirao Phuley, Iyothee Thasar and so on had challenged the educational scenario in favour of the lower classes, when the children of these castes were given free education not only in the mission schools, but also in the Government school in large numbers. It was indeed a great thing that some of the schools for the lower castes were started in the late nineteenth century at different places in Madras Presidency. Iyothee Thasar and John Rathinam had taken utmost importance to inculcate and impart modern education to Pariah students since the last decade of the nineteenth century;¹⁰²

99 A. Suresh Canagarajah, *Resisting Linguistic Imperialism in English Teaching*, Oxford University Press, 1999, p. 62.

100 Raj Kumar (ed.), *Essays on Social Reform Movements*, Discovery Publishing House, New Delhi, 2004, p. 188.

101 G. O. No. 33, Education, Home Department Files, January 25, 1899, TNA, Madras, n.p.

102 It is to be noted here that Pandit Iyothee Thasar was immensely helped by the founders of the Theosophical Society Henry Steel Olcott and Blavatsky. See V. Alex (ed.), *The Education of the Dalits: with reference to the activities of the 'Panchama Free Schools' of the Theosophical Society*, Adyar, Madras, Ezhuthu, 2009.

Ramalinga Adigalar started schools in central Tamil speaking districts; Virasalingam Pantalu commenced schools at Rajamundry in the Telugu-Andhra region in 1878¹⁰³ and Sree Narayana Guru and his followers in Travancore-Kerala.

Along with these initiatives, the missionaries undertook initiatives to inculcate western values to the depressed classes and, made it a policy to establish schools wherever they worked. As a result, they could succeed partially in certain parts of the country. This became possible largely due to the remarkable facilities they offered for the educational advancement and vocational training of the poor and depressed classes.¹⁰⁴ Guari Viswanathan argued that historically, missionary schools opened their doors to socially excluded groups, while the schools run by the colonial government had as their main clientele students from the upper castes.¹⁰⁵

It is to be noted that the way in which missionaries used education as means of social change was later seen as a historic precedent to be followed by people of other religious groups in general and proponents of socio-religious reform movements in particular. The transcending nature of missionaries irrespective of caste, colour and creed over a period of time developed a series of ideas to be imbibed by the Indian intellectuals to visualize the reality of an egalitarian, just and a democratic society through education as an instrument of change.¹⁰⁶

6. School for Slave Children

The slavery in Tamil country existed even during medieval times, particularly in Tanjore, where girls were sold to the temple, were called *tevaratiyar* (servant of god) and were

103 Virasalingam made female education and widow remarriage the key points of his program for social change. He opened his first girls' school in 1874 at Rajamundry in the Telugu region of the Madras Presidency. See Geraldine Forbes, *Women in Modern India*, p. 24.

104 Thomas Pothancamury, 'Studies,' *An Irish Quarterly Review*, vol. 34, no. 136, December, 1945, p. 468.

105 Gauri Viswanathan, 'Literacy in the Eye of India's Conversion Storm' in Kenneth Mills and Anthony Grafton (eds) *Conversion: Old Worlds and New*, University of Rochester Press, New York, 2003, p. 280.

106 L. Sahanam, *The Contributions of LMS missionaries in the Field of Education in South Travancore-A Historical Enquiry*, M. Th. Dissertation (Unpublished) submitted to United Theological College, Bangalore, 1976, p. 1.

considered to be *atimai* (slave).¹⁰⁷ A. Subramanian was of the opinion that there was slavery existed in South India, particularly in Tamil country since time immemorial - Pallavas, Chozhas, Pandiyas, Vijay Nagar Empire, Tanjore Mahrattas, Travancore Kingdom- all had slaves.¹⁰⁸ William Adam, a former missionary and sometimes professor in Bengal in his lecture at the World Anti-Slavery Convention held in London in 1840 observed that famine sales arose 'from the strength of natural affection on the part of the parents to preserve their offspring from starvation.'¹⁰⁹ The question of slavery had always been synonymous with social disability irrespective of caste, colour, gender and religion.

Similarly, the practice of untouchability, as an accident of birth, which continued, stigmatized and ostracized millions of people under subjugation in a caste system came under the scathing attack of missionaries.¹¹⁰ In a similar way, the hierarchical Hindu social structure had suppressed the untouchables in Madras Presidency. According to missionaries, the caste system was not merely social evils but economic deprivations and political ostracisations.¹¹¹ The missionaries took notice of the socio-economic conditions of the slaves and depressed classes, which had been most humiliating and deplorable, and came out with some supporting programmes especially through education.¹¹² When the British Parliamentarian William Wilberforce and his supporters made initiatives to abolish slavery in England and of the parts of the world, it took a different form as the Christian missionaries in general and LMS missionaries in particular tried to overcome by accommodating the children of slaves in their schools.

In fact, slavery had its stronghold in Malabar district during the colonial era, where the slave population increased in three ways: by birth, purchase and sale, and the operation of

107 Vijaya Ramaswamy, 'Aspects of Women and Work in Early South India' in Kumkum Roy (ed.), *Women in Early Indian Societies*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1999, pp. 150-171.

108 A. Subramanian, *Tamizhakathil Adimai Murai* (Eng. Trans: Slavery in Tamizhagam), Kaalachuvadu, Nagercoil, 2005, pp. 21-25.

109 Andrea Major, *Slavery, Abolitionism and Empire in India, 1772-1843*, Liverpool University Press, Liverpool, 2012, p. 322.

110 Robert Deliege, *The Untouchables of India*, Berg Publishers, Oxford, 1999. Also see Eleanor Zelliot, *From Untouchable to Dalit: Essays on the Ambedkar Movement*, Manohar, 2005.

111 V. R. Krishna Iyer, 'forward' in K.Saradmoni, *Emergence of a Slave Caste: Pulayas of Kerala*, Peoples Publishing House, 1980, p. vii.

112 Samuel Mateer, *Land of Charity*, p. 41.

the laws and customs of the upper castes toward slaves were infringing. Persons belonging to the upper castes, especially women, who were convicted of serious caste offences, were declared as outcastes and were condemned to be slaves. Utilising the situation, LMS missionaries took them to their schools, taught them education, gave them training, and even recruited them as teachers in their schools.

In South Travancore, few caste groups¹¹³ were considered to be agrestic slaves, owned, bought and sold like any other property by their landlords and masters.¹¹⁴ They were led in an inhuman, barbaric way, and in the most defiant way of human slavery, as they were allowed to wear only a coarse cloth fastened round the loins, and a small piece tied around the head as a head-dress.¹¹⁵ Having learned the indignant position of slavery, the LMS missionary Samuel Mateer wrote:

...Pulayars, Parayars and Pallars were considered to be the slave castes. Of these the Pulayars was the lowest slave caste, who would reside in miserable huts or shed, generally called '*maadam*,' on mounds in the centre of the rice swamps, or on the raised embankments in their vicinity. They were engaged in agriculture as the servants of the *sudras* and other landowners. Wages were usually paid to them in kind...¹¹⁶

Meanwhile, the *munsiff* humiliated the Pariars by not giving their land they had been accustomed to cultivate and denied the 'ownership-puttah,' the formal Government order to them. They were not given the receipts for the taxes paid. The lands, which had been cultivated and utilized by the Pariars were classified as '*puramboke*' (uncultivated). The village money lenders made problems with these oppressed sessions, and made them to fall into the 'debt trap' permanently by using their scrupulous and scandalous ways and pushed them to the level of slaves, to work continuously for them without any payment.

113 A Pulayan never dared to say 'I' but, would say 'adiyen' or 'your slave.' He would be allowed to construct his house-shed only on the embankments of the village ponds and at the corner of the cultivable land. He was not allowed to erect a better house, and if done, would immediately be torn down by the infuriated Sudras. When speaking he must place the hand over the mouth, lest the breath should go forth and pollute the person whom he is addressing. See Mateer, *Land of Charity*, p. 45.

114 Saradmoni, *Emergence of a Slave Caste*, p. 10.

115 Mateer, *Land of Charity*, p. 44.

116 Pulayars and Parayars were considered to be slave castes. Mateer, *Land of Charity*, p. 42. See also Dick Kooiman, 'Conversion from Slavery to Plantation Labour: Christian Mission in South India (19th Century),' *Social Scientist*, vol. 19, no. 8/9, Aug-Sept. 1991, pp. 59-63. See Robert Eric Frykenberg, *Christianity in India*, p. 226.

More over, the caste Hindus did not allow them to get into important streets, wells, temples and even ordinary elementary schools.¹¹⁷ These sections later formed the part of missionary schools as student-cum -teachers.

In fact, the missionary women perceived the issue through imparting education to the unlettered slave girls not only infused the idea of empowerment and equality but sowed the seeds for caste conscious movements. Martha Mault, wife of an LMS missionary Charles Mault, wrote in 1831 on the slave girls who were admitted into her school that about one-third of the girls in her school were slaves, and as the children of slaves they were always the property of the mother's master. Missionaries taught them and formed the resolution that each girl, by her own industry, should purchase her freedom before she left the school. In most of the cases the girls who had completed the courses were left free by their masters, so the wishes of the missionary women had been realized.¹¹⁸ As a result, missionary role of a benevolent despot became inevitable.

These slaves later sent their children to missionary schools when missionaries attempted to do away with the practice. Schools for slaves became a powerful campaign in South Travancore. The Protestant missionaries representing LMS and CMS had submitted a memorandum to the Maharaja through the British Resident on 19th March 1847 to free the slaves, but met with serious opposition. In their letter they claimed that there were a total of 164,864 slaves in Travancore. The letter appealed the Raja to pass a law against slavery.¹¹⁹ W. Cullen, the British Resident of Travancore-Cochin wrote to Thomas Pycroft, the Chief Secretary of the Government of Madras: '...I was frequently visited by large number of proprietors, complaining bitterly that they lost the services of their slaves on Sundays and that slaves had in other respects proved very refractory. Another subject of irritation has been the exception on the part of all Shanars attached to the

117 William Gould, 'How the Pariahs are Oppressed?' *The Harvest Field*, July 1895, pp. 282-283.

118 Quoted in Yesudas, *A History of Women's Education*, p. 32. Also see Letter of Martha Mault addressed to a friend at St. Neots, Huntingdonshire, *Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle*, vol. XI, New Series, 1831, p. 32.

119 V.K. Ramachandran, 'On Kerala's Development Achievement' in Jean Dreze and Amartya Sen (eds), *Indian Development: Selected Regional Perspectives*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1996, pp. 274-275, footnote 77. Also see Sharadamoni, *Emergence of a Slave Caste*, p. 80.

mission of *ooliyam*¹²⁰ duties on Sundays, and from work connected with Hindu festivals or places of worship.¹²¹

Despite the fact that the British Government abolished slavery in 1843, Travancore had continued the practice until the Maharajah's proclamation for the abolition of the Government slaves was introduced only in October 1853. The proclamation was intended for the 'amelioration of slavery,' and liberating all Government slaves, as the Government also had its own slaves in thousands at different plantations of her own. The Government liberated the slaves, who had been forbidden the courts of justice providing opportunity to hold property and obtaining redress for injuries the same as freemen.¹²²

Yet, the school building as well as teaching and learning were totally prohibited to slave children, especially boys, till the mid-nineteenth century, and so there was no systematic attempt at the education of the slave castes. A few slave girls were admitted in the boarding schools by the missionary wives. There was nobody readily available to teach the slave castes till 1861, when the LMS missionaries opened Pulayars' Charity School in Trivandrum.¹²³

In continuation of this the LMS missionaries initiated a highly appreciable attitude of inviting slave children into their schools by offering special gifts and awards to the native teachers. In fact, the LMS missionaries adventured the new method for enrollments. Hence, in South Travancore, the enrollment of slave children in the schools had an interesting story behind. The native priest of Ponneri, near Manalikadu, had admitted few slave boys in a missionary village school. When Charles Mead, the LMS superintending missionary of Neyyoor went through the monthly attendance list he noticed that new names were added in the registers. This made him to enquire the teachers and found that the names belonged to the so called slave castes. Mead was so keen on attracting slave

120 Wage free labour, or sometimes compulsory duty in connection with temples and other Hindu festivals.

121 W. Cullen, the British Resident's letter dated 16 February 1859 to Thomas Pycroft, Chief Secretary, Government of Madras. Also see D. Peter and Ivy Peter (eds), *Liberation of the Oppressed: A Continuous Struggle*, Kanyakumari Institute of Development Studies, Nagercoil, 2009, pp. 152-153.

122 Mateer, *Land of Charity*, p. 44.

123 Kawashima, *Missionaries*, p. 88.

children in one way or the other. He announced that every school would be given one *fanam* (a silver coin equivalent to 1/7 of a Travancore Rupee) in addition to his monthly salary for every slave boy he brought to school and one-and-a-half *fanams* for every slave girl. The next year, more than 1000 slave children were enrolled in the missionary schools.¹²⁴

The whole scenario began to change once the slave children were admitted in schools and imparted formal education. The slavery system in India was thoroughly studied not in the western context but analysed in the Indian situation so as to liberate them through education, which are dialogical and theoretical, based largely on egalitarian, inclusive and just society model.

7. Vernacular Education¹²⁵ in the Making

Education through vernacular languages was considered to be an important ideology to influence the learners. For instance, the Anglican and Congregational missionaries who purchased lands from the local landlords and colonial Government, formed dozens of villages, particularly in Tinnevely and Kanyakumari districts of South India, for those

124 Agur, *Church History*, pp. 468-469. Also see Gnanadason, *A Forgotten History*, p. 77.

125 The system of State vernacular education in the nineteenth century embraces: village schools, district schools or central schools and aided schools receiving grants. A Vernacular Education Department was organized in 1866 in Travancore. The course of instruction in the village schools consisted of reading, writing on both paper and arithmetic, geography and lessons on health. The course of instruction in the district schools was the same, but the standard was higher, and Indian history was also taught. Sanskrit was taught in class III and Tamil in all the *talook* schools in South Travancore. In the girls' schools, where some of the teachers were females, the subjects were the same as in the *talook* schools, with the addition of some vocal music. There was a central vernacular school at Trivandrum, where the standard embraces the first book of Euclid, algebra (to simple equations) and the history of India and Travancore. The class books used in all the vernacular schools had been translated or compiled by a committee which was brought into existence simultaneously with the system of State vernacular education. Uniform fee was collected in all schools, namely two *annas* (approximately six paise as sixteen annas equal one Rupee) except girls' schools, where no fee was levied. See for details Mac Lean, *Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency*, pp. 287-293.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, while India was covered with a network of colleges and high schools, primary vernacular education tended to lag behind. Between 1896-97 and 1901-02, while the number of pupils in colleges and secondary schools increased by 49000, the increase in primary school pupils was only 1000. The number of primary schools declined from 97881 to 92226 during 1897-1902. In 1925, primary education is not only unsatisfactory in quantity, but the standard of work was deplorable. Few students could get beyond the lowest class and many soon lapse into illiteracy after leaving the school. Scarcely 3% of India's population was enrolled in the primary school. See Odgers, *Education in British India*, p. 2. See also Basu, *The Growth of Education*, p. 60.

converted into the newfound faith and were rejected by their community after conversion. They established not only village settlements for converts, but also vernacular schools. It is in this context, the use of vernacular education was seen as a benevolent ideology, intended largely to reach and reform people's thinking in mother tongue.

The fact of the matter is that the indigenous schools in India always had the native language as the medium of instruction though it was not open to the masses. Missionaries paid greater attention to the study of native languages in the early stages of the development of Indian languages, for, they were sure that the knowledge of Indian languages was the means of gaining more knowledge of the strange customs, codes, and rules of India.¹²⁶ Similarly, the Portuguese schools disseminated education in the vernacular language only at the elementary level.¹²⁷ There had been scattered and discontinuous efforts to learn Sanskrit, during Jesuit missionaries in Madurai in the seventeenth century and most of their times were dedicated to preach Christianity among the religiously influential sections including Brahmins.¹²⁸

In the early modern period, the Protestant missionaries such as Ziegenbalg, William Carey, Joshua Marshman and William Ward had undertaken some indefatigable efforts to translate the Bible and other books into native Indian languages. Though the translations were very far from perfect, they are considered to be the pioneers, for their unflinching commitment of the learning of vernacular languages and translating many books into vernacular and other European languages.¹²⁹ The colonial officials felt the knowledge of Indian languages was most essential to gain the knowledge about India and her people, who were in most instances docile, cooperative, and quite willing to obey the orders and commands of the sahibs, except when ignorance led the latter to offend the prejudices of the natives.¹³⁰

126 Sherring, *History of Protestant Missions*, p. 465. Also see Cohn, *Colonialism*, p. 42.

127 However, in order to strengthen Portugal's hold on Goa, Konkani was banned by viceregal decree on 27 June 1684, and parish priests and school masters were instructed to teach only in the colonial language. Heredia, 'Education and Mission,' p. 2333.

128 Cohn, *Colonialism*, p. 25.

129 Laird, *Contribution of the Serampore Missionaries to Education*, p. 94.

130 In the late years of the eighteenth century, general British incompetence in Indian languages yielded to a concerted effort to produce a set of texts – grammars, dictionaries, teaching aids- which were to

It was during the colonial period, throughout Madras Presidency, the Dravidian languages were popular among the masses, and vernacular education was in their own respective mother tongues. Apart from Sanskrit, English, Portuguese and French, Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, and Malayalam were the most popular languages. Robert Caldwell applied some methods that had been so successful in constructing the history of the Indo-European family of languages to the South-Indian languages, which he labeled as the Dravidian language family.¹³¹ Simultaneously missionaries paid adequate attention to study the native languages.¹³² Moreover, missionaries found it easy to translate the Bible into the vernacular languages than to teach the masses the English language, which gave them enthusiasm to develop the idea of vernacular education than ever before.¹³³

The LMS missionaries focused their attention more on vernacular elementary education for the masses and children, particularly those from the down-trodden, who needed education and believed that the vernacular would always be the best medium of education for the population as a whole for which they had started schools in places where they worked. The instruction given in these schools was rudimentary, but the students were attracted by the environment and facilities offered. The first books they used were made of *oleis* or leaves of palm tree. The students had alphabet, spelling and reading classes. But the missionaries took harsh measures on the schoolmasters by siphoning an *anna*¹³⁴ a month from their salaries if the child failed to get through a class within a specified time and continued the process until the child got-passed.¹³⁵

Thus, the missionaries took initiatives to teach their students not only classical literature and vernaculars, but foreign languages including Greek, Latin and Hebrew so as to make

make the acquisition of a working knowledge of the languages of India available to those British officials who were to be part of ruling groups in India. Refer Cohn, *Colonialism*, pp. xiii, 42.

131 Cohn, *Colonialism*, p. 54.

132 Sherring, *History of Protestant Missions*, p. 465.

133 The attempts made by eminent missionary scholars like Robert Caldwell, G. U. Pope, and the LMS missionaries Charles Mead and Samuel Mateer (Trivandrum), John Abbs (Parassala), John Hands (Bellary), Benjamin Rice (Bangalore) and James Duthie (Nagercoil), led to the establishment of vernacular schools in different parts of Madras Presidency. See for details, John D Windhausen, 'The Vernaculars, 1835-1839: A Third Medium for Indian Education,' *Sociology of Education*, vol. 37, no. 3, Spring 1964, p. 255.

134 One-sixteenth of a rupee, that is, almost six paise.

135 Kumaradoss, *Robert Caldwell*, pp. 18, 60, 81.

the students aware of the roots of the Christian scripture, which was written in Hebrew and Greek languages and to make them local missionaries in India. For example, George Uglow Pope, a man of varied abilities and accomplishments and an enthusiastic teacher, who came to Madras in 1839, arrived and took his abode at Tinnevely in 1842, founded Sawyerpuram Institution (today's Pope's College) for higher learning, and established many vernacular schools in the various places north of the Thamiraparani River.¹³⁶

The LMS gave greater emphasis on Tamil language than English and expressed the view that English should be regarded as subordinate to the language of the Tamil speaking areas since 1860s. In 1862, a decision was taken to stop gradually all teaching in English as far as those educated at the expense of the LMS were concerned. In support of this decision, the official reports referred to the availability of a sufficient number of Tamil language class books to pursue studies with advantage solely in the vernacular and to the need of their countrymen, amongst whom they would be sent for labour.¹³⁷

The missionaries taught English also, for the English education they provided had stretched the 'imagination' of the upper castes 'fired' by the attraction of lucrative employment, especially in civil appointments gained through the competitive examinations. They attributed the willingness of parents to pay to the increased appreciation of the benefits of education, especially the acquisition of knowledge of English, which opened the doors for lucrative posts chiefly in the government. The LMS had developed 'master plan', and 'master's plan' for the schools started in various locations of the Presidency. The master's salary was not only depended on the number of pupils he had, but on whether they had written down and could recite from memory the prescribed amount from the textbooks, to the satisfaction of the Superintendents on their monthly visits.¹³⁸ This idea, however, favoured the notion of by-heart culture, not

136 *Ibid.*

137 Kooiman, *Conversion and Social Equality*, p. 112.

138 They also noted that the trend towards seeking employment by means of English education had penetrated the minds of the 'lower classes in the extreme south.' This was the general view of almost all missionaries came from Scottish background, including Alexander Duff of Calcutta. The Scottish Church Institution he established in 1830s had enrolled hundreds of students within a few days of its opening. Wyatt, *Reminiscences of Bishop Caldwell*, pp. 122-130. Also see Kumaradoss, *Robert Caldwell*. See also Laird, *Contribution of the Serampore Missionaries to Education*, p. 104.

allowing the students to think independently and to do things differently. Nevertheless, the inter-mingling of students in these schools cultivated a new approach to look the issue of untouchability with a different perspective.

Thus, the idea of mass education began to emerge to cater to the needs of larger communities, encapsulating a range of new schools of different kinds, not only with the tune of conventional models but to make the people scientifically aware, socially reasoning, and politically conscious in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

8. Printing Culture and Idea of Mass Literacy

Even though it has been argued that the concept of mass education programme came into being only in the twentieth century in India, the incredible way it was carried out by the Protestant missionaries during the early part of nineteenth century was extremely presentable. The missionary attempts to set up of printing press, publication of text books, and establishment of *Bazar*¹³⁹ schools, Sunday Schools, Night schools,¹⁴⁰ Adult Education and Public Libraries awakened the people for education than ever before. Missionary idea of mass education was meant to make the people aware of the crucial issues but to make the lower classes understand their difficulties. While Hindu and Muslim parents were found to be unwilling to send their children to the mission compound schools, the reform-minded missionaries had to find new ways to get their children.

The LMS missionaries constructed new buildings near bazars or market places, in South Travancore, which were used for both educational and religious purposes. For instance, the Bazar school was started in 1821 and considered to be one of the four important schools under the mission, and was well attended by Hindus, Brahmins and Muslims.¹⁴¹ Charles Mault, the LMS missionary who started these schools at Nagercoil noted that the Bazar schools continued to be examined every week as the quality was considered to be

139 The word 'bazar' was used by missionaries in the missionary records to indicate market place.

140 Quoted in Dick Kooiman, 'Who is to benefit from Missionary Education? Travancore in the 1930s' in Robert A. Bickers and Rosemary Seton (eds), *Missionary Encounters: Sources and Issues*, Curzon Press, Richmond, 1996, p. 168. Kawashima, *Missionaries*, p. 86.

141 In 1822, there were 40 children and in 1823 the number increased to 50, and the missionaries started similar schools in different places. *LMS Directors' Annual Report*, 1824, London, p. 86.

one of the objectives.¹⁴²

Similarly, missionaries established adults' schools to educate them in the villages, which enabled many more to learn how to read¹⁴³ and write in Tamil, Malayalam, Kanada and Telugu languages. The Bazar schools were later converted into Evening schools and Night schools. The first evening school was opened in 1861, and by 1864 there were eleven such schools in operation and most of the neo-literates were pulayas and pariahs.¹⁴⁴ Meanwhile, there were separate schools for destitute, widows and deserted women. For instance, 'Female Sabbath schools' in different parts of the Presidency, particularly at the South Travancore stations played a crucial and historic role.¹⁴⁵

When missionaries emphasised the need for education for children, and adults, they also felt the need to develop new methods to enhance the use of press. The fact that the invention of printing press, and heavy intellectual demand made by the Renaissance and the Reformation, conspired together to produce a new level of literacy in north-western Europe which prepared the way for the printing expansion of the East, which was later reflected among Indian intelligentsia. The advent and the use of the printing press gave a great stimulus to the development of the popular Indian languages, printing of books and news papers which broke the hold of the classics and immediately prose literature in the provincial languages began to develop.¹⁴⁶ The establishment of press during Jesuits' period became a largely used tool of the Protestant missionaries in the eighteenth century as they used the press for a wide range of uses which were educational and religious in nature.¹⁴⁷

142 *Evangelical Magazine*, Nov. 1826, p. 490. Extract of Mault's letter.

143 C. R. H. Wilkinson, *Missionary Service in North India*, p. 186.

144 *LMS Directors' Annual Report*, 1864, London, pp. 94-96.

145 *LMS Directors' Annual Report*, 1887, London, p. 159.

146 Jawaharlal Nehru, *The Discovery of India*, Calcutta, 1945, p. 266

147 India received printing serendipitously in 1556, just about a hundred years after printing with movable type was developed in Germany, and was sent to India in a Portuguese ship that came to Goa. The Jesuits, who dominated the missionary field in the Tamil country since the arrival of St. Francis Xavier in 1542, expanded their territories throughout the South India, particularly the coastal region. It has been argued that 45000 Christians were under the pastoral care in the fishery coast alone in 1700; but by 1750, it was a total of 350,000 Catholic Christians in all South Indian Jesuit missions. More alarming to the Jesuits, the Lutherans had also usurped that other Jesuit specialization, printing in Tamil; although pioneered and controlled by the Jesuits, in the eighteenth century, Tamil printing

Printing was revived in the early eighteenth century in India¹⁴⁸ and enjoyed a ‘thriving life’ for a good 125 years at the Danish settlement, Tranquebar. From here the modern printing then spread throughout India and by the early nineteenth century, the use of the printing press as an adjunct of missionary work was well established in India.¹⁴⁹ The Serampore Trio established the first Bengali newspaper *Samachar Darpan* and released the first issue on 31 May 1818.¹⁵⁰

It was Charles Mead, the LMS missionary who installed the first printing press at Nagercoil in Travancore in 1819.¹⁵¹ At Bellary, John Hands obtained a press and Canarese types from Madras and started in the mission garden in 1821.¹⁵² The missionaries not only prepared and printed the school books, but also used the Christian Literature Society, which was founded at Madras in 1858, as a channel of print communication.¹⁵³ Nevertheless, the way in which Missionaries used pamphlets to disseminate social awareness made a tremendous impact on the people.

As early as 1840, Benjamin Rice, who was instrumental in establishing a School Book

became a Lutheran enterprise. Subbiah Muthiah, ‘Giving India the Printed Word’ in *Halle and the Beginning of Protestant Christianity in India*, Vol. III., (ed.) Andreas Gross et. al., Franckesche Stiftungen, Halle, 2006, p. 1241. See also Grafe, *History of Christianity in India*, pp. 25-26.

148 The Danish East India Company, formed in 1616, sought a foothold in a treaty in 1620 with Rajah Raghunatha Nayak of Tanjavur, by which the Danes were granted the 25 square mile coastal territory of Tranquebar (Tarangambadi). The Lutherans, with the support of the Danish crown and later the London based Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge (SPCK), set up the first printing press on the east coast in 1711. Within 20 years, the industrious Lutherans had produced more than a 100 books, including the first ever Tamil translation of the Bible; by the end of the century, they had printed a total of 338 separate books (Bibles, gospels, catechisms, grammars, dictionaries, almanacs, etc). A few were printed in German, Dutch, Latin and Danish, many in Portuguese, others increasingly in English, but most of their books were in Tamil. In the first eight years alone (1712-1720), the Lutherans printed a total of 65 books in all languages, and another 52 in the next decade. By the end of the 18th century, the Lutherans had produced a total of 338 books, making the Tranquebar press the long-lived and most prodigious of any in India during the century. By 1800 A. D., however, the total number of Tamil publications had reached 266. This increase was part of a rise in printing throughout India, which saw the number of printing books grow from a mere 19 in the 16th century and 40 in the 17th century, to 1712 new books printed in the 18th century. See Stuart Blackburn, *Print, Folklore and Nationalism in Colonial South India*, Permanent Black, New Delhi, 2003, pp. 27, 44. See also Muthiah, *Giving India the Printed Word*, pp. 1242-1243.

149 Ernest De Witt Burton and Alonzo Ketchum Parker, ‘An Professional Reading Course on the Expansion of Christianity in the Twentieth Century,’ IV, *The Biblical World*, vol. 41, no. 5, May 1913, p. 331.

150 Neill, *A History of Christianity in India*, p. 202.

151 Yesudas, *History of the LMS*, p. 151.

152 *LMS Directors’ Annual Report*, 1821, p. 56. See also Lovett, *History of the LMS*, p. 89.

153 Warren, *The Triumph of God*, p. 330.

Society in Bangalore, wrote a series of school books, and also laboured for several years. Rice emphasized the need for a much more extended use of the printing press, because it was the only means by which a small body of workers could reach and influence the vast multitudes of a country like India. The growth of modern education, the quest for knowledge and growing realization of the importance of knowledge resulted in the establishment of public libraries in the nineteenth century. It is also to be stated here that the LMS missionary James Duthie had taken efforts to establish a public library and two reading rooms, one particularly at Kottar, a Brahmin-dominated business centre for the welfare of the public at Nagercoil. As a result, the idea of mass education through press, bazaar schools and so on began to cater to the needs of a comparatively larger people who were thus far exempted from mainstream education.¹⁵⁴

The engagement of missionaries in day-to-day activities with the people in Madras Presidency opened up vistas for the depressed classes, who had been sidelined so far, were able to enter the public domain socially. The nature and culture of inclusive education, propagated by the LMS missionaries in a secluded and exclusive society like Madras Presidency gave them new vigour, identity and power. Nevertheless, attempts made by missionaries to create a powerful and thought-provoking intellectuals for propagation and promotion of 'Christian values' through education, gave them a partial success partly due to missionaries' idea of masks of proselytisation through education, and partly because of their sharp criticism on Hindu beliefs, practices and traditions.

154 At the end of the nineteenth century India had a population equal to five times that of all the rest of the British Empire put together. There were said to be 15,000,000 readers in India in 1895, and the extension of education was increasing that number year by year. See *LMS Director's Annual Report*, 1821, London, p. 65. See also Mateer, *Land of Charity*, p. 53. Also see Peter, *Samudaya Sinthanai*, July 2011, pp. 11-13.

Chapter IV

LMS and the Scott Christian College

Missionaries played a significant role as an ally of knowledge, development and liberation in one way or the other. The establishment of schools, colleges and other technical institutions by them created an atmosphere for intellectual development and middle class intelligentsia. In Madras Presidency the culture of higher education is deeply indebted to the zeal of missionaries in general and LMS missionaries in particular. Nourishing the idea of higher learning, the LMS missionaries were keen on making pioneering institutions. In South Travancore, the idea of higher education became a historical reality when the LMS missionaries established the Scott Christian College.¹

Altogether the LMS missionaries established four colleges—Nagercoil Central School-cum-Scott Christian College in South Travancore in 1818, Bhowanipur Institution, Calcutta in 1837,² Wardlaw College, Bellary in 1846,³ and Ramsay College at Almora in 1886.⁴ The Scott Christian College was known to be a higher educational institution and the only one in the whole of South Travancore was established by the LMS for higher education to produce knowledgeable people. George Washburn⁵ wrote in 1900 that the missionaries were keen on holding the object of college education was to make men, to ‘discipline’ and develop character.⁶

The missionary influence on education through schools and colleges was at its zenith

1 James S. Dennis, *Christian Missions and Social Progress*, III, p. 5.

2 Bhowanipur Institution was one of the foremost learning centre LMS established near Calcutta, and the mission could continue it almost a century. When the LMS was on the process of handing over some of the mission stations in north India to other missionary agencies, this institution, which was meant earlier for higher learning, was formally closed in 1926, and converted into Union High School for boys (Siksha Sangha). Some years later, the LMS in association with other eight missionary societies started United Missionary Training College, Ballygunge. See for details, M.A. Sherring, *The History of Protestant Missions in India, 1707 to 1881*, London, 1884, p. 109. Also see Goodall, *The History of the London Missionary Society*, pp. 40, 483, 494, 495.

3 *Report of the Directors of the LMS in the Annual General Meeting* held in 1847 in London, p. 75.

4 Dennis, *Christian Missions and Social Progress*, p. 25.

5 President, Robert College, Constantinople.

6 George Washburn, ‘The Christian College,’ *Ecumenical Missionary Conference, New York, 1900*, p. 129.

from 1858 to 1904. In fact, of all Indian provinces, Madras had the largest number of missionary colleges and pupils. In 1906-07, of the 29 aided arts colleges in Madras, 18 were under missionary management, and nearly two-thirds of the students in private colleges were in missionary-run colleges. By 1914, an increasing number of foreign missionaries began to devote themselves to the education of the six thousand youth, studying in the 38 missionary colleges. There were 127 Normal Training Schools, 160 industrial schools, 4 Medical colleges, and 13500 Elementary Schools in 1920s. In all these institutions around 550,000 students were studying. By the year 1945, the Protestant missionaries had 34 colleges in India, of these 13 were in Madras Presidency with an enrollment 4911. Catholics started 12 colleges in South India by 1944.⁷

Missionaries were keen in educating the lower castes.⁸ It was when the missionary organisations actively engaged in evangelisation in India, they also felt the need of being associated with the elite classes through mission colleges with a view to accommodate the affluent section as they considered would make significant implications.⁹ Emphasising their crucial role and the way in which the section identified with missionary colleges, H. A. Popley, a pioneering missionary official noted that in South India the missionary high schools and colleges draw a great majority of their pupils from the middle classes. Higher education of the middle classes was largely due to missionary institutions. He added that the only hope for the possibility of the non-Brahmin competing on equal terms with the Brahmins was in the higher educational institutions of missions. The work done in missionary institutions had played a crucial role for the development of social, economic and other aspects with very little extra expense.¹⁰

Missionary attempts to deal with the question of educational inequality not only made them pioneers in the higher education but played a significant role in making the disadvantaged sections to stand in an equal footing with affluent section. It is in this context, a range of colonial initiatives including Charter Acts fuelled missionary

7 Aparna Basu, *The Growth of Education and Political Development in India, 1898-1920*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1974, pp. 3, 126. See also Pothangamury, *Studies*, p. 470.

8 *Madras Church Missionary Record*, vol. 1, no. 9, December, 1830, p. 268.

9 J.A. Sharrock, *South India Missions*, Society for the propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, Westminster, United Kingdom, 1910, p. 226.

10 H. A. Popley, *Missionary Education in India, The Harvest Field*, 1917, pp. 56-57.

initiatives.

The LMS missionaries, who worked in India for more than hundred and fifty years, penetrated the Indian culture largely through religion and educational establishments.¹¹ The missionaries were able to generate a considerable amount of resources from overseas to establish higher educational institutions. They also received some financial assistance and ‘encouragement’ from the colonial government after the implementation of Grant-in-Aid through Woods’ Despatch.¹²

Meanwhile, missionaries alleged that the British in India took very little interest in higher education, but were quite keen on creating institutions in the good, old Brahmanical model.¹³ On the contrary, the different missionary agencies that were long engaged in the higher learning have left some imperative impacts on the thinking and action of the people of India in general and the Madras Presidency in particular.¹⁴

1. Missionaries and Higher Education

The process of higher education began in India with the establishment of higher educational institutions including colleges in the last decades of eighteenth century¹⁵ and early part of nineteenth century by colonial government, Christian missionaries and

11 Norman Etherington, ‘Introduction,’ in Norman Etherington (ed.), *Missions and Empire*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2005, pp. 3-4. See also, R. E. Frykenberg, ‘Christian Missions and the Raj,’ in Norman Etherington (ed.), *Missions and Empire*, pp. 107-131. Also see, D. Dennis Hudson, *Protestant Origins in India*, pp. 186-187; Brijraj Singh, *The First Protestant Missionary to India Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg*, pp. 120-121.

12 A.P. Lindsay, ‘Report of the Commission on Christian Higher Education in India: An Enquiry into the Place of the Christian College in Modern India’ Oxford University Press, London, 1931, p. 65.

13 Amartya Sen in Jean Dreze & Amartya Sen (eds), *Indian Development: Selected Regional Perspectives*, Oxford University Press, 1996, p. 15.

14 S. Manickam, *Studies in Mission History*, The Christian Literature Society, Madras, 1988. p. 1.

15 Calcutta was the political as well as commercial capital of India and since one of the aims of introducing modern education was to recruit Indians into the East India Company’s service the largest number of employees were bound to come from Bengal. Warren Hastings, who was the Governor General of Bengal, during 1772 - 85, had a keen interest on Indian education, and founded Calcutta Madarsha in 1781 and Jonathan Duncan, who was a colonial official at Benaras, founded Banaras Sanskrit College in 1792- were the two foremost higher education institutions in India in the eighteenth century, giving emphasis to the study of oriental languages, literatures and law, but really for training Hindu and Mohammedan legal assistants to English judges. See Aparna Basu, *Education in India*, Concept Publication, New Delhi, 1972; Anathnath Basu, *University Education in India: Past and Present*, Swinburne Press, New Delhi, 1941, p. 15.

Indian individuals. Yet, it was the university education, which laid the foundation for a higher scientific education and research. It was when the ban upon private enterprise in the Company's territories was removed in 1815, the individuals as well as missionaries plunged into establishing a great deal of educational institutions of their own kind in different parts of India including Bengal, Bombay and Madras with a view to educate Indian masses with multifarious approaches.¹⁶

W.T.A. Barber, of the Wesleyan Missionary Society expressed the need of higher education and said that it must grow in India. He emphasised that the Christians need to be educated the elements of knowledge not in consonance with the traditional educational system. According to him the Christian higher education was the expression of the development oriented system of life.¹⁷

On this issue, Lindsay's report observed that the position of the missionary colleges in Indian public opinion, and the support they received and the field of service, depended largely on responsive reaction of Hindu and Muslim population. The report concluded that even where they had no sympathy with the missionary evangelisation, they recognised the 'great' and 'lasting service' which these colleges rendered to India.¹⁸

Many a times missionary officials in their conferences attempted to draw a line between the Christian colleges and mission institutions. Generally the missionaries found that there were a series of contrasts between the missionary colleges, its objectives and the colleges established by the government and other 'secular' organisations.¹⁹ Missionaries

16 The joint efforts of David Hare, an Englishman and Ram Mohan Roy, the founder of Brahma Samaj, who was so volatile in favour of English Education, opened his mansion for the founding of Hindu College in 1817 with some prominent Hindus in Calcutta. The Serampore College in 1818; the Calcutta School Book Society and the Calcutta School Society were established in 1817 and 1819 respectively, the Poona College was founded in 1821; the Calcutta Sanskrit College in 1823; the Elphinstone College in 1827; the Delhi college in 1830s; the missionary-English Educationalist Alexander Duff opened his Scottish Church college in 1830 in Calcutta and John Anderson's English School (later Madras Christian College) was opened in Madras in 1837. See *Report of the South India Missionary Conference* May 1858, held at Ootacamund, printed by D.P.L.C. Conner at the press of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, Madras, 1858.

17 W.T.A. Barber, 'The Place of Education in Foreign Missions,' *Ecumenical Missionary Conference, New York, 1900*, pp. 112-113.

18 *Lindsay Commission Report*, p. 77.

19 J. Hudson, 'Dr. Miller's Lecture,' *The Harvest Field*, June 1895, Wesleyan mission Press, Mysore,

felt that a liberal education through the medium of 'Christian culture' and the English language, in harmony with the usual curricula of Western Universities, in a distinctly 'Christian atmosphere,' would produce a new and 'higher moral' types of character.²⁰

In fact, the missionary colleges in India were founded for the purpose of *preparatio evangelica* for executing successful strategies of evangelisation. John Wilkie, one of the missionaries of the Presbyterian Church in Canada reported that they had started a missionary college at Indore. They were teaching secular subjects there. Meanwhile, in these colleges religious instructions were given supreme importance.²¹ Missionaries devised the principles of mission College management in such a way that the institution should be missionary oriented. There were clear demarcations between theological seminary, Bible institute, and missionary higher educational institutions. They kept the options for religious instructions opened in these centres and they made it clear that religious services were not obligatory there. Nevertheless, they were keen on certain issues that regulations on higher educational institutions must be framed to enforce the uncompromisingly evangelical character of the institutions.²²

2. Higher Education in the Making in South Travancore

The higher learning in South Travancore underwent a series of changes and developments. Ringeltaube, made a pioneering effort in South India by establishing a school for religious education at Mayiladi, near Kanyakumari in 1809 for a considerable number of students. He appealed to the people in Germany and received financial assistance for the construction of a church and a religious instruction centre. He wrote a letter to his friend in Germany in 1806:

Represent, if you please, our case to the directors, and if possible, attain the sum of £ 100 for me, towards building a church in Travancore, and erecting small buildings for a Seminary... A seminary for twelve youths to be erected and maintained. The

pp. 217-222.

20 John Parker Haythornwaite, *St. Johns College, Agra, 1850-1930*, Revised and completed by T. D. Sully, London, 1932, p. 7.

21 John Wilkie, 'Relative Values in Higher Education,' *Ecumenical Missionary Conference, New York, 1900*, p. 141.

22 D. Stuart Godge was the Secretary, Board of Trustees, Syrian Protestant College, Beirut in the late nineteenth century. See D. Stuart Godge, 'Principles of Mission College Management,' *Ecumenical Missionary Conference, New York, 1900*, p. 143.

annual expense of a boy, 18 star pagodas; sum 216 pagodas, equal to £ 82.²³

In another letter Ringeltaube informed the people of Germany mentioned that he had taken two students with a course of preparation for the religious work and said that he maintained them out of his allowance. He was keen on establishing an institution to cater to the ‘spiritual needs’ of these students through a religious instruction centre-cum-central school.²⁴

However, a significant development in the field of higher education in south Travancore was said to have happened largely after the shifting of this religious instruction centre to Nagercoil by Charles Mead,²⁵ an LMS missionary who came after the departing of Ringeltaube and named it South Travancore Central School in 1818.²⁶ The Nagercoil Central English School as it used to be called, housed in a mud-walled shed, had the distinction of being the first English school in South Travancore.²⁷ The Course of instruction embraced English reading, writing, arithmetic, geometry, Indian and Roman history and mechanics. The students had exhibited their knowledge in these subjects apart from civil history, geography, English grammar and even etymology of words derived from Greek and Latin.²⁸

The central school, which was established on the Christian principles, started giving training to the thirty most intelligent boys among the Christians, selected from the

23 Extract from the Journal of Ringeltaube, written on 11 Sept 1806 at Palamcottah (Palayamkottai). Source: I C 47; Archives, Francke Foundation, Germany. See for details Christhu Doss, *Protestant Missionaries and Depressed Classes in Southern Tamil Nadu*, Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, 2009, Appendix. Also see William Robinson, *Ringeltaube, the Rishi: The Pioneer Missionary of the London Missionary Society in Travancore*, The Sheffield Independent Press Ltd., Sheffield, 1902, p. 96. See also I. H. Hacker, *A Hundred Years in Travancore 1806-1906: A History and Description of the work done by the London Missionary Society in Travancore, South India during the past Century*, H. R. Allenson Limited., London, 1908, p. 66-75.

24 Robert Caldwell, *Lectures on the Tinnevelly Missions, Descriptive of the Field, the work and the results*, Bell & Daldy, London, 1857, p. 155.

25 Charles Mead was an LMS missionary, sent to South Travancore in 1818 after the departure of Ringeltaube, the first missionary. See Agur, *The Church History of Travancore*, p. 695.

26 Quoted in Robert Caldwell, ‘*Records of the Early History of Tinnevelly*’, Madras, 1881, pp. 138-139.

27 Dick Kooiman, Conversion from Slavery to Plantation Labour: Christian Mission in South India (19th Century), *Social Scientist*, vol. 19, no. 8/9, August-September, 1991, p. 65. A. J. Franklin, ‘The First Fifty Years of the Scott Christian College’ in *Scott Christian College Platinum Jubilee Souvenir*, 1967, Nagercoil, p. 1.

28 John Brainwood, *True York Fellows in the Mission Field: The Life and Labours of John Anderson and Robert Johnston*, London, 1862, p. 67.

different congregations and youth of other religious groups and taught them English.²⁹ Since its inception, studies in the Seminary had been carried on chiefly through the medium of English language. No distinction was made between boarders intended for mission work and day-scholars pursuing their studies with a view to obtaining better paid 'secular' employment for which English was becoming an important qualification.³⁰ A. Narayanan Thampi, Census Commissioner of Travancore in 1941, points out this English school with another at Kottayam, established in 1816, were the two premier institutions in Travancore, which imparted English education in the early nineteenth century (see appendix XIX).³¹

Despite the fact that the primary objective of the central school was to 'train native agents' for the mission by selecting thirty most intelligent students from the congregations, the scenario changed when the admission was given to children of non-Christian communities in 1830s. The English education given at the school was certainly the main attraction for Hindu students who intended to become Government officers.³² Amidst cancellation of other LMS established colleges including Bhowanipur Institution, Wardlaw College, and Ramsay College due to economic compulsions, the society promoted the Nagercoil Central School into a higher learning centre. It should be stated that until the Maharaja's College was established in Trivandrum, the Nagercoil Seminary and Central English School was considered to be a pioneering institution³³ of the LMS and 'the head of educational institutions in South and Central Travancore.'³⁴

3. Scott Christian College

The Central school underwent tremendous changes when the LMS missionary James Duthie took over as the Principal. During his furlough in England in 1889, Duthie pleaded with the Directors of the Society and got their sanction to upgrade the English school into a second grade college and appealed for funds for such an institution. Much to

29 *LMS Directors' Annual Report*, 1819, London, p. 55.

30 Dick Kooiman, *Conversion and Social Equality*, p. 112.

31 A. Narayanan Thampi, *Census of India, 1941*, vol. XXV, Travancore, Government Press, Trivandrum, 1942, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi, p. 164.

32 Koji Kawashima, *Missionaries*, p. 86.

33 Dick Kooiman, *Conversion and Social Equality*, p. 116.

34 Nagam Aiya, *Travancore State Manual*, vol. II, Government Press, Trivandrum, 1903-1905, p. 446.

the exceeding delight, pulsating happiness and overflowing joy of the newly educated, potential and vibrant youth of Nagercoil, the school was raised into a second grade college, and started functioning as the Christian College, Nagercoil.

Emphasizing the need of higher education and its developmental role James Duthie, who was also an erudite educationist³⁵ in Nagercoil, after inaugurating the Scott Christian College underlined the necessity of higher education in the following speech:

I have no doubt, as the years go on, it (the Christian College) will take firm root in our mission, and become a powerful instrumentality for the uplifting of our Christian community. We cannot expect, at present, that very many of our native Christians will be in a position to give their sons a college education; but the desire for such education is manifestly on the increase, and in a few years, I anticipate that the college classes here will be well filled up with Christian lads, paying in full, the cost of their education.³⁶

The Scott Christian College began its formal teaching classes in 1893 with nine Christian and six Hindu students,³⁷ though four of the latter withdrawn themselves by making a group of eleven students as the first batch. The college was affiliated first to Madras University since its inception as a Second Grade College, and was under Travancore University (established in 1937). From 1938, the college again affiliated to Madras University. After the annexation of Kanyakumari District with Tamil Nadu on the basis of linguistic reorganization of States in 1956 the college came under the administrative control of Madurai Kamaraj University. Later it was affiliated to Manonmaniam Sundaranar University, Tirunelveli.

The foundation corner-stone for the central school-cum-college was laid down by Duthie on 16th October 1896,³⁸ in the presence of a large company of Christians and Hindus. In fact, he was instrumental in collecting contributions from both Hindus and Christians. He

35 John Charles Harris, *Couriers of Christ: Pioneers of London Missionary Society*, Livingston Press, Westminster, 1931, p. 85.

36 *LMS Directors' Annual Report*, 1896, London, 1896, p. 105. In the same way, Madras Christian College, St. Joseph's Colleges, St. John's College, American College, Sarah Tucker College, Women's Christian College, Loyola College etc., which are quite a few among others established in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

37 James R. Daniel, 'First Autobiography by the First Lecturer of Scott Christian College' in *Scott Alumni News*, vol. 5, no. 1, April 2011, p. 3.

38 *LMS Directors' Annual Report*, 1896, London, 1896, p. 105.

even considered the opening ceremony as a red-letter day in the annals of higher education in South Travancore.³⁹ In his speech, after laying the stone, Duthie gave a short history of the growth of educational work of LMS Travancore Mission, showing that, from the very first, education formed a very important department of missionary effort. When extensions were needed for the college, through the munificence of Septimus Scott, one of the directors of the Society and a close associate of Duthie in London,⁴⁰ a building was erected and was opened in August 1899. The college was renamed into Scott Christian College, which exists even to this day.⁴¹

Ever since the inception of the college, three aims have been kept before the leaders of the college including the practice of the devotional life, the endeavour to give the students an evangelistic outlook and to give the students sound instruction on the great truths of their religion, its history and relations to other religious systems, its sacred literature, and above all to ‘clean’ the person, and his spirit, through the teachings of Christ.⁴²

According to missionaries, most of the students came to the college with a deep sense of the need for evangelization. The purpose of the college was to foster this, so that the early enthusiasm would not get diminished as the intellectual vision widens. The college had especially in view of the double objective of giving Christian higher education to the

39 *LMS Directors' Annual Report*, 1897, London, p. 191.

40 Septimus Scott was one of the then Directors of LMS. See Koji Kawashima, *Missionaries*, p. 87.

41 James Duthie, “*London Missionary Society: Scott Christian College*” LMS Press, Nagercoil, 1899, pp. 1-39. I. H. Hacker, *A Hundred Years in Travancore 1806-1906*, p. 63. Also see Dick Kooiman, *Conversion*, pp. 95-100; Yesudas, *History of London Missionary Society*, pp.141-142; John Jacob, *History of London Missionary Society*, p. 124; E. T. Mathew, *Financing Higher Education: Sources and uses of funds of Private Colleges in Kerala*, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, 1991, and Koji Kawashima, *Missionaries*, pp. 85-88.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, i.e. in 1902, there were 140 English Arts colleges and the number of pupils enrolled increased from 5,442 to 17,148, while there were only 4 engineering colleges and 4 medical colleges, 38 professional colleges and other 6 affiliated higher education institutes. Higher education was widely diffused in Bengal, Madras and Bombay Presidencies, which had the largest number of arts colleges. By 1902, nearly half the total number of pupils in arts colleges were in Bengal. Between 1907 and 1912, the two Bengals (West Bengal and East Bengal) accounted for an increase of 6318 pupils out of a total increase of 10195. Bengal also showed the largest increase between 1912 and 1917 the number rising from 9716 to 18478. The immediate result of the Act of 1904 was to reduce the total number of affiliated colleges from 192 in 1902, to 174 within a period of five years and to 170 in 1912. It rose again to 207 in 1922. While, there were only 108 privately managed colleges in the beginning of the twentieth century. See for details, Aparna Basu, *Growth of Education*. Also see J.P. James, *The Protestant Missionary Propaganda in India*, *The Harvard Theological Review*, vol. 8, no. 1, January, 1915, p. 32.

42 *LMS Directors' Annual Report*, 1926, London, p. 54.

young men of the local Christian church and of exerting a Christian influence on the local Hindu community. The college offered almost the only practicable opportunity to these people for college education under Christian auspices.⁴³

While exploring a range of significant events related to the college, A.T.S. James acknowledged that the Scott Christian College was a very great asset to the mission besides its high educational standing. He added that it was in the very first rank of Indian missionary institutions.⁴⁴ The class-room teaching through a system of lectures, organised examinations, in which students from different streams participated for enabling a common assessment of their standard of attainment and the emergence of a class of professional, emergence of innovations had become integral elements of the college.⁴⁵

The available historical literature shows that the Travancore Government never initiated higher education in its territory in Travancore in the early Nineteenth century, nor any individual or group took any initiation for establishing any institution for higher learning. It was only in 1832, the Maharaja of Travancore visited Nagercoil Central School and witnessed the high level of learning among the students. The Maharaja invited the then English Headmaster of the school, John Roberts,⁴⁶ by offering a Government job in Trivandrum to start a school there. Consequently, the 'Raja's Free School' (later Maharaja's school) came into being in Trivandrum in 1834. This is undoubtedly an offspring of the Nagercoil Central School. Only in 1866 the Maharaja's school had been promoted into Maharaja's college and renamed into University College after the establishment of Travancore University in 1938.⁴⁷

4. Students, Teachers, Examinations and Activities

Ever since its inception, not only the missionaries selected bright students from the congregation schools, but also they made it convenient to accommodate pupils from

43 *LMS Directors' Annual Report*, 1903, London, pp. 40-41.

44 James, *Twenty-five years of the London Missionary Society*, p. 40.

45 Vina Mazumdar, *Education and Social Change*, Indian Institute of Advanced Studies, Simla, 1972, pp. 2-3.

46 John Roberts was a well-trained educator and a former army schoolmaster. See Kooiman, *Conversion and Social Equality*, p. 96.

47 Kooiman, *Conversion and Social Equality*, p. 101.

different caste groups and religions, who were 12 to 14 years of age, and must have already attended the village schools. There was a popular demand from the non-Christian quarters to give admission to their children and so the admission process had been rearranged from the very early twentieth century. The college accommodated students from all walks of life. Christians, Hindus and Muslims were admitted. Yet, the predominant student faction was Hindus as the English education given at the college was certainly the main attraction for obtaining better paid Government employment for which English language was becoming an important qualification.⁴⁸

The Central School had 30 students in 1822.⁴⁹ In 1824 the school had 38 boys belonging to different castes—Brahmins, Vellala, Shanars, Sambhavas, Ezhavas and Mukkuvas.⁵⁰ In 1835, 14 Nair boys started to attend the school as day-scholars. In 1844, the Headmaster Whitehouse reported that three young brahmins had joined the central school and all boys from the Brahmin to the Pariah were sitting together in school without the slightest objection. In 1860 there were 63 boarders and 50 day students and among the day students, 19 were Hindus.⁵¹ In 1861, the Nagercoil Central School had 125 students: 64 boarders, 61 day scholars, out of these, there were 61 Protestants, 2 Roman Catholics and 28 Hindus, and among the Protestants, 52 were Shanars, 6 were Vellalars, 2 Pulayars and only one Sambavar Christian. Among the Hindus, there were 12 Brahmins, 10 Nairs, 4 Ezhavas and 2 Pulayars.⁵² The school had 147 male students in 1866 but reduced to 131 in 1870.⁵³ By 1907, the institution had 194 students in attendance. The missionaries took efforts to train suitable boys for the work of village teachers. Hundreds of young men have passed through the central school.⁵⁴ In 1908, there were 140 students.⁵⁵

The Scott Christian College, in its first batch in 1893 had equal representation from Hindu students. Out of twelve students, six of them were Hindus and the other six were

48 *Ibid.*

49 *LMS Directors' Annual Report*, 1823, London, pp. 50-55.

50 *LMS Directors' Annual Report*, 1825, London, p. 105.

51 *Travancore District Committee of the London Missionary Society, Annual Report*, 1860, p. 9.

52 *Annual Report of the Travancore District Committee*, LMS, South Travancore, 1861 Dec 31, LMS Press, Nagercoil, 1862, pp. 28-35.

53 Mateer, *Land of Charity*, pp. 274-281. Also see Kawashima, *Missionaries*, p. 86.

54 *LMS Directors' Annual Report*, 1907, London, p. 124.

55 *LMS Directors' Annual Report*, 1908, London, p. 105.

Christians.⁵⁶ In 1904, there were 32 students in the senior most class of the college-12 Shanars, 14 Brahmins, 4 Nairs and 2 Vellalars.⁵⁷ In 1906, there were 37 students in the college and was increased in to 55 in 1908, including Christians, Hindus and Muslims.⁵⁸ The college became vital importance to the intellectual development of the large backward community in Travancore. There was a sudden increase in the admissions due to the establishment of the public transport system, where the Travancore Government and some private individuals came forward to operate busses in and between Nagercoil and Trivandrum since 1911.

As a result, the strength was increased to 60 in 1911. Among them 26 students were Christians, 34 non-Christians.⁵⁹ The strength of the college had risen to 123 in 1913.⁶⁰ There were 170 scholars in the college, of whom 40 were Christians in 1915.⁶¹ In 1920, there were thirty Christians and 136 Hindus. In 1922, there were 29 Christians, 142 Hindus and only three Muslim students had their studies at the college.⁶² Although the college had more representation of Christian students in its beginning stages, the Hindu students outnumbered them in later periods. For the first time the college witnessed the admission of Muslim students in 1923. In this year there were 29 Christians, 142 Hindus, and 3 Muslim students also joined the college.⁶³

The ways in which students accommodated on religious lines further changed during 1930s. In 1925, there were 38 Christians and 108 Hindus. In 1930 there were 50 Christians and 88 Hindus. In 1935, there were 73 Christians and 81 Hindus. In 1940, 73 Christians and 151 Hindus and out of a total of 235 students 76 were Christians and 159 Hindus.⁶⁴

56 *LMS Directors' Annual Report*, 1894, London, p. 174.

57 *LMS Directors' Annual Report*, 1904, London, p. 203.

58 *LMS Directors' Annual Report*, 1908, London, p. 105.

59 *LMS Directors' Annual Report*, 1912, London, p. 124.

60 *LMS Directors' Annual Report*, 1914, London, p. 170.

61 *LMS Directors' Annual Report*, 1915, London, p. 91.

62 *LMS Directors' Annual Report*, 1922, London, p. 16.

63 *LMS Directors' Annual Report*, 1923, London, p. 53.

64 John A. Jacob, *London Missionary Society: Ten Years of Mission and Church in Travancore, 1931-1940*, Part I & II, LMS Press, Nagercoil, 1942, p. 65. See also D. Peter, *Samudaya Sinthanai* (English translation: *Community Thinking*), Kanyakumari Institute of Development Studies,

The caste and religious composition was closely observed by the missionaries in the college. The report of a special committee formed to sort out the problems and to carry out the progress of the college categorized that one-third of the students during the early decades of the twentieth century were brahmins from the neighbouring towns and villages. Apart from the upper caste Vellalars, Nairs, Mudaliars, the lower caste Nadar, Ezhava, Pariah, Pulaya, Sambhava students also studied numerously. 86 percent of the students were from the places south of Trivandrum, 5 percent came from Trivandrum and about 9 percent pupils from the more northern parts of Travancore.⁶⁵

During the early phase of the twentieth century, the Scott Christian College, the Divinity School, the Central High School, Girl's Central School (today's Duthie Girls' School) and the Vernacular School were located in the LMS mission compound. Two separate hostels, one for boys with at least two wings for Brahmins and non-Brahmins and another for girls, also functioned within the compound. Functioned as a compact residential system, majority of the students had their residence, except a few day scholars, who were coming from the nearby towns and villages. At the end of the nineteenth century this compact campus had around 500 students.⁶⁶ In 1904, about 100 scholars were constantly in residence in the compound.⁶⁷

The college, which was destined to be a residential one, invited and admitted students from different places, representing different communities of Travancore and the nearby Tinnevely district. It was during this period, the college was growing steadfastly, hostels were constructed gradually to accommodate maximum students, to make the college campus into a full-fledged one like the manner Madras Christian College had.⁶⁸ In the hostel, except Brahmin students most of them ate and lived together irrespective of their different religious affiliations.⁶⁹

There were no proper initiatives made even from missionaries to confer higher education

Nagercoil, September 2007, pp. 6-18.

65 *LMS Directors' Annual Report*, 1930, London, pp. 42-43.

66 Dennis, *Christian Missions and Social Progress*, p. 25.

67 *LMS Directors' Annual Report*, 1904, London, p. 205.

68 *LMS Directors' Annual Report*, 1923, London, p. 53.

69 *LMS Directors' Annual Report*, 1930, London, p. 43.

for Indian women until the late nineteenth century. Isabella Thoburn, the founder of the first women's college in India,⁷⁰ mentioned in 1886 that in all Eastern countries, missionary societies supplemented the work of the Governments by establishing colleges for young men.⁷¹

The LMS missionaries also followed the footsteps of other missionary societies by not admitting any woman student in the Scott Christian College till 1927.⁷² But, the missionary idea was extended to include women in this College, slowly but steadily. The college was considered to be a male bastion for a long time as it had no intention to accommodate girls. For the first time four girls were admitted in the college by the then Principal G. H. Marsden in 1927. Hepzibah Fenn George, who got education at Duthie Girls' School, insisted her father Fenn George, who was a teacher in the college, to pursue the Principal, to admit her into the Junior Intermediate Class. Most unexpectedly, Marsden, expressed his willingness to admit her on one condition that she should pursue another girl to join the college. Perhaps, this was just to obviate the embarrassment of one girl alone sitting in a class of many men students. Surprisingly, two other girls, passed out from Duthie Girls' School, also joined the college.⁷³

Further, about the middle of the year, a Hindu girl, whose father came on transfer as Inspector of Police to Nagercoil also joined the college, raising the number of girl students to four.⁷⁴ The inclusion of female students in the college later created new vistas whereby women got new identity. The LMS Directors' Annual report for the year 1932 says that women were beginning to take in public life witness the formation of an inter-community women's welfare society with a Brahmin, a Nair, and a Christian as co-

70 Missionaries in India established only three colleges for women in the nineteenth century. The first women's college in India is Isabella Thoburn College at Lucknow, established by Isabella Thoburn in 1886. Sarah Tucker College at Palamcotta (Palayamkottai) and Sagra Normal school of Benaras were considered to be the second and third missionary higher education institution for girls. See J.M. Thoburn, *Life of Isabella Thoburn*, Eaton and Mains, New York, 1903, pp. 190-191. Also see James Dennis, *Christian Missions and Social Progress*, p. 24.

71 J.M. Thoburn, *Ibid.*,

72 John A. Jacob (ed.), *London Missionary Society: Ten Years of Mission and Church in Travancore 1931-1940, Part I & II*, LMS Press, Nagercoil, 1942, p. 66.

73 Hepzibah Fenn George, 'Reminiscences' in *Scott Christian College Platinum Jubilee Souvenir*, 1967, Nagercoil, p. 50.

74 *Ibid.*

secretaries. It was felt as the dawn of a real women's movement."⁷⁵

The college offered scholarship and stipend to some of the most deserving students since its inception. According to an annual report of the LMS, the students had to pay their fees regularly to the college in order to meet the expenses and salaries of the teachers as the income of the college from other sources was very limited. It was reported that except few occasions all the students of the school paid their fees annually.⁷⁶ During the early twentieth century, the college was receiving Government grants, where the students from the backward communities were given fees concession.⁷⁷ The college collected tuition fees from the students, though occasionally it was free of cost for those students, who were considered to be from the low-income families.⁷⁸ But occasionally the college administration favoured fee concession for lower caste students. The sub-committee of the LMS Travancore submitted a petition to the Dewan of Travancore for fees concession to the students from depressed classes Shanars, Pulayas, Pariahs, Sambavars and Mukkuvars was granted by the Dewan and put on the record.⁷⁹

The college was constantly supported by many, from missionary and Governmental sources. Nanoo Pillai and Rama Rao, earlier students and later Dewans of the Maharaja, donated Rs. 1000 and Rs. 500 respectively.⁸⁰ When there was a famine in 1895 and the harvest was severely hit in the areas of South Travancore, the Directors of the LMS sanctioned a special grant of Rs. 1500/- towards the college.⁸¹ Whitley, a mission sympathizer from London, had sponsored £500 for boarding scholarship to the students of the college, and Parker suggested that money could be given to Christian student coming from outside Nagercoil and was done.⁸² It was decided by the mission committee that the yield of the paddy fields and coconut groves at Thamaraiikulam, Vellamadam, and Pattamkulam and other areas, donated by the Travancore Government, for the

75 *LMS Directors' Annual Report*, 1932, London, p. 56.

76 *LMS Directors' Annual Report*, 1897, London, p. 131.

77 *Minutes of the Education Committee, Travancore Mission Council, London Mission Society, Nagercoil*, 25 July 1930, LMS press, Nagercoil, 1930, Appendix- VI.

78 *LMS Directors' Annual Report*, London, 1897, p. 203.

79 *LMS Travancore Mission Council, Select Minutes, 1922-1926*, London Mission Press, Nagercoil, 1928, p. 6.

80 Kawashima, *Missionaries*, pp. 86-87.

81 *LMS Directors' Annual Report*, 1896, London, p. 105.

82 *Travancore Mission Council, Meeting held on 10 Feb 1926*, LMS Press, Nagercoil, p. 21.

utilization of the college.⁸³

Education figured prominently as an issue and the college as the most important site for experimentation.⁸⁴ During the early days, the college not only taught Indian and foreign classical and other languages, but also inculcated modern science to the scholars. Missionaries kept a high standard of teaching and learning in the renowned institution, where Tamil, Malayalam, English, Sanskrit and Greek were taught to all students.⁸⁵ The curriculum also comprised of grammar in English, Tamil minor poets, Arithmetic, Algebra, Euclid, Natural Philosophy, History of India, and General Geography, apart from the Scripture lessons. The girls were also taught sewing and embroidery.⁸⁶ Lecture halls, library with 4000 volumes of books,⁸⁷ art room, and laboratory were constructed from the contributions given by missionaries, individuals, colonial dignitaries, alumni, and other well-wishers of the college.⁸⁸

Charles Mead had further developed the idea to promote the useful knowledge with a view to elevating his toddy-tapping converts. In one of his letters he sent to the directors of the society in London, he underlined that the Shanars had no inclination for higher learning as their minds were occupied with the extraction of the juice of a Palmyra tree.⁸⁹ Since there was a sudden demand for school teachers, the students at the college were taught modern science and languages.⁹⁰ It was reported that a considerable number of students who did their studies at the college were given training to become pious and well-qualified teachers in village schools.⁹¹

83 The lands bought by Charles Mead, missionary from LMS, were intended as an educational endowment and the income from them was invariably used for the support of the Nagercoil Seminary and Central School.

84 Lakshmi Subramaniam, *New Mansions for Music: Performance, Pedagogy and Criticism*, Social Science Press, New Delhi, 2008, p. 107.

85 *LMS Directors' Annual Report*, 1824, London, p. 85.

86 *LMS Directors' Annual Report*, 1870, London. Also see Kawashima, *Missionaries*, p. 87.

87 *LMS Directors' Annual Report*, 1911, London, p. 112.

88 *LMS Directors' Annual Report*, 1909, London, p. 15.

89 Kawashima, *Missionaries*, pp. 84-85.

90 Quoted in Kooiman, *Conversion and Social Equality*, pp. 95-97. Also see Mead's letter from Nagercoil, dated 11.1. 1819, LMS Archives, Incoming Letters, Box. 1, School of Oriental and African Studies, London.

91 Agur, *The Church History of Travancore*, p. 735. Also see *LMS Directors' Annual Report 1907*, London, p. 124.

Subsequently, the students formed a Students Literary Society for carrying out various literary activities including arrangements for the Annual Day of the College. The college magazine was started for promoting the literary, creative and aesthetic activities among the students and faculties.⁹² During the early years of the college, the domination of Arts related subjects had much importance, but immediately after the installation of the gas and electric plant in 1913, the science teachers started the practical courses, which were considered to be of high order.⁹³ The first major degrees introduced were History and Mathematics, followed by Chemistry, Economics, Physics and Zoology in rapid succession.⁹⁴

In fact, the students of Scott Christian College played a seminal role in the college. Like Madras Christian College, here also the scholars were cared and nurtured well by the Principal and teachers. Teaching of the gospel and the building up of the moral character of the students were the most important parts of the college work. The teachers were instructed in such a way that the students should always the responsibility to carry forward the objective of the institution.⁹⁵ The hope that the educated Christian young men should be brought into missionary work⁹⁶ for *preparatio evangelica* was kept alive. This is evident from the fact that the Christian students of the college used to teach the Sunday school and the elder boys would go to help at services in the reading rooms or distribute Christian tracts or handbills in the surrounding villages.⁹⁷ They had a Students Christian Union, which continued to monitor their activities and participation.⁹⁸

The scholars of the college were given the responsibility of two reading rooms established by the missionaries in the Hindu quarters, one at Kottar and another at Vadassery. The students were supposed to make payments to the attendants in these study

92 *LMS Report on the Institutional Work, Industries and Properties under the Supervision of the Mission Council*, Nagercoil, 1922, pp. 17-18.

93 *LMS Directors' Annual Report*, 1914, London, p. 170.

94 John D. K. Sundar Singh, 'The Recent Past' in *Scott Christian College Platinum Jubilee Souvenir*, 1967, Nagercoil, p. 8.

95 *LMS Directors' Annual Report*, 1897, London, p. 191.

96 *LMS Directors' Annual Report*, 1904, London, p. 203.

97 *Ibid.*

98 *LMS Directors' Annual Report*, 1915, London, p. 92.

rooms. The students contributed a little of daily rice and fulfilled their duty twice a year.⁹⁹ The students paid Rs. 229 for the maintenance of the reading rooms in 1904.¹⁰⁰ Due to economic compulsions, the Kottar reading room was maintained by the Young Men Christian Association at Nagercoil.¹⁰¹

The early phase of pre-university education was almost exclusively religious. As pioneers of the educational revival the missionary teachers, were keen on striving to have mental awakening with Christian principles.¹⁰² The teachers in Christian colleges in general, and Scott College in particular, were concerned with the welfare of Indian higher education, played a larger part in directing it in one way or the other.¹⁰³ W.H.J. Picket, one of the missionaries in South India reflected the idea that the 'mission college ought properly to be manned exclusively by Christian teachers' was a principle which had always been present in the minds of those who had established such institutions.¹⁰⁴

The teachers of the college were competent, knowledgeable and inspiring since its inception. At the beginning the teachers were invited mostly from Tanjore and Tranquebar. There were prominent teachers, who had been already trained from the high schools established by the Lutheran missionary, Christian Frederic Schwartz. Many a times, the college recruited teachers from various other missionary organisations and converted Hindus. The appointment of a converted Namboothiri brahmin to teach Malayalam in the college was a significant attempt on the part of the LMS missionaries. It is crucial because missionaries were often identified for favouring religious identity over caste identity.¹⁰⁵

In fact the college could command the services of a group of men of ability and devotion, who had given themselves up for a long term of service. The influence of missionary teachers over the minds of their students is, doubtless, further deepened by the fact that

99 *LMS Directors' Annual Report*, 1903, London, p. 194.

100 *LMS Directors' Annual Report*, 1904, London, p. 205.

101 *LMS Directors' Annual Report*, 1910, London, p. 194.

102 Dennis, *Christian Missions and Social Progress*, III, p. 7.

103 Lindsay, *Report of the Commission on Christian Higher Education in India*, p. 77.

104 W.H.J. Picken, 'The Training of Tamil Agents,' *The Harvest Field*, June 1895, p. 223.

105 Kooiman, *Conversion and Social Equality*, p. 95. Also see James Duthie, Nagercoil Seminary Report 1866, LMS Archives, Box 1, School of Oriental and African Studies, London.

they have obviously undertaken their work from no motives of self-interest. Hogg, the then principal of Madras Christian College stated that if Christian colleges were to lead the way, as it was important for India that they should, it could only be by the quality and not by the quantity of work.¹⁰⁶ The presence and services of the prominent missionaries—John Roberts, John Miller, Whitehouse, and James Duthie made the institution into a renowned one in South Travancore.

The college accommodated multi-faceted and multi-lingual faculty. The LMS missionaries, local Christian and Hindu graduates occupied the faculty position, handling different subjects. By 1911, the number of faculty for the college had been increased from 17 to 34.¹⁰⁷ In 1923, out of 29 teachers, 25 were Christians.¹⁰⁸ Principals took a range of initiatives in teaching the students based on their subject knowledge.¹⁰⁹ As a result, the idea of higher learning began to spread in and around regions of South Travancore, making the intellectual consciousness felt among different caste groups.¹¹⁰

Interestingly, the teaching faculties were keen on associating themselves in various committees and development oriented organisations. James Duthie, the first Principal, had his share of teaching with the other native young graduates as Lecturers including M. D. Daniel, Dennison, P. Daniel, Y. Harris, P. Appollos and Perianayagam.¹¹¹ M. D. Daniel, the First Lecturer in the College, a champion of education was also the editor of *Travancore Times*, and member of Sree Mulam Assembly, Travancore, and was the acting President of the Nagercoil Improvement Committee. A good poet in English, Daniel's poetical collection was published in 1940s, during his own life time. But his autobiography *My Life and My Times*, which had been lying uncared for more than seven

106 Lindsay, *Report on Christian Higher Education in India*, pp. 78-82.

107 *LMS Directors' Annual Report*, 1911, London, p. 112.

108 *LMS Directors' Annual Report*, 1923, London, p. 53.

109 Sydney Cave, the Principal taught the daily Bible lecture for the Christian students. See *LMS Directors' Annual Report*, 1915, London, p. 117. *LMS Directors' Annual Report*, 1903, London, p. 194.

110 *LMS Directors' Annual Report*, 1912, London, p. 112.

111 *LMS Report of the Nagercoil Mission*, South Travancore for the year 1895, Madras, Addison & Co., Mount Road, 1896, p. 5. See also, *LMS Directors' Report*, 1898, London, p. 130. Also see Harris, *Couriers of Christ: Pioneers of London Missionary Society*, p. 85.

decades, has now been brought in to a book.¹¹²

Leading scientists, astronomers, and other experts in various other disciplines joined as teachers. Sydney Cave, the LMS missionary, took over as principal of the college in April 1909 in the place of Parker.¹¹³ G. H. Marsden, LMS missionary and Principal, was a Tripos in Physics from England, was an astronomer of repute, who was invited among the many astronomers assembled in Japan in 1936 to observe the solar eclipse.¹¹⁴ In 1950s, T. K. Narayana Iyer, popularly known as TKN, taught English.¹¹⁵ The way in which missionaries gave teaching assignment to people from Hindu background indicates that the college lacked the learned converts.

Though there was no woman faculty in the early days of the college, Mrs. Marsden filled the gap in engaging the students in many ways in 1930s.¹¹⁶ She also involved female students in the discussions on the socially sensitive gender issues. As a result, these students began to take up social issues without caste-class-religious distinction. The way in which they formed social networking organisations like Inter-community Women's Welfare Society and so on made a significant change in the perspectives of women in the public domain. This later emerged as a classical form of civil society as it had much potential to lead mass movements for the development of women.¹¹⁷

In 1830s examinations were conducted in oral and written forms by the missionaries periodically.¹¹⁸ Ever since the establishment of the Universities, particularly the Madras University in 1857, the examination system had been initiated by the University, as the University was considered to be only an examining body. Based on the paradigm shift, the Principal of the college took the initiative to teach them specially by selecting the more promising pupils for the entrance examination of the Madras University. Mason Olcott criticized the University system of the early period for being an examining body

112 Daniel, 'First Autobiography by the First Lecturer of Scott Christian College,' p. 3.

113 *LMS Directors' Annual Report*, 1910, London, p. 194.

114 *Scott Christian College Magazine 1979-1980*, Nagercoil, p. 27.

115 Singh, *The Recent Past*, p. 7.

116 *Ibid.*, p. 65.

117 *LMS Directors' Annual Report*, 1932, London, p. 56.

118 Kawashima, *Missionaries*, p. 99.

rather than a teaching body. He alleged that it was beyond doubt that the greatest evil from which the system of University education in India suffers was that teaching was subordinated to examination, and not examination to teaching.¹¹⁹

The examination system existed in the Madras Presidency in the 1860s attracted a great deal of interest among scholars cutting across disciplines. The Government conducted 'elementary school examination' for those scholars, who had applied for. Similarly, colonial government, princely states and missionaries, who had been preparing students for writing the examination made significant implications on the nature and course of the different mode of examinations. Moreover, those parents, who could afford home-tutor, educated their children at home and prepared them for the examination. On the other hand, the certificate issued after the passing of elementary school education carried much weightage and was considered good enough to get government job. With the establishment of the university, a proper matriculation system of examination was introduced to those who had successfully passed the high school.

Those scholars who had already passed the matriculation examination were eligible for appearing the entrance examination of First in Arts (F.A), to be conducted by the University. The central school prepared students for matriculation, First in Arts and University entrance examination for B. A. till the time the central school was converted in to a college in 1893. James Duthie mentioned that the college had prepared the students for the entrance examination of the Madras University. During 1893-1900, 77 young men have carried on the college course and 22 of them had cleared the First Arts Examination.¹²⁰ The results obtained within the two years of the operation of the college, had been creditable because five out of nine students passed the First in Arts (F. A) Examination.¹²¹ The missionaries sent only those promising students, who already acquired sufficient knowledge to write the exam.¹²²

119 Mason Olcott, *Village Schools in India*, p. 79.

120 The First in Arts (F. A) examination was conducted to those students who had already passed Matriculation Examination, conducted by the University, and also attended regular classes in a college for two successful years. *LMS Directors' Annual Report*, London, 1901, p. 199.

121 *The Harvest Field*, 'The Christian College,' June 1895, Wesleyan mission Press, Mysore, p. 277.

122 *LMS Directors' Annual Report*, 1903, London, p. 194.

The college had five departments including Tamil, English, First Arts, and international languages like Latin and Hebrew for B.A. classes. The average of successful students for the whole Presidency was about 25 per cent. In the public examinations held in 1904, out of 17 candidates appeared for Matriculation, 14 students cleared their exams. The University results of the college were remarkably at the high end. Of the eleven senior students who attempted F. A. examination, ten students passed.¹²³ For Intermediate B.A, 5 out of 14 became successful.¹²⁴ In the First in Arts examination conducted by the Madras University in 1909, 9 students passed, whereas one student scored distinction.¹²⁵ Apart from academic results, the college proved to have succeeded in extracurricular activities as well. In a competition held for college students in 1897, out of the nine money prizes, Scott college students won the first, fourth, seventh and eighth positions.¹²⁶

In a way, the University system in South India seemed to be in chaotic, even in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries due to the existence of two distinct parties. Indian and European, in the controlling body of the Madras University, where the former wanted to have a liberal and the latter a standard system of examination.¹²⁷ Amidst the rigidity, there were that the primary school teachers cleared the Matriculation Examination of the Madras Government.¹²⁸ One of the crucial aspects of the examination system was the examination on the missionaries themselves, particularly to test the knowledge of the vernacular language. For instance, Marsden, the principal, who wrote the Tamil examination, passed with 81 percent in written and 57 percent in oral.¹²⁹

5. Principals, Performance and Management

Scott Christian College has always been managed by a committee, comprised of the European missionaries and teachers since its inception. Generally, the Principals, used to

123 *LMS Directors' Annual Report*, 1904, London, p. 203.

124 *LMS Directors' Annual Report*, 1906, London, p. 115.

125 *LMS Directors' Annual Report*, 1910, London, p. 115.

126 *LMS Directors' Annual Report*, 1898, London, p. 129.

127 *LMS Directors' Annual Report*, 1915, London, p. 91.

128 *LMS Directors' Annual Report*, 1898, London, p. 129.

129 *LMS Directors' Annual Report*, 1927, London, pp. 10-11.

be a scholar-missionary, representing the LMS and also the superintending missionary of the Travancore region. It is well known, according to English educational experience, that the success of an educational foundation largely depended upon the personality of the Principal. George Parkar, the Principal of the college noted that the college admitted both Hindu and Christian students, but the majority students were drawn from Hindu background. He added that the college teachers were able to keep in touch with the more thoughtful of the Hindu youths of the district. He, in fact, favoured the close association with Hindus for the survival and development of the college.¹³⁰

During the early years of the college, the missionary-principals had vision to make the college in to an outstanding institution. Knowing the fact that the Maharajah's Travancore Government had no scheme for making grants to colleges, George Parker, the then principal, prepared plans for the estimation of buildings immediately necessary for the college and made a budget for Rs. 35000/- and requested the home committee to sanction the grant.¹³¹ Parker even recommended the college committee to promote the college in to a first grade college and to start degree courses.¹³²

It has to be noted that till the formation and annexation of Kanyakumari District with Tamil Nadu in 1956, the College was headed almost by European missionaries with an exception when A. J. Cherian (1940-46 & 1948-50) became Principal. The founder Principal James Duthie (1893-94, 1898-1901) and George Parker (1901-1909 & 1917-1923) were holding the Principalship twice, J. E. Dennison (1894-1898), Sydney Cave (1909-1917), R. H. Eastaff (1921-23), Paul Daniel (1926-27), G. W. Trovell (1930-32), T. Y. Harris (1954-55) -all once and G.H. Marsden (1927-30, 1947-48, 1950-54 & 1955-57) headed the College for four times for a period of 14 years until Arumai Raj, a native Christian took over in 1957.¹³³

130 *LMS Directors' Annual Report*, 1904, London, p. 205.

131 *LMS Travancore Mission Council*, Select Minutes, 1922-1926, Resolution, no. 150, London Mission Press, Nagercoil, 1928, p.7.

132 *Ibid.*, p. 10.

133 Observation made by the scholar from the role of honour board in March 2011. See also, John Parker Haythornwaite, St. Johns' College, p. 10.

The dissemination of knowledge was regarded as the solution to build a tolerant and humanitarian society.¹³⁴ The college, as a Central School in the past, pioneered in producing some of the prominent personalities in its career. Two of its former students, Rama Rao and Nanoo Pillai had the distinction of being the Prime Ministers (Dewans) of the Maharajah's kingdom in Travancore.¹³⁵ Vedathirithasa Mudaliar, another former student of the central school, rose to prominence in Government service, became a High Court Judge.¹³⁶ The classes were attended by both Hindu and Christian students.¹³⁷ The students irrespective of their caste affiliations sat together for the first time, as it was not customary in Travancore.¹³⁸ The college throughout the years had stressed the importance of rigorous scholarship. It has been, and continues to be, a college of arts and science, although it had always maintained an interest in religious matters. According to missionary records, in all the fields of scholarship the College has undoubtedly maintained the highest of standards.

William Miller, the charismatic Principal of Madras Christian College, declared that colleges would serve as 'a strengthening, training, developing agency' for Christians and as a 'preparatory agency' for non-Christians.¹³⁹ The Scott Christian College in a way considered education as a tool for social transformation and moral evaluation and felt that education would change the rigid social order.

The college as a centre of higher learning was keen on producing intelligentsia. However, they found it difficult to distinguish between *preparatio evangelica* which cultivated virtues that have moral and social overtones and *preparatio intelligentsia* which produced intellectual virtues, governed by the quest for knowledge. Attempting to disseminate the idea that education had the potential for liberation created public spaces

134 Yagati Chinna Rao, *Presidential Address, Modern Andhra History Session*, Guntur, 23-24, February 2010, p. 16.

135 *LMS Directors' Annual Report*, 1897, London, p. 191. See also Samuel T. Armstrong, *The Missionary Herald*, vol. 103, American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions, 1907, p. 175.

136 Dick Kooiman, *Conversion and Social Equality*, p. 101.

137 The first batch of twelve students on the college rolls in 1893 include Gnanasikamony, Levis, Devasahayam, Benjamin, Gunamudian, Joel, all from Christian community, and C. Subbiah Pillai, Kumaraswamy Pillai, Sathivagisvara Iyer, Ananthasubramony, Subramania Iyer and Mahadeva Iyer from the Hindu families.

138 *LMS Directors' Annual Report*, 1904, London, p. 203.

139 Pothancamury, *Higher Education*, p. 468.

whereby the scope for liberation was broadened and expanded. The shift from *preparatio evangelica* to *preparatio intelligentsia*, over a period of time, evoked profound reflections on various complex issues. Consequently, the intelligentsia who got education in the Scott Christian College began to utilise their intellectual capital for overall development.¹⁴⁰ Hence the college fostered intellectual virtue and paved the way for social transformation through commitment, determination and conscientious ways. Among the many aspects, teaching was the predominant one.

Similarly, the development oriented missionary initiatives through the higher learning attracted the attention of a sizable population of South Travancore in multiple ways. Transition from primitive class to land owning community could largely be attributed to missionary education and its ethical values. The abolition of the age old slavery practice set forth a historical and crucial model to be practiced by the underprivileged sections of the society.¹⁴¹ Subsequently, the college provided the intelligentsia with the social advancement as the education gave them the hope that the economic advancement could be achieved through education and self development schemes.¹⁴² George Parker, the Principal of the college underlined the importance of college and its commitment of constructive thinking. In fact he appealed to the debaters in the college to attempt for self determined constructive thinking for the social and economic development of the communities in South Travancore.¹⁴³

The college played an appertaining and incisive role as a centre of higher learning in South Travancore. Nevertheless, the college as a centre of higher education was not entirely free from its religious interventions. Missionary attempt to use education for 'edificatory' and evangelistic purpose led to both responsive reactions and reactionary responses. The emergence of educated middle class intelligentsia and the anti-colonial sentiments on the one side, and emergence of liberative ideas among the converted masses-cum missionary sympathizers on the other became the order of the day. Yet, the

140 William J. Abraham, 'Education, Social Transformation and Intellectual Virtue,' *Christian Higher Education*, vol. 5, no. 1, 2006, pp. 3-17.

141 Samuel Mateer, *Land of Charity*, John Snow and Company Ltd., London, 1870, p. 21.

142 Tanika Sarkar, 'Missionaries, Converts and State in Colonial India,' *Studies in History*, vol. 18, no. 1, 2002, pp. 121-122.

143 *LMS Directors' Annual Report*, 1921, London, p. 58.

college played a significant role in keeping its friendly attitude to all students irrespective of their religious affiliation. According to missionary records no untoward incident was happened in the form of agitation or in any other means when there were nationwide nationalist awakening and protests.¹⁴⁴

6. Higher Education and Knowledge Production

The democratisation of education in Travancore began only with the arrival of missionaries of LMS, when they undertook the opening of schools on large scale and made it available to children of all castes and creeds including women, Muslims and the lower castes. When the rigid caste hierarchy was at its peak and the untouchables were excluded, the introduction of missionary education was seen as a historic relief for the disadvantaged communities. Furthermore, missionaries' inclusive approach reduced literate-illiterate chasm. The large scale participation of Brahmin students in the missionary schools and the involvement of Brahmin teachers in the day-to-day deliberations of missionary establishments further distanced the caste divides.¹⁴⁵ Influenced heavily by missionary schools, the rulers of Travancore showed unprecedented interest to give considerable impetus to education by offering state pay to schools managed by London Missionary Society.¹⁴⁶

It is to be underlined that T. Madhava Rao, former student of the Nagercoil Central School who later became the Diwan of Travancore, accepted the fact that Government schools did not show any interest in educating the lower castes and applauded missionaries' inclusive approach to education.¹⁴⁷ He found that the students had come out so advanced in the knowledge of the English language¹⁴⁸ and added that: "I need hardly say I was much gratified in observing the progress in useful studies which the lads are

144 *London Mission Society, Travancore Mission Council, Minutes of the Education Committee, Nagercoil, 25 July 1930, LMS Press, Nagercoil, 1930, Appendix- VI, p. 40.*

145 Dick Kooiman, *Conversion and Social Equality*, pp. 95-97.

146 R. Jayasree, *Religion, Social Change and Fertility Behaviour: A Study of Kerala*, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, 1989, p. 42.

147 Suma Rose, *Polity, Society and Women: with special reference to Travancore, 1700-1900*, Carmel International Publishing House, Trivandrum, 2004, p. 137.

148 M. D. Daniel, *Autobiography*, Alexandra Publishers, Nagercoil, 2010, p. 12

making in the Central School at Nagercoil. In fact, everything connected with that institution far surpassed my expectations.”¹⁴⁹

Subsequently, Maharajas of Travancore including Rama Varma underscored the enlightening effect of missionary education in Travancore. In his letter addressed to M. E. Grant Duff, the then Governor of Madras titled *Observations on Higher Education and the Education of the Masses in India* he stated: “I do not underestimate the valuable service which the earnest and self-denying labours of the missionaries have done to the cause of education in India.”¹⁵⁰ The directors of the London Missionary Society too acknowledged that the Travancore mission has begun to take rank with some of the most advanced missions of all societies in Great Britain itself.¹⁵¹

Affecting the rigid social order of the society, the impacts of education started breaking up the old concept of society and introduced new factors of social change. The vernacular and English education through its developmental ideas overthrew the social and economic monopoly of dominant sections of the society making public spheres for depressed class people.¹⁵² As a result the depressed class masses underwent a significant change from their indefatigability to intellectualism to seek fulfillment of interests to create a modern, rational, knowledgeable and powerful society¹⁵³ in consonance with social justice, development and self respect.

The higher education challenged the rigidity of traditional systems—using umbrella, wearing sandal, carrying water pot on the hip, constructing a good house, covering the bosom of women, walking near to the high caste people and so on. The intellectuals questioned the very nature of the forced labour—serving the dominant caste groups in the

149 *Annual Report of the Travancore District Committee*, LMS, South Travancore, 1861, LMS Press, Nagercoil, 1862, p. 9.

150 Rama Varma, *Observations on Higher Education and the Education of the Masses in India*, A Letter Addressed to M. E. Grant Duff, Governor of Madras, Addison & Co., Madras, 1882, p. 6.

151 London Missionary Society, *Fruits of Toil in the London Missionary Society*, John Snow & Co, London, 1869, pp. 61-62.

152 Verner Courtenay Bickley, *Cultural Relations in the Global Community*, Abhinave Publications, New Delhi, 1981, p. 136.

153 Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977*, Translated by Colin Gordon, 1980, pp. 52-53.

form of *oolium* (wage free labour).¹⁵⁴ Missionaries influenced both privileged and underprivileged sections. They favoured the upper castes to get jobs in the Maharaja's Government and the lower castes, including Shanars, Ezhavas, Pulayars, Parayars, Sambavas and Mukkuvars to enhance their economic status.

When education figured prominently as an unavailable commodity for the lower sections of the society, educational institutions established by missionaries played a crucial and historic role in catering to their needs.¹⁵⁵ A.R. Desai argued that among the agencies which imparted modern education including British Government, progressive Indians and Christian missionaries, the pioneering and missionary education was free from limitations and distortions. According to him both the aspects were absent in the schools established by progressive Indians and British Government.¹⁵⁶ As a result, Education as a crucial way of liberating people from all sorts of enslavement was emphasised in the missionary higher learning centers including Scott Christian College.¹⁵⁷

Thus, the higher education in South Travancore became a historical reality largely due to the LMS missionaries. The Scott Christian College played a significant role in achieving mass literacy.¹⁵⁸ The missionary way of representing the depressed classes through educational opportunities created a historic transformation from dependence to self reliance. LMS missionaries, whom the Travancore people attributed as 'messiahs of modern education,' left the imprint as 'custodians of social justice,' 'spokesmen of development' and the 'best equipped leaders for reform.' Hence, the search and quest for knowledge¹⁵⁹ through higher learning which they inherited largely through the LMS missionaries, provided moral and material benefits to their families, and enabled them to revitalize their thirst for liberation.

154 M.S.S. Pandian, 'Meanings of 'Colonialism' and 'Nationalism': An Essay on Vaikundaswamy cult,' *Studies in History*, vol. 8, no. 2, 1992, pp. 167-185.

155 Lakshmi Subramanian, *New Mansions for Music: Performance, Pedagogy and Criticism*, Social Science Press, New Delhi, 2008, p. 107.

156 A.R. Desai, *Social Background of Indian Nationalism*, Popular Prakashan, 2005, pp. 129-130.

157 Klaus Koschorke, Frieder Ludwig, Mariano Delgado (eds), *A History of Christianity in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, 1450-1990: A Documentary Source Book*, William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, Michigan/Cambridge, 2007, p. 395.

158 H.A. Popley, 'Missionary Education in India,' *The Harvest Field*, 1917, pp. 56-57.

159 Ousseina Alidou, *Engaging Modernity: Muslim women and the Politics of Agency in Postcolonial Niger*, University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 2005, pp. 36-39.

Chapter V

LMS Missionaries and Women's Education

The colonial rule had brought a series of crucial and historic changes in Indian society with special reference to women. Some of the recent scholarship on women examines the centrality of education in modern constructions of gender question. In Madras Presidency, the question of women and education was identified largely with Christian missionaries. This later made dramatic and far-reaching changes in the discourses of space, mobility, sexuality and respectability, radically transforming the nature of femininity to a subject of study with a different articulation. The transition from servitude to a 'discourse of respectability'¹ and liberation through education needs to be located within the specific historical context in which the question of women empowerment arose in the nineteenth century Madras Presidency.

The history of women's education is largely identified with a movement towards liberation. This is evident from the fact that women in modern India could be partly equated with a march towards 'modernity' after a long period of stagnation and decline.² Similarly, the status of education of women in South India was also deplorable till the end of eighteenth century, though there were small initiatives to educate women by the Tranquebar missionaries. The indigenous pyal schools run by guru's could not accommodate girls, except a very few, and the rigid systems of the society seized women under its stringent policies. The Protestant missionaries, with their efforts, took initiatives to reform the society by influencing the British Government as well as the Indian individuals. To initiate the task of liberating women, they first started schools in various parts of India.

Ever since the arrival of the missionaries, educating women had become one of their tasks through establishing schools and other institutions for women. It is argued that the

1 Eliza F. Kent, *Converting Women: Gender and Protestant Christianity in Colonial South India*, Oxford University Press, New York, 2004, p. 4.

2 Geraldine Forbes, *Women in Modern India, The New Cambridge History of India*, IV. 2, Cambridge University Press, New Delhi, 1996, p. 1.

missionaries could succeed partially in their work despite the fact that there were a range of reactionary responses from personalities who identified themselves largely with the growing anti-British movement. In Bombay Presidency, there were a series of protests arguing that educating women was nothing but losing the identity of 'Indian nationality' and embracing western civilization.³

Nevertheless, the question of women education was different in Madras Presidency as missionaries took a leading role in educating women. Despite the fact that the education to women was considered as an unusual and alien idea among underprivileged sections, missionaries and their wives had brought out a practicable model whereby education had become a subject of study for women in the nineteenth century. It is in this context, London Missionary Society played a crucial role in south India.

The LMS Missionaries' wives and women missionaries had handled the issue of women's education with a view to liberate women from domestic constraints in south India. The missionaries had adopted new educational norms for women, particularly the oppressed and down-trodden to address questions of the customs of early marriage, widow marriage, women domestic seclusion and took it as 'women's work for women.'⁴ The missionary efforts to establish schools for girls, with partial financial assistance from the Government attracted a great deal of resistance from the privileged section for accommodating people from below along with them in missionary schools, making a new era in the annals of history of women's education in India.

1. Education of Women in Pre-colonial South India

There was wide a wide range of differentiation between lettered and unlettered women in India. The vernacular literature of Madras Presidency, particularly Tamil, eulogizes that in the ancient *Tamizhagam*, the status of upper caste women were considered to be high. They were highly literate and even wrote poems and other literature parts and even

3 Parimala V. Rao, *Educate Women and Lose Nationality*, Critical Quest, New Delhi, 2010, p. 3.

4 Leslie A. Flemming, *Women's Work for Women: Missionaries and Social Change in Asia*, Westview Press, London, 1990, pp. 1-10.

owned property.⁵ It is estimated to be some 45 poetess' lived during the Sangam period among the 473 total poets; Avvaiyar wrote 59 poems and Kakkai Padiniyaar Nachellaiyar had 12 poems.⁶ Among the bhakthi poetess,' Karaikkal Ammayar published 143 poems and Andal wrote 'thiruppavai,' and 'Naachiyar Thirumozhi,' which were considered to be popular among other poems. The other Kakkai Padiniyaar's grammatical work 'Kakkaip Paadiniyam' is still considered an important literature among the Tamil literary giants.⁷ The Tamil epics, *Chilappedikaram*, *Nannul*, *Akananuru*, *Puranamuru*, *Kaliththokai*, *Manimekhalai*, *Neelakesi*, *Kundalakesi* all describe the ancient schools, for women.⁸

In the medieval and early modern period, the history of women's movement was slumbering. Donald Campbell, an adventurer and navigator, who had a long journey to India, was an eye-witness to the practice of *sati* in south India, in his series of letters to his son, he wrote in 1785:

This day 20 March 1785, I went for a Gentoo woman resigns herself to be burned along with the corpse of her deceased husband. The place fixed upon for this tragic scene, was a small islet on the bank of the branches of the river Cavery, about a mile to the northward of the fort Tanjore. When I came to the spot, I found the victim, who appeared to be not above sixteen, sitting on the ground, dressed in the *Gentoo* manner with a white cloth wrapped round her neck, and some of them hanging from her hair. There were about twenty women sitting on their hams round her, holding a white hand-kerchief, extended horizontally over her head, to shade her from the sun, which was excessively hot, it being then about noon. At about twenty yards from where she was sitting, and facing her there were several Brahmins busy in constructing a pile with billets of fire-wood: the pile was about eight feet long, and four feet broad. They first began by driving some upright stakes into the ground, and then built up the middle to about the height of three feet and a half with billets of wood. The dead husband, who, from his appearance, seemed to

5 Kanakalatha Mukund, "Turmeric Land: Women's Property Rights in Tamil Society since Early Medieval Times" in Kumkum Roy (ed.), *Women in Early Indian Societies*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1999, pp. 123-140.

6 Thayamma Aravanan, 'Mahadoo Munnilai,' in *Encyclopedia of Women Poets*, Thayaram, Tiruchi, 2004, p. 5.

7 *Ibid.*, pp. 30, 87, 445, 505, 560.

8 It is estimated to be over fifteen poetesses who were honoured by the kings and people, and some of the most important Sangam poetesses were Avvaiyar, Adimandiyar, Vellividiyar, Kakkai Padiniyaar, Nachchliyar, Kuramakal Ilaveyini, Veripadiya Kamakkanniyar, Okker Massattiyav, Kakarpendu, Ponmudiyar, Nakkannaiyar, Bhudappandiyan Devi Perunkoppendu, and Pari Makalir. K. K. Pillay, *A Social History of Tamils*, Part I, University of Madras, 1975, p. 439.

be about sixty years of age ...⁹

On the arrival of the missionaries in India, they could identify the women's position, particularly educational status was vulnerable.¹⁰ One missionary woman wrote that a girl child was 'unwelcomed at her birth, untaught in her childhood, enslaved when married, accursed as a widow, and often unlamented at her death.' It has been rightly learned that a large class of females in India were positively secluded, and tens of thousands were veiled under *purdah* for no crime except that of being women.¹¹ Missionaries and individuals launched campaigns to wipe out the nefarious social taboos - *sati* (widow burning), *thugi* (ritual murder), *charakipujar* (hook swinging), *meriah* (blood sacrifice of humans) and *devadasi* - which had great recognition and appreciation during the medieval period, and intended these were to be curbed largely through education.¹²

In fact, the status of women was a frightful picture of human inequality. The misery furnishes deplorable evidence of human depravity. Ignorance, and its natural consequent, superstition, generate the most dreadful crimes. Mrs. Wilson, wife of Scottish missionary in Bombay, in a letter dated 14 November 1834 remarked:

The wretched state of females in India calls loudly our assistance... A female child is hated and frowned upon, even from her birth. The unhappy mother is disappointed that she has not given birth to a male child; and seldom or never fails to becoming an object of aversion to her husband, if she is so unfortunate as to have a large family of daughters...¹³

When imperial narratives of evangelical activity may have revolved around the heroic male missionary figure, missionary women were also seen to play a crucial, if secondary role.¹⁴ Analysis of the representation of missionary activity through mission narratives,

9 Donald Campbell, *A Journey over land to India, Partly by a route never gone before by any European*, T.N. Longman, London, 1796, pp. 138-142.

10 For a detailed account of the position of women and their education in the early nineteenth century, see Priscilla Chapman, *Hindu Female Education*, R.B. Seelay and W. Burnside, London, 1839.

11 James J. Fordyce, 'Female Education in the East,' in the *Report of the Conference on Missions held in 1860 at Liverpool*, James Nisbet and Company, London, 1860, p. 274.

12 Katherine Mayo, *Mother India*, Jonathan Cape Ltd., London, 1927, pp. 52-54. Sushila Mehta, *Revolution and Status of Women in India*, New Delhi, 1982.

13 Miss. Thomson, 'The Importance of Female Agency in Evangelizing Pagan Nations' in Thomas Timpson (ed.) *Memoirs of British Female Missionaries: With a Survey of the Condition of Women in Heathen Countries*, William Smith and Co., London, 1841, p. xlvi.

14 Anna Johnston, *Missionary Writing and Empire, 1800-1860*, Cambridge University Press, 2003, p. 20.

histories, memoirs, reminiscences, and literary accounts brings to bear a close attention to the nexus of gender, colonialism, and representation.¹⁵ In 1845, Eliza Caldwell lamented that in consequence of their degraded condition, the females of the district had no desire for improvement, nor had they any wish for the education of their children. She argued that the native women were not only extremely ignorant but filthy in their habits, rude in their manners and quarrelsome, always ignored and neglected, and were found to be unimaginable in their status.¹⁶ It was widely reported and described in various newspapers.

An anonymous writer, who wrote to *Madras Mail* in 1869, titled 'Native Female Education' described that the educational level of native females was found to be very low, and were condemned and subjugated for ages. Educating the males to earn more if possible, but to teach woman to recognize her proper worth, and to comprehend her great influence for good or evil in the society had been degrading, as during the earlier times women did read and write, but now, custom that would not allow them to be educated.¹⁷ It was in this period a range of movements for the empowerment of women took place in various parts of the country, particularly Madras Presidency.

Influenced by the missionary idea, the Indian leaders too acknowledged the backwardness of female education.¹⁸ It was felt that the lack of female teachers was one of the important obstacles to the improvement of female education. There was a system and custom persisted that girls were taken out from school at eleven years of age, partly because it was not considered proper for them to remain under male teachers after that age, and this attitude naturally became a great setback. It was during this period, an improved system of instruction by female teachers, and English ladies was experimented.¹⁹

Consequently, education was considered necessary in any society in the nineteenth

15 *Ibid.*

16 Eliza to Reverend Vincent Shortland, Secretary to the Madras Diocesan Committee, 14 July 1845.

17 *Madras Mail*, 9 January 1869. Source: Nehru Memorial Museum & Library, New Delhi.

18 Christian Work: The News of the Churches, vol. I, *Magazine of Religious and Missionary Information*, S.W. Partridge & Co, London, 1867, p. 246.

19 *Madras Mail*, 7 June 1870. Source: Nehru Memorial Museum & Library, New Delhi.

century - for, child marriage, widow burning, female infanticide etc., were the worst social evils predominantly controlled, and parents, especially fathers had to be cajoled into sending daughters to schools, and reassured that education would not lead women to abrogate their 'traditional' roles.²⁰

The State of Travancore, where the women were considered to be at the helm of affairs even in the nineteenth century, the upper castes women were given importance not because of their education, but the hereditary respect in the form of '*Marumakkathayam*,' where the family property belonged to the sisters of a family, and even the sister's son was the heir apparent of the Maharaja. William Logan, the District collector and Magistrate of Malabar in late 1880s wrote:

The persons accused by the woman are never permitted to disprove the charges against them, but the woman herself is closely cross-examined and the probabilities are carefully weighed. And every co-defendant, except the one who, according to the woman's statement, was the first to lead her astray, has a right to be admitted to the boiling-oil ordeal as administered, at the temple of Suchindram in Travancore. If his hand is burnt, he is guilty; if it comes out clean he is judged as innocent.²¹

The LMS missionaries, after realizing the fact that no one would come forward to work among orphans during the course of their action plan, decided to support them by caring, feeding and educating, and making them better children for life.²² The Poor Children Society, initiated by the missionaries for Pulayar and Parayar converts was organized for helping the poor children, as until the early decades of twentieth century, the state did not interest itself in educating the masses. The people were left to make their own arrangements for the education of the children from the underprivileged families.²³

20 Samita Sen, 'A Father's Duty: State, Patriarchy and Women's Education' in Subyasachi Bhattacharya (ed.), *Education and the Disprivileged*, Orient Longman, New Delhi, 2002, pp. 198-199.

21 William Logan, *Malabar Manual*, vol. I, Government Press, Madras, 1887, p. 124.

22 Sabyasachi Bhattacharya, Joseph Bara, Chinna Rao Yagati (eds), 'The Diocesan Report of the Protestant Missionaries of Travancore and Cochin, dated 1913 on the Progress of their Educational effort among Women and depressed classes/castes' in *Educating the Nation: Documents on the Discourse of National Education in India, 1880-1920*, Educational Records Research Unit, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, 2003, p. 315.

23 *Ibid.*, p. 316.

2. Women Missionaries and Women's Education

The women missionaries were the social bodies of 'good Christian women'-missionaries, bible women and converts in a transnational space designed for Indian and British women to share Christian 'true feeling'. This shared feeling was, however, firmly predicated on the diverse binaries of radicalized power²⁴ developed during the early nineteenth-century in the West.²⁵ It is to be understood better the contributions rendered by the wives of the missionaries in a range of mission fields and the pioneering educational work undertaken by single women as a close adjunct to the foreign missionary enterprise.²⁶ Jane Haggis argued that the 'mission of domesticity' of the missionary women, in terms of the ways it intersects with both colonial and metropolitan dynamics of change, revealed an ironic edge to the rhetoric of emancipation within the missionary discourse.²⁷

Women's involvement in the foreign missionary movement was almost entirely galvanized around issues to do with the social and spiritual emancipation of Indian women.²⁸ Though the missionary wives' primary role was to assist their male partners to be 'a more contended, zealous, faithful, and useful missionary,'²⁹ they were seen as providing an important domestic base for their male partners and as modeling proper feminine domesticity to indigenous women, assumed an obligatory responsibility for the moral uplift and education of women and children, and carving out a sphere of 'religious philanthropy.'³⁰ However, they were also recognized as playing an important role in the

24 Jane Haggis and Margaret Allen, 'Imperial Emotions: Affective Communities of Mission in Protestant Women's Missionary Publications, c 1880-1920,' *Journal of Social History*, vol. 41, no. 3, Spring 2008, p. 691.

25 Clare Midgley, 'Can Women be Missionaries? Envisioning Female Agency in the Early Nineteenth Century British Empire,' *Journal of British Studies*, vol. 45, no. 2, April 2006, pp. 335-336.

26 *Ibid.*, pp. 336-337.

27 Jane Haggis, 'Ironies of Emancipation: Changing Configurations of 'Women's Work' in the 'Mission of Sisterhood' to Indian Women,' *Feminist Review*, Palgrave Macmillan Journals, no. 65, Summer, 2000, p. 110.

28 Haggis, *Ironies of Emancipation*, p. 109.

29 Patricia Grimshaw, "'Christian Woman, Pious wife, Faithful mother, Devoted Missionary': Conflicts in Roles of American Missionary Women in Nineteenth-Century Hawaii,' *Feminist Studies*, vol. 9, no. 3, Autumn, 1983, p. 512.

30 Haggis, *Ironies of Emancipation*, p. 111.

development of girls' education³¹ and also as agents in the context of separate spheres within the missionary movement.³² But it was unfortunate that neither these missionary women were accommodated nor given importance in the national committees of the foreign missionary societies until the Ladies' Committees were formed during the late nineteenth century.

The women missionaries had to work for bringing up the village women, who were married and had endless duties of the village wife – helping in the fields, fetching the water from the well or the village pond, preparing and cooking the food over a fire for which she had to collect the grass or sticks, and bearing and caring for her own children, and it was thought of the faithful day-to-day work of the leading women in the villages that counted.³³ While commenting on the nefarious condition of the women, Betty Houghton, a mission school teacher stated that a hard life bringing up children in a land of no widow's pension, or children's allowances, or free lunches, or free books at school; a land where a widow was left so often to fend for herself, made to feel it was her fault that her husband died. If she had only daughters there was no future home for her, as she could never live with her son-in-law when the girl was married.³⁴

The German missionary Ziegenbalg is the pioneer missionary, who established a school at Tranquebar, specially meant for girls in 1712 with other four schools. This school for girls was the first of its kind to be set up in India, as there was no school devoted entirely to the education of girls.³⁵ Hannah Marshman, wife of the missionary Joshua Marshman of Serampore, as early as 1800, was the first woman actually to attempt female education in India. Though initially the schools were for the Eurasians, subsequently, in 1807, she admitted native girls also. With the help of Mrs. Lawson and Mrs. Pearce, she formed the 'Calcutta Female Juvenile Society for the Education of Native Females' in April 1819. This Society which could run a school with eight scholars in 1819, had thirty two

31 Midgley, *Can Women be Missionaries?* p. 339.

32 The major English missionary societies made a formal decision to directly recruit women as follows: Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society in 1858, Baptist Missionary Society in 1866, London Missionary Society in 1875, and Church Missionary Society in 1887. In Scotland the United Presbyterian Church made the move in 1881. See Midgley, *Can Women be Missionaries?* p. 338.

33 *The Harvest Field*, 1894, p. 99.

34 *Ibid.*

35 Singh, *Ziegenbalg*, p. 87.

students in 1820 and increased in to six schools with one hundred and sixty students in 1821.³⁶ Hannah Marshman also originated an auxiliary organization, called the ‘Ladies Society for Native Female Education’ in Calcutta and the ‘vicinity’ in 1824 and the work of female education in India gained momentum, followed by Society for the Promotion of Female Education in the East (1834), the Church of Scotland Women’s Association (1837), and the Indian Female Normal School and Instruction Society (1852) were founded.³⁷

Meanwhile the Calcutta School Society was founded in 1819, and the society applied the British and Foreign School Society in England for sending a competent lady to undertake women’s education. It is in this context that over the course of her career, Mary Anne Cooke, a thirty-seven-year-old former Governess, completed her journey from England and arrived in Calcutta as the first single female missionary to India in 1821. Obviously, Cooke opened a school for girls in Calcutta in 1822, and had ten schools in operation in a few months with 270 pupils. In 1823, the schools had increased to twenty-two with 400 pupils.³⁸ From being a teacher, Mary Cooke became a school supervisor, advisor to benevolently-inclined colonial elites, and headmistress and owner of an orphanage.³⁹

The wives and even daughters of the LMS missionaries⁴⁰ were the pioneers of female education in Madras Presidency as elsewhere. The earliest girls’ schools were established between 1819 and 1823, and were most diligently developed and extended from time to time. Johanna Mead, Martha Mault and Anne Duthie at Nagercoil, Louisa Sewell Abbs at Parassala, Jessie Liddel Thompson at Neyyoor, Ann Martha Bailey at Marthandam, Mrs.

36 Lovett, *The History of the London Missionary Society*, pp. 244-245. See also Dennis, *Christian Missions and Social Progress*, p. 11. Also see Geraldine Forbes, ‘Education for Women,’ in Sumit Sarkar & Tanika Sarkar (eds), *Women and Social Reform in Modern India*, vol. I, Permanent Black, Ranikhet, 2007, p. 87.

37 Dennis, *Christian Missions and Social Progress*, p. 12.

38 James Dennis, p. 11.

39 Aparna Basu, ‘Mary Ann Cooke to Mother Teresa: Christian Missionary Women and the Indian Response’ in Fiona Bowie *et al*, (eds), *Women and Missions: Past and Present, Anthropological and Historical Perspectives*, Berg Publishers, Oxford, 1994. Also see Midgley, *Can Women be Missionaries?* p. 338.

40 The work of the male missionaries was understood to be preaching of the gospel, the translation and publication of the Holy Scriptures, and establishment of schools. For the missionary wives, it was acceptable to undertake the second and third of these key activities. Women, however, were excluded from preaching. Midgley, *Can Women be Missionaries?* p. 338.

Hands and Mrs. Reid at Bellary, etc., were some of the outstanding names among others who had taken strenuous efforts and showed unflinching commitment in the women's educational endeavour throughout the Madras Presidency.⁴¹

One of the predominant parts of the missionary education is the service rendered by the women missionaries represented by various missionary organizations, in different parts of India, establishing schools, orphanages, and other institutions. In Europe, particularly in London, single women began to be recruited in any numbers in 1834, with the establishment of the Society for the Propagation of Female Education in the East (SPFEE), founded largely as a result of the efforts of missionaries' wives and supporters of their work,⁴² to gain recognition for female education as distinct and legitimate aspect of the evangelical brief for conversion. The society's purpose was to assist missionary wives in their educational efforts by funding schools and locating and preparing 'pious and well-educated persons' to assist in the running of the schools.⁴³

Establishment of mission oriented schools, women-workers for women, Bible women, Zanana missions and medical mission were started with a perceived notion, mainly to educate unlettered women. For this purpose, the LMS and other missionary organisations established their own Female Missionary Societies like, Women's Foreign Missionary Society, America, Women's Board of Foreign Missions, Women's Baptist Missionary Society, Methodist Women's Foreign Missionary Society etc., since 1840 onwards.⁴⁴ Nevertheless, women missionaries' attempt to engage women through education and other means made significant impacts on both missionaries as well as womenfolk. As Susan Smith argued missionaries' wives did not occupy any official position or salaried post, but as a labour of love, they devoted a good deal of their time to the supervision of institutions started for the welfare of women.⁴⁵

41 Lovett, *History of the London Missionary Society*, Appendix I, pp. 740-741. See also Agur, *Church History of Travancore*, pp. 765-766.

42 Jane Haggis, 'A heart that has felt the love of god and longs for others to know it': conventions of gender, tensions of self and constructions of difference in offering to be a lady missionary,' *Women's History Review*, vol. 7, no. 2, 1998, p. 172.

43 *Ibid.*, p. 172.

44 *Ecumenical Missionary Conference, New York, 1900*, pp. 385-394.

45 Quoted in Yesudas, *History of the London Missionary Society*, p. 82.

During 1880s the number of suitable ladies prepared to offer their services as female missionaries were increasing.⁴⁶ Isabella Thoburn, who was a woman missionary in 1890s, who founded today's Isabella Thoburn College, Lucknow, which is the first women's college in India, said:

The power of educated womanhood is simply the power of skilled service. We are not in the world to be ministered unto, but to minister. The world is full of need, and every opportunity to help is a duty.⁴⁷

Similarly, Margaret C. Davis, a woman missionary in India said: "When I went to India the first thing I had to do was to prepare girls of fourteen or fifteen to pass Government examinations. One of the things I had to prepare those girls in was 'domestic economy.'⁴⁸

The LMS had set up its Ladies' Committee in 1875 to oversee all aspects of the process of recruiting, selecting and placing suitable female missionaries in the field as Jane Haggis calls, 'professional ladies and superior talents,' as well as having responsibility for raising the funds to pay for this extension of the Society's work.⁴⁹ Until 1900, out of the 400 applications received by the Committee, only 186 were selected to the mission field, the remaining majority having been rejected as unsuitable, usually on the grounds of age and education. Zanana work has also been further developed. There were 35 women missionaries on the LMS Indian Staff in 1900 and 45 in 1920 in India.⁵⁰

The Committee had high expectations and wanted the comparatively young and energetic middle-class women between the ages of twenty-one and twenty-eight, full of health and vigour, a creature possessed as much as possible of that rare quality, commonsense, character, a gentle voice and winning manner, much womanly tact and patience, and cheerfulness of disposition, to offer themselves for this work with sound educational qualifications,⁵¹ culture, and refinement to prove to be a 'true lady.'⁵² Teachers applying

46 Haggis, *A heart that has felt the love*, p. 174.

47 Isabella Thoburn, 'The Power of Educated Womanhood,' *Ecumenical Missionary Conference, New York, 1900*, p. 132.

48 Margaret C. Davis, 'Aim of Manual Training,' *Ibid.*, pp. 181-182.

49 *Ibid.*

50 James, *Twenty-five years of the LMS*, p. 44.

51 Sound education means here more specialized training that the Committee felt the duties of a lady missionary demanded. See Haggis, *A heart that has felt the love*, pp. 177-179.

without formal education were accepted by the committee, even in the 1870s, on condition they pass a three-month certificate course in England or elsewhere a training institute; and in the 1880s some were directed to obtain a course in 'systematic teaching' at a college or 'large and efficient Board school.'⁵³

In Madras Presidency, missionary endeavour has not always succeeded in bringing caste Hindus to their faith. The decision to change from one religion to another was not uncommon among the Mukkuvar (fishermen) in the sixteenth century. The 'lady missionaries' emulated significant changes during the colonial period for equipping Indian middle-class women with the education and professional qualifications necessary.⁵⁴ In the early modern period, education to women derived its essence from Pietic tradition through Danish-Halle missionaries from Germany.

3. Modern Education for Women in Madras Presidency

Ever since the arrival of the Protestant missionaries in India female education was also given utmost importance like other missionary works. Missionary institutions for female education were numerous and influential. German Evangelical Mission, Society for Propagation of Gospel (SPG), SPCK, CMS and LMS adopted a range of ideas and put into practice in various parts of South India.

In Madras, Mrs. Traveller, wife of an LMS missionary commenced a school for the Eurasian girls in 1817 at Black Town, in a schoolhouse of whitewashed burnt brick.⁵⁵ Anna Drew, missionary wife of an LMS missionary, William Hoyle Drew inaugurated three schools at Royapuram and Puruswalkam in the Black town and another in Bangalore in 1834. With the help of a school-mistress, she started teaching Tamil,

52 London Missionary Society, *What are the Qualifications needed for a Lady Missionary?* 5th Edn, London, 1913, p. 10. Also see Quoted in Jane Haggis, *A heart that has felt the Love*, pp. 174-177.

53 Haggis, *A heart that has felt the love*, p. 176.

54 Kalpana Ram, 'Maternity and the story of enlightenment in the colonies: Tamil coastal women, South India,' in Kalpana Ram and Margaret Jolly (eds), *Maternities and Modernities: Colonial and postcolonial experiences in Asia and the Pacific*, Cambridge University Press, 1998, p. 283.

55 Raman, *Getting Girls to School*, p. 7.

English, knitting and needlework.⁵⁶ The Doveton School, founded in 1855, for the education of Eurasian children, catered and admitted many in the nineteenth century.⁵⁷

Missionaries' wives in South India including Johanna Mead and Martha Mault were the leading women who introduced women's education in South Travancore, the southernmost part of India. The LMS had its credit of establishing and running the first girls' school at Nagercoil in South Travancore. It was realized by the missionary couple Charles Mead and Johanna Mead to start a school for the most intelligent girls at Nagercoil, to be selected from the other village schools established earlier. Johanna, who from her missionary habits, knowledge of the language, proved herself to be a worthy school teacher, and obviously the first women's school⁵⁸ was founded at Nagercoil in 1819. But to the surprise of the missionaries, the parents were quite unwilling to send their girls to school, so they could collect a few girls because of the general tendency existed against women's education.

The way in which missionaries Meads and Maults wrote and distributed tracts and pamphlets by offering 'attractive rewards' to those parents who were ready to send their girls' to join schools⁵⁹ made effervescent efforts to the natives of Nagercoil. It is interesting to note that amidst the early efforts made to encourage the natives of Travancore to educate their girls, one was the publication of a Tamil tract of twelve pages titled, 'On the advantages of Female Education,' printed at the LMS Press, Nagercoil in 1831 as tract no. 31 and freely distributed in the country side. On page 11 of this tract the people of Travancore were exhorted to send their girls to schools as the Hindus of Bengal, Bombay and Madras had already sent their girls to schools being convinced of the innumerable advantages of female education.⁶⁰

56 Brockway, *Unfinished Pilgrimage*, p. 13.

57 *Ibid.*, p. 9.

58 *LMS Directors' Annual Report*, 1819, London, p. 55.

59 Agur, *Church History*, p. 765.

60 Agur wrote, "It is highly gratifying that at the present day, Travancore stands far in advance of other parts of India in the matter of female education. From the Government statistics of 1897 we gather that 36652 females are under instruction ... of these 21458 are Hindus, 1365 Mohammedans and 13826 Christians, who form 10.3, 7.5 and 20.6 percents respectively of the population of the school

Eliza Caldwell,⁶¹ wife of Robert Caldwell, was familiar with missionary and local culture and fluent in colloquial Tamil and she was by no means a ‘new recruit’ to the mission field, for she had been fully engaged in female education assisting her mother Martha Mault of the LMS at Nagercoil. To quote Eliza’s own words: “I did not come as a new recruit to the work. I was before engaged in Female education assisting my mother who had a large flourishing Girls School, the first that was established in South Travancore.”⁶²

Eliza Caldwell, also found the women in a deplorable condition and their ‘utter ignorance and degradation’ was the ‘chief factor’ that stirred her. She observed that there was no literate woman in and around her mission field, who could read, despite the existence of Christianity for some years. In a letter to the Secretary of the Madras Diocesan Committee of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG), Eliza wrote in 1845:

In consequence of their degraded condition in the females of the district had no desire for improvement, nor had they any wish for the education of their children... They were not only extremely ignorant, but filthy in their habits, rude in their manners and quarrelsome. If this was the state of the Christian females who, though long neglected, were in every respect superior to the heathens, it may be imagined how very the heathen women were sunk.⁶³

In this way, the wives of the missionaries established schools for girls in almost every place wherever their husbands stationed. Annie Duthie started another school for girls in Nagercoil and a separate branch for Muhammadan girls also established.⁶⁴ The missionary women had attempted to establish 15 women schools in 1840s and 47 schools

going age.” See *Ibid.*, p. 769.

61 Eliza was the daughter of the LMS missionary couple Charles and Martha Mault of Nagercoil, who had an uninterrupted service of thirty-five long years from 1819 to 1854.

62 The Church Missionary Society opened its first girls’ school at Tirunelveli in the southern part of Madras Presidency in 1821. By 1840 the Scottish Church Society could claim six schools with 200 Hindu girls. Overall, by the mid-nineteenth century, the missionaries in Madras were instructing nearly 8000 girls in day schools and boarding schools. Gnanadason, *A Forgotten History*, pp. 69-72. Also see R. Vishalakshmi Nedunchezhiyar, ‘Education of Girls in Tamil Nadu,’ *Status of Women souvenir* 1973, Task Force Sub-Committee on Education, Madras, Tamil Nadu, n. p. See also Geraldine Forbes, ‘Education for Women,’ in Sumit Sarkar & Tanika Sarkar (eds), *Women and Social Reform in Modern India*, vol. I, Permanent Black, Ranikhet, 2007, p. 87.

63 Cited in Y. Vincent Kumaradoss, *Robert Caldwell: A Scholar-Missionary in Colonial South India*, Indian Society for the Promoting Christian Knowledge, New Delhi, 2008, pp. 100-139.

64 I.H. Hacker, *A Hundred Years in Travancore, 1806-1906: A History and Description of the Work done by the London Missionary Society in Travancore, South India*, H.R. Allenson Ltd., London, 1908, pp. 38-42, 55-75. Also see Joy Gnanadason, *A Forgotten History: the Story of The Missionary Movement and the Liberation of the People in South Travancore.*, Gurukul Theological Research Institute, Madras, 1994, pp. 66-78.

including 6 boarding schools in 1870s⁶⁵ in the South Travancore region only. The LMS missionaries started girl's schools, including boarding schools wherever they stationed. The schools in Thiruvanthapuram, Kollam and Pathanamthitta districts, were established by LMS since its inception is an exemplary example of how the missionaries gave utmost importance to girl children and their education.⁶⁶

At Bellary, the wife of the first LMS missionary John Hands started a Female Orphan School in the 1820s in her own house which is still considered to be the first female school in that region.⁶⁷ By the mid-nineteenth century, there were schools – Boarding school, Native school, English school, Bellary Charity school, Sabbath school and Adult school- all established for a variety of people like, Eurasians, native Indians, females, adults and orphans in the city and its neighbourhood and women were also admitted at a later stage in every institution.⁶⁸ Women's education proved exemplary at Bellary after the arrival of Miss. Cross, a lady missionary in 1862 and a school for the 'females of the higher caste of the native community' was started in October.⁶⁹ In Bangalore, a female school was established on the principles of the British system by Mrs. Laidler, wife of the LMS missionary Laidler, and the school was later called Laidler Female School.⁷⁰ Mrs. Taylor started a school for girls in the military town, Belgaum, and female schools were also established at Chikka-Ballapra, Hosur and Seringapatam.⁷¹

In the Telugu region also the LMS missionaries started girls' schools in the stations they

65 Yesudas, *A History of Women's Education*, p. 83.

66 Alice B. Doren, *Christian High Schools in India: Being the Report of a survey conducted on behalf of the National Christian Council of India*, Burma and Ceylon, Y.M.C.A Publishing House, Calcutta, 1936, p. 18.

67 Kenneth Ingham, *Reformers of India, 1793-1833: An Account of Work of Christian Missionaries on behalf of social reform*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1956, p. 87.

68 *LMS Directors' Annual Report* 1820, London, pp. 55-67. Also see *LMS Directors' Annual Report* 1819, London, p. 72.

69 The Bellary district had an indigenous education system during the reign of Vijayanagara Kings. In addition to LMS, SPG and other Protestant missionary organizations also worked there at a later stage because of the bigger foreign population. The Good Shepherd nuns started St. Philomena's High School in 1885. See *LMS Directors' Annual Report*, 1863, p. 95. Also see Stanley Gnaniah, *Education and Social Change in Bellary: An Analysis and Appraisal of Policies and Performances of Selected Schools*, Unpublished M. Th. Dissertation, United Theological College, Bangalore, 1978, p. 63.

70 *LMS Directors' Annual Report*, 1822, London, p. 80.

71 *LMS Directors' Annual Reports*, 1822, 1823, 1824, 1868 and 1891, London.

established since 1805. At the time of arrival at Vizakapatam in 1805, Des Granges and George Cran felt astonished to see poor state of education, but soon plunged in to starting schools. LMS missionaries Gordon, Lee, Pritchett, Dawson and others were in the fore front to introduce women's education.⁷² In Cudappa, a native female school was formed by Mrs. Howell with 20 students on the roll in 1823.⁷³ Similarly schools for girls systematically carried out at Anandpur, Krishna and Chittoor stations.

One of the most peculiar aspects of the women missionaries' was the establishment of separate schools for older girls who were embarrassed to attend school and started learning the alphabet with the younger children. During the long nineteenth century, as it was not customary for a girl, particularly an elder one to go to school, the lady missionaries took initiative to get those unlettered girls in to these schools, where apart from the three R's, other handicrafts were taught to encourage them not to discontinue schooling.⁷⁴ Notwithstanding to this, the Sabbath Schools, Sunday Schools, Night schools⁷⁵ etc., were also established by the LMS missionaries.

Though the clear data is misinterpreting on how many girls' schools the LMS missionaries had in the nineteenth century, it is to be understood that the real fact is, out of 657 schools they established till 1900, at least 157 schools were meant for girls only.⁷⁶ Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the LMS missionaries had to club many of the schools in to co-ed schools because of financial, personal and national constraints. The new education policy of the Travancore Government, where they had almost half of their total schools in the Madras Presidency, compelled the missionaries either to surrender the schools which were getting aid from the Government or to run the schools without aid, and that was a heavier challenge to the missionaries, and finally they had to abandon some of the schools, which did not have proper trained teachers in order to oblige the Government. During the early twentieth century the LMS decided not to have more schools rather preferred a few schools with spiritual and educational efficiency. So, the

72 *LMS Directors' Annual Report*, 1818, London, p. 174.

73 *LMS Directors' Annual Report*, 1824, London, p. 73.

74 Gnanadason, *A Forgotten History*, pp. 71-76.

75 *LMS Travancore District Committee Report*, LMS Press, Nagercoil, December 31, 1881, p. 39.

76 *LMS Directors' Annual Report*, 1900, London, p. 272.

LMS, with the consent and negotiations between different missionary societies, amalgamated some of the schools.⁷⁷

The missionaries including women missionaries with the motto of ‘save the girls for brighter and better lives’⁷⁸ felt that education of women and children were the paramount importance in any society,⁷⁹ and tried to question the established traditional order of the society with the royal patronage.⁸⁰ When the LMS missionaries established girl’s schools almost everywhere in South Travancore in the first half of nineteenth century, there was no such school for girls existed in the capital city Trivandrum, and also the Maharaja’s Government showed resentment to women’s education. Charles Mead, LMS missionary, who was now appointed as the superintendent of schools, wrote a letter to ‘The Ladies Society for the Promotion of Female Education in the East’ in 1854 to start a school in Trivandrum. The society sent Mrs. D’ Veigas, and a school for the Eurasian and native Christian girls’ was established at the Cantonment. In May 1867, Marion Edith Able took charge and made tremendous improvement, and Miss Mainwaring successfully became the Headmistress in 1869 and continued for seven years. Her successor Miss A. C. Donnelly raised the institution to a high school in 1888, and when she retired in 1896 Miss S. B. Williams took charge and the school was promoted in to a college in the following year. Meanwhile, the poor girls belonged to Shanar, Ezhavar, Thevar, Vanniar, Pulayar, Pariar, Servai, Vanavarayar, Thondaimaan, Nattar, Saaluvar, Onthiriyar, Kaaduvettiyar, Olivarayar etc, were taken care of in the boarding schools.⁸¹

4. Boarding Schools for Women: First of its kind in India

The ‘boarding schools’ were considered to be the key institutions, established specifically by women missionaries, for making the local women into ‘good wives and mothers,’ and also designed to attract girls from the high caste families into proselytisation process.

77 Doren, *Christian High Schools in India*, p. 32-40.

78 Margaret Jolly, ‘‘To save the girls for brighter and better lives’: Presbyterian missions and women in the south of Vanuata, 1848-1870,’ *Journal of Pacific History*, vol. 26, pp. 27-48.

79 Susan Smith, ‘Moari and Mission Sisters in New Zealand Since 1865: Changing Approaches,’ *International Bulletin for the Missionary Research*, vol. 31, no. 2, p. 77.

80 Lovett, *History of the LMS*, p. 151.

81 *Church Missionary Records, Madras*, 1866, p. 47.

These schools were seen as the best result-making schools. The schools always located in the main compound of the mission station, very close to the residential quarters of the missionary.⁸² While the country was struggling to start schools and educate the people, the missionaries represented by the LMS, particularly the missionary wives ventured into the field of establishing the boarding schools for those girls who were rejected by the parents and society, sometimes orphaned and neglected and otherwise child-widowed.

The boarding schools were the strongholds of a mission, from there came forth the educated members to become the school masters and mistresses, the best counsellors and other members for the native clergy.⁸³ In the South Indian Missionary Conference held at Madras, the missionaries passed the following resolution regarding the boarding schools:

1. That in each mission station there should be at least one well organized boarding school of suitable standard, in which carefully selected Christian children may be educated, some with a view to be return to their village life in order to earn an independent livelihood and to raise the tone of the community, and some with a view to after-employment in the mission...
2. That each school of this kind should be under the immediate supervision of an experienced missionary, or other worker of high Christian character.
3. That the buildings, clothing, diet and all the arrangements of these schools should be simple and plain, deviating as little as is consistent with due regard to health, and to training in habits of cleanliness, order and self-respect, from conditions of life which the children would have experienced in their own homes.⁸⁴

Missionary wives also were keen on establishing boarding schools. Mrs. Loveless, wife of LMS missionary, started a boarding school in the Puraswalkam church campus in Black Town in Madras in 1821.⁸⁵ The progressive and popular Bentinck Girls' School was established by Anna Drew at her Vepery bungalow in 1836, when she had 24 orphan girls under her guidance⁸⁶ and Margaret Anderson established a good boarding school for the girls in 1847 and felt that the attempt was a pathbreaking initiative.⁸⁷

82 Haggis, *Ironies of Emancipation*, p. 113.

83 Gore, *Solders, Saints and Scallywags*, p. 152.

84 *Report of the South Indian Missionary Conference held at Ootacamund*, 1858, SPS Press, Madras, pp. 26-28.

85 Handwritten letter of Thomas Nicholson, 29 May 1821 in the *Annual Report of the LMS Directors*, 1821.

86 Brockway, *Unfinished Pilgrimage*, p. 13.

87 John Peter Neelson, *Gender, Caste, and Power in South Asia: Social Status and Mobility in a transitional society*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1991, p. 28.

Martha Mault, wife of LMS missionary Charles Mault, started a boarding school at Nagercoil.⁸⁸ This boarding school, which is considered to be the first boarding school for girls in South Travancore, was established in 1823 with twenty seven boarders.⁸⁹ The girls, who were admitted in the boarding schools, were of varied age from five or six to fourteen or fifteen, and sometimes older than this. A missionary, who visited the boarding school at Nagercoil observed:

... their pronunciation is very distinct, and they read as well and as fluently, as a *moonshe* would. They were a little shy at answering questions, as I was a stranger; but it is a delightful sight to see so many of the future mothers of this country ... Their behaviour was orderly, and they looked quite healthy and cheerful...⁹⁰

Ever since the boarding schools for girls started, there was a gradual improvement in the attendance, and those girls who were in the schools for a longer time, considerably improved in their habits, appearance, and academics performances. The natives themselves began to notice the superiority of those students who had enjoyed no such advantages in the schools. The missionaries wanted to enlarge this important branch of their establishment, depend on the funds they acquired from various sources, and they acknowledged the fact that they could get the girls from far and near on the promise of feeding and clothing them, and wished it to be particularly noticed by the natives.⁹¹

John Hands, the Bellary missionary who visited Nagercoil in December 1840 observed:

I attended an examination of the Native girls school at Nagercoil, the largest and best conducted institution of the kind I have seen in India. I was delighted with the clean, neat and orderly appearance and behaviour of the children, with the intelligence they generally displayed, and the readiness and propriety with which most of them requested to questions on ...⁹²

Slowly and steadily by the mid-nineteenth century, the LMS missionaries established boarding schools, particularly for girls at almost all the mission stations they had in South India - Madras, Nagercoil, Neyyoor, Parassala, Santhapuram, Trivandrum, Coimbatore,

88 Haggis, *Ironies of Emancipation*, p. 108.

89 Mateer, *Land of Charity*, pp. 271-272.

90 *Madras Church Missionary Record*, 1845, Madras, p. 103.

91 *CMS Missionary Register*, February 1825, London, p. 76.

92 *Madras Missionary Chronicle*, vol. V, 1841, p. 155.

Salem, Erode, Cumbakonam, Bangalore, Bellary, Belgaum, Vizagapatam, etc. Most of these schools were initially headed by the wives of the missionaries or lady missionaries.⁹³ Although they were not properly trained to be teachers and counselors, they had some experiences from their home countries by attending schools, and also a kind of innate wisdom to handle classes and to manage an institution.

Similarly, Samuel Mateer wrote in 1870 that the girls' under the care of Martha Mault at the Duthie Girls' School, Nagercoil were in an excellent state, and did her much credit. Twelve of the forty girls learned to make lace, some of which was exceedingly well done. The children in this school and the seminary were entirely supported, fed, clothed, and educated from the proceeds of land given for this purpose by the then Maharani, and also the sale of the lace and embroidery crafts made by the girls. The whole system of education of girls was improved, and it was exceedingly encouraging.⁹⁴

During the mid-nineteenth century, there were 239 girls in different boarding schools for girls – 59 at Nagercoil, 30 at Neyyoor, 30 at Parassala, and 120 at Santhapuram.⁹⁵ In 1870, there were 28 boarders with 9 day-scholars in the Girls' Boarding School at Nagercoil.⁹⁶ There were 27 boarders 6 day scholars in 1875,⁹⁷ and 25 boarders and 20 day scholars in 1880.⁹⁸

On the other hand, Annie Duthie, in-charge of the Nagercoil boarding school⁹⁹ in 1890s stated that the wives of former missionaries, who had trained the indigenous women, and were later, sent out as teachers for higher classes and upper castes. But the advance in education and the growing importance of the work demanded teachers who were more

93 *Report of the South India Missionary Conference May 1858*, held at Ootacamund, printed by D.P.L.C. Conner at the press of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, Madras, 1858, p. 115.

94 In 1867 the LMS had 6 boarding schools and 31 village schools for girls in South Travancore. Mateer, *Land of Charity*, pp. 274-275. See also Kawashima, *Missionaries*, p.86.

95 *Report of the South India Missionary Conference May 1858*, held at Ootacamund, 1858, p. 115.

96 *LMS Nagercoil Mission District Report*, LMS Press, Nagercoil, 1870, p. 82.

97 *LMS Nagercoil Mission District Report*, LMS Press, Nagercoil, 1875, p. 39.

98 *LMS Nagercoil Mission District Report*, LMS Press, Nagercoil, 1880, p. 42.

99 During the early twentieth century the school was named Duthie Girls' School and exists till day at Nagercoil.

thoroughly qualified.¹⁰⁰ By 1898 the school was preparing girls for the Matriculation examination of Madras University as well as providing English and vernacular education to senior levels. Despite the primary aim of making good wives and mothers, the school increasingly emphasized girls to gain higher qualifications for working as teachers in mission schools.¹⁰¹ The missionaries further insisted on a public education for Christian *Shanar* girls outside the home, in order to delay marriage and also made it mandatory that boarding school girls could not get married until they had reached seventeen years of age.¹⁰² Nevertheless, they were not able to do away with the conventional beliefs of the caste group, including that of early marriage. Yet, the issue which became a challenge for them was not social but economic at large.

It was a paramount task to generate funding for the Girls' schools as the Governments were not ready to support the schools with grand-in-aid initially. Fortunately, most of these schools, on their establishment, were supported by the mission headquarters in London, and the native nobles. In order to generate further income the LMS missionaries, males and females, with the support of teachers, arranged annual exhibition of the outstanding good handwork and art, which was beautiful and embellished lace manufactured by the girls, in a particular school and invited other schools and Government officials to participate.¹⁰³ A 'Native Female Education Fund' was created by the missionaries for the purpose of women's education in the early nineteenth century Madras Presidency, where the colonial officials, well-wishers, native kings were made patrons and permanent contributors.¹⁰⁴

The fact of the matter is that the women missionaries, including Baylis Johnson followed a workable model by establishing female schools for the upper caste Hindu girls, whose parents always had an aversion to send their daughters to the schools of the missionaries, for they considered to be the schools for the lower castes, where sitting with an

100 *LMS Directors' Annual Report*, 1887, London, p. 82.

101 Haggis, *Ironies of Emancipation*, p. 114.

102 *Ibid.*

103 Doren, *Christian High Schools in India*, p. 32.

104 *Madras Church Missionary Record*, 1835, South India Mission, Madras, p. 108.

untouchable girl or boy, was considered to be polluted.¹⁰⁵ An exemplary case was the opening of a school for the high caste Hindu girls, particularly for Bhahmins and Nairs at Eraniel in 1874, and later at Thaukkalay and Thalakkulum - citadels of Travancore Government since ancient days by Jessie Liddel Thomson, the Scottish wife of the LMS medical missionary at Neyyoor, who had already acquired sufficient training in teaching.¹⁰⁶ Some of the women missionaries acknowledged even their own failures attributed to the cause of sluggishness that happened during the missionary work and lamented that many difficulties yet lie in the way of the extensive successful prosecution of female education in the East, and their own lukewarmness was perhaps the greatest.¹⁰⁷ Thus education as an idea of liberation began in the nineteenth century.

The boarding schools established by the LMS gained a lot of popularity in every mission station of the Madras Presidency. In Tinnevely, the schools had more than three hundred lower caste children on their rolls. This sort of educational experiment proved to be unique in more than one way. The schools situated mostly in the rural areas afforded ample opportunities to lower caste students to acquire sound education and knowledge. Their emphasis on vernacular education enabled them to emerge as training centers, combined with the virtues of education and technical training, paved the way for the social mobility of a section of the lower caste population.¹⁰⁸

The LMS missionary, Maurice Philips, converted the Salem High School into a full-pledged residential school in 1876. The LMS' interest in collecting and accommodating the children from the slave and untouchable communities also found expression through the establishment of many boarding schools, where industrial and technical training was instructed. In course of time, such schools established served as centres for mass literacy,

105 Yesudas, *A History of Women's Education*, p. 32.

106 The school functions even today. For details, see LMS Travancore District Council Annual Report 1881, London Mission Press, Nagercoil, 1882, Appendix, pp. 33-41. Also see I. H. Hacker, *Memoirs of Thomas Smith Thomson: Medical Missionary at Neyyoor, South India*, The Religious Tract Society, London, 1887, pp. 64-66.

107 Miss. Thomson, 'The Importance of Female Agency in Evangelizing Pagan Nations' in Thomas Timpson (ed.), *Memoirs of British Female Missionaries: With a Survey of the Condition of Women in Heathen Countries*, William Smith and Co., London, 1841, p. xxiii.

108 Basu, *Nandanar's Children*, p. 96.

geared to the eradication of illiteracy in the rural areas.¹⁰⁹ In fact, the LMS took up the work of female education on a war footing. Their involvement with female education reached a high point in the 1880s and 1890s. In 1893, the LMS established the girl's boarding school in Salem with the intention of providing students with an educational curriculum, which would be helpful to them in their day to day life.

The LMS almost stood like a 'torch-bearer' in appointing unmarried female missionaries in the distant mission stations. Single women missionaries like Lois Ainsley Cox and Annie Grierson gained wide popularity by influencing in Salem and Coimbatore. The LMS women missionaries founded girl's schools at Ponnampet, Gogai and Kichipalayam in Salem. It is important to note that the women missionaries often traveled deep into the rural areas and encouraged the lower castes women to break the barrier and encouraged them to send their girls to schools.¹¹⁰

5. Curriculum and Course of Instruction

The Curriculum during the first half of the nineteenth century was a complex one, unstreamed and unsystematized. Until the first decade of the nineteenth century very few books were available for the children to read. The wife of the missionary provided daily lessons in addition to teaching sewing, and sometimes English.¹¹¹ Missionary schools had the Tamil Testament as it was translated and printed by the Lutheran missionaries earlier, but very rarely that one was found in the possession of an individual.¹¹² James Hough an EIC Chaplain at Tinnevely observed in 1816, that there were a few schools, which, being without one regular teacher, were conducted by the catechists, who had little knowledge to teach them. There were hardly any books, either for the schools. It is unfortunate that India followed the unsatisfactory British model of curriculum during the early days of the secondary education, where making successful school records and results in the

109 *LMS Directors' Annual Report 1848*, London, p. 79.

110 Basu, *Nandanar's Children*, p. 98.

111 Haggis, *Ironies of Emancipation*, p. 113.

112 T. V. Venkateswaran, 'Science and Colonialism: Content and Character of Natural Sciences in the Vernacular School Education in the Madras Presidency (1820-1900),' *Science and Education*, vol. 16, 2007, pp. 87-114.

Government examinations for getting an employment in the colonial or native governments were considered to be primary importance.¹¹³

The vernacular languages were the medium of instruction in the women's schools, which were destined to be village schools. The girls were educated in schools and prepared for home life.¹¹⁴ Some of the early books available and used in the Tamil schools were: *Kural* of Thiruvalluvar, *Attisudi* of Auveiyar, *Kirshnan-thudu*, *Panchathandram*, *Ramayanam* of Kamban, *Kada Chinthamani*, and the *Nighantu*.¹¹⁵

A general outline of the course of instruction for the girls' school and female boarding school was designed by the committee as: religious instruction, languages- English and the native vernacular languages, History- ancient and modern with special reference to India, Geography and exercises on the globe, Writing, Arithmetic and needle work.¹¹⁶ Though the primary importance was given to religious education, subjects like history, geography, and mathematics were taught,¹¹⁷ apart from knitting, lace-making and sewing.¹¹⁸ Needlework is fortunately a required subject for girls in all parts of India, and minimum requirements are laid down by the department, which usually include the cutting and making and repairing of ordinary garments for men, women and children, together with various forms of fancy work, such as crocheting, knitting, embroidery and drawn-thread work; the latter are important in providing a basis for hobbies and leisure occupations.¹¹⁹ There was value education embedded with Christian values were taught to the children, particularly trained in habits of cleanliness, industry and good manners.¹²⁰

Frykenberg has argued that education in the Madras Presidency could not have progressed if there was no Madras School Book Society. The remarkable voluntary

113 Doren, *Christian High Schools in India*, pp. vi-8.

114 C. R. H. Wilkinson, *Missionary Service in North India*, p. 186.

115 *Report of Census of Education in Madras Presidency*, Government of India, Calcutta, Tamil Nadu Archives, Public Instruction Report, 1857-1858, p. 14.

116 *Madras Church Missionary Record*, 1845, Madras, p. 45.

117 John Jacob, *A History of the London Missionary Society From 1806 to 1956*, London Missionary Press, Nagercoil, 1959, p. 102.

118 Agur, *Church History of Travancore*, p. 766.

119 Doren, *Christian High Schools in India*, p. 103.

120 *LMS Nagercoil Mission District Report*, LMS Press, Nagercoil, 1870, p. 58.

society formed in 1820 with the active encouragement from the new Governor, Thomas Munro, consisted of prominent notables and officials – European and Indian. Its secretary was Vennelacunty Soob Row, a Desastha Brahman, who had long served the Company. The aim of the society was ‘the general diffusion of useful knowledge by the supply of approved school books at the cheapest possible rates’ and ‘for furnishing such other elementary works, both in English and vernacular language as might tend to the mental and moral improvement of the people.’¹²¹

Knowing the facts that there were no proper text books to teach, missionaries themselves, from their own learning and experience what they received from London, produced quite a few titles on natural philosophy and natural history. One of the earliest Tamil publications on modern science was titled ‘Bhoomi Sasthram’ authored by Charles Rhenius, a missionary at Tinnevely.¹²² Christian missionaries were one of the main instructional publishers during the first half of the nineteenth century. As early as 1818 the missionaries founded the Madras Tract Society with Charles Rhenius, a missionary, writer, printer and publisher as its first secretary.

A large number of books related to arts and science were authored, translated and published in the vernacular by the missionaries in the first half of the 19th century.¹²³ To name a few works published by Missionaries: ‘*Jothi Sasthram (Oriental Astronomer)*, H. R. Hoshinton, American Mission Press, Jaffna; *Jothi Sasthram (Astronomy and Astrology)*, Christian Vernacular Literature society, Madras; *Vanasathra Sukram, (Outlines of Astronomy By Hall)* Rev. T. Spratt, Palayamcotta Press; *Chemistam (Chemistry)*, Rev. Fish Green, American Mission Press, Jaffna; *Geographical Primer CVES*, Madras; *On Geography*, Rev. W. Taylor, *Pumisasthra Polippu (Explaining Geography)* Ceylon Mission, Jaffna; *Pumisasthra Kurripu, (Notes on Geography)*, Nagercoil; *Scriptural Geography*, Christian Vernacular Education Society, Madras; *On Clouds*, Rev.W.Taylor; *Patharthaviyakana Sasthra Vishyaman Upaniyasam (Lectures*

121 *Report on the Public Instruction in Madras Presidency 1856-1857*, Madras, 1857, Tamil Nadu Archives, p. 953. Also see Frykenberg, *Modern Education in South India*, p. 46.

122 Venkateswaran, *Science and Colonialism*, p. 92.

123 Stephen Neill, *A History of Christianity in India 1707-1858*, Cambridge University Press, London, 1985, p. 396.

on Natural Philosophy); *Siruvār Kalvi Thunai*, (*Children's Guide To Science*) *Tattuvanul Surukkam* (*Brief Work on Natural Science*), Nagercoil; *Thattuva sastram* (Natural philosophy) Rev. E. Sargent, Palayamcotta Press, Palayamcotta; *Thattuva Sasthra Vina Vidai*, (Catechism of Natural Philosophy) Rev. E. Sargent, Palayamcotta Press, Palayamcotta; *Vana Vilangiyal* (*Animals of the Wild*) Nagercoil; *A Short History of Mankind*, Rev. Rhenius, Madras Tract Society, Madras, 1827; *Astronomical Errors*, Rev. Dr. Poor, Jaffna Religious Tract Society, Jaffna, 1832; *Bhoomi Sasthram*, Rev. Charles Rhenius, London Mission Press, Nagercoil, 1832; *Urthiri Vilangiyal* (Domestic Animals) Nagercoil, 1836; *Geography for Small Children*, Jaffna, 1840 ; *Dialogue on Physical Sciences*, American Mission, Jaffna, 1843; *On Cholera*, Rev. Je Nimmo, Madras Tract Book Society, Madras, 1844; *Pumisastira Surukkam* (Short Notes on Geography) Nagercoil 1846; *Catechism of the Elementary Geography*, Jaffna American Mission, 1847; *On Cholera*, Jaffna Religious Tract Society, 1849; *Natural and Revealed Law*, Rev. Dr. Spaulding, Jaffna, Religious Tract Society, Jaffna 1849; *Destruction of Superstition*, Vedanayaka Sasthri, 1853.¹²⁴

Apart from their own books published through their own missionary society presses, Christian Vernacular Education Society, Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (SPCK), LMS had its strong mission presses at Nagercoil, Trivandrum, Bellary, Bangalore and Madras, and published a bulk of literature for their schools and congregations. Missionary Schools prescribed the following text books for the classes from I to X.

1 st class	Vernacular Prose: First and Second book of lesson, Nannool
2 nd class	Vernacular Prose: Second book of lessons, Brief Sketches of Asia, Thirukkural.
3 rd class	Vernacular Prose, Brief Sketches of Europe.
4 th class	Vernacular Prose, Third book.
5 th class	Vernacular Prose, Translation of Madras school book society's reader III
6 th class	English, Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Science, Music & Scripture
7 th class	English Reading, Writing, Dictation, Geography, Arithmetic, Science, Music & Scripture

124 Venkateswaran, *Science and Colonialism*, pp. 110-111.

8 th class	Reading, Writing, Dictation, Grammar & Composition, History, Geography, Arithmetic, Science, Music & Scripture
9 th class	Reading, Writing, Dictation, Grammar & Composition, History, Geography, Arithmetic, Science, Music, Drawing & Scripture
10 th class	Reading, Writing, Dictation, Grammar & Composition, History, Geography, Arithmetic, Science, Music, Drawing & Scripture. ¹²⁵

The Middle School examination, instituted by the Government of Madras in 1880s for boys and girls had different subjects, though there were some similarities. For girls, the subjects were: (1) English or a Vernacular language, (2) Geography, Map drawing and Indian History, (3) Arithmetic (4) either a second language or any one of the following: Euclid and Algebra, English History, Science, Music, Drawing, Modeling, Wood engraving, Printing, Bookbinding or Industrial needle work.¹²⁶

The mission schools had weekly progress sheet to assess to students academic performance, character and attendance, and had special charts for health check-up.¹²⁷ There were exchange programmes held between mission schools and other independent schools. The academic and cultural exchange between mission girls' schools and other Hindu schools broke some of the toughest barriers among students. For instance, St. Columbia's school, Bombay carried out an exchange of games and hospitality with a Hindu school in Baroda. At the time of the first visit from the Baroda team, the St. Columba's girls asked that the dining room partition between Brahmins and Non-Brahmins might be taken down. The missionary teachers initiated Education week to encourage greater and wider participation of students, teachers and parents.¹²⁸

'The teacher makes the school; perhaps the teacher is the school' was commonly remarked by the missionaries throughout the nineteenth century. The LMS missionaries, in association with other missionary societies, established at least three Teacher Training

125 *LMS Nagercoil Mission District Report*, LMS Press, Nagercoil, 1870, p. 58. See also John Murdoch, *Indian Teacher's Manual: Hints on the Management of Vernacular Schools*, The Christian Vernacular Education Society, Madras, 1885. Also see Venkateswaran, *Science and Colonialism*, pp. 110-111.

126 Venkateswaran, *Science and Colonialism*, p. 103.

127 Doren, *Christian High Schools in India*, pp. 72-74, 118.

128 *Ibid.*, pp. 75- 76.

Institutes to train teachers in the Madras Presidency at the end of the nineteenth century and some training schools for teachers, especially for ladies, so to train and make indigenous teachers in the early twentieth century. It is to be noted here that ever since the Nagercoil Seminary was started in 1818, the LMS uncompromisingly trained, recruited and appointed those natives who successfully qualified the eligibility examination for becoming teachers. This shows the attitude of the LMS to continue with the fervour of the educational process what they started more than a century before in Madras Presidency. On this process, the LMS opened a new normal training school for Tamil women at Salem in 1928.¹²⁹ The LMS in South India worked out a system of Christian Teachers' Fellowships.¹³⁰

Although European scholars in the nineteenth century made a range of studies on Indian women, observations made by their missionary counterparts were found contradictory and confounding. While the critical approach might suggest that there was no constructive colonial contribution during the Raj era, the pioneering initiatives made by missionaries' wives like Martha Mault, Eliza Caldwell, and others towards education and training of girls in South India - a practice that initially met with local resistance, made an indelible mark in the history of women's ascension.

6. Challenging 'Breast-Cloth Controversy' through Education¹³¹

It may be argued that the sudden and metamorphic changes happened in the Indian society during the long nineteenth century partly due to the educational opportunities which had been bestowed on the lower classes to lead them into 'progress,' and partly due to the movements spearheaded in different parts of India, largely supported by the upper castes. Robert Hardgrave, who had done a pioneering research on Nadars, has argued that the Shanars or today's Nadars, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, experienced a series of escalating confrontations with other communities, particularly with the upper castes, which served to weld the caste into a community with a high

129 *LMS Directors' Annual Report*, London, 1929, p. 22.

130 Doren, *Christian High Schools in India*, pp. 9-14.

131 The term 'Breast-cloth controversy' was primarily used by Robert Hardgrave Jr.

degree of self-consciousness and solidarity.¹³² They were almost entirely engaged in the cultivation of the palmyra palm for centuries.¹³³

As palmyra tappers, they also worked as agricultural labourers and tenants of Nair and Namboodiri landlords. Geographically, the Nadar population concentrated largely in the southern districts of Madras Presidency, Ramnad and Tinnevely, and also across the border in South Travancore.¹³⁴ They had to undergo severe impingement during the early decades of nineteenth century, and faced many challenges as their women-folk could not dress decently. The barbarous custom of not permitting the women of lower strata of society to cover their bosoms which was evidently the handiwork of a degenerate, pleasure-loving licentious feudal caste culture indicates the low state of morality and culture.¹³⁵

The LMS missionaries, who made South Travancore their home for the mission activities, deeply felt the need to address the local issues, involved themselves in favouring the lower castes, particularly Shanars.¹³⁶ John Abbs, the LMS missionary at Parassala during this period observed that:

The Shanars, who held the land mostly as under-tenants to the Nairs or Soodras, although in an oppressed and degraded condition, had many proud references to a noble ancestry, and were not only capable of mental improvement, but also exceedingly ambitious to hold positions of importance, and take a part in the Government of a country.¹³⁷

132 Robert Hardgrave Jr., 'The Breast- Cloth controversy: Caste Consciousness and Social Change in Southern Travancore,' *Indian Economic and a Social History Review*, 1967, pp. 169-187.

133 Edgar Thurston, *Castes and Tribes in Southern India*, vol. VI, Government Press, Madras, 1909, pp. 363-378.

134 Cohn, *Colonialism*, p. 139.

135 K.N. Panikkar argued that the religious, caste, and regional variations did not admit of a uniform dress code in India. In Kerala, men and women were expected to uncover the upper part of their body as a mark of respect to members of high castes. The attempt by low-caste women to wear a breast cloth, under the influence of Christian missionaries, resulted in a major controversy in South Travancore in the first half of the nineteenth century as the members of the upper castes viewed the attempt an infringement of their status. See K. N. Panikkar, *Colonialism, Culture, and Resistance*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2007, p. 106. See also T. K. Ravindran, 'Forward' in R. N. Yesudas, *A People's Revolt in Travancore: A Backward Class Movement for Social Freedom*, Kerala Historical Society, Trivandrum, 1975, p. x.

136 M. S. S. Pandian, 'Caste in Tamil Nadu: A History of Nadar Censorship,' *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol. XLVIII, no. 3, January 19, 2013, pp. 12-14.

137 John Abbs, *Twenty-two Years' Missionary Experience in Travancore*, John Snow and Co., London, 1870, pp. 149-153. Also see Hardgrave, 'Breast-Cloth Controversy', p. 173.

During the Chera Kings dynasty, Shanars were the palanquin bearers of the Maharajah, as they had good physical strength, valour and spirit. Many of the ‘Nadan’¹³⁸ families claimed that they had come at the invitation of the king and considered themselves socially superior to the larger community, which had surely migrated into the southern taluks of Travancore in economic need.¹³⁹

In the later years, these palmyra-climbers, simply got a share of the sweet toddy and the jaggery or course sugar which they collected from the tapping, while their feudal landlords had taken big share and highly benefitted. There was restriction that one Shanar could not extract the produce of more than thirty trees in the working season and from this he got a share and sold such of the jaggery as he did not require for consumption. During the early 1890s the working season of a palmyra-climber comprised of only eight months in a year and his earnings could not be more than Rupees three in a year. The most pathetic part of their life was that they had only one meal a day, consisting of rice or other grain, with some toddy or jaggery during the day time and lived in unhygienic conditions.¹⁴⁰ Robert Caldwell, one time missionary of the LMS said:

...like the untouchable Pallars and Paraiyars, Nadars were barred from entering temples or courts of justice, and required to follow dress regulations forbidding women to cover the upper part of their bodies. They were also forbidden to carry umbrellas and to wear shoes and gold ornaments. They could not milk cows and Nadar women were not allowed to carry pots on their hips. Unlike the outcastes, however, many Nadars abstained from liquor and beef and disapproved of the remarriage of widows.¹⁴¹

Showing aptitude for every kind of learning new things and understanding, ready to

138 The elite among the Shanars.

139 Hardgrave, *Breast-Cloth Controversy*, p. 173.

140 S. Srinivasa Raghavaiyengar, *Memorandum of the Progress of the Madras Presidency during the last Forty Years of British Administration*, 1893, Appendix, Section IV, F, p. lxxxiii.

141 Robert Caldwell, *Lectures on Tinnevely*, pp. 44-45. Sugirtharajah comments: “In Caldwell’s view, Shanars were the ‘least intellectual people found in India’ and only a few among them possessed any ability. The majorities were marked by apathy, indifference, ignorance and vice, and were unable to engage in rational thinking. He found the newly emancipated Negroes to be ‘superior to the Shanars in intellect, energy and vivacity’ and castes inferior to Shanars to have a sharper intellect- ‘even their expression and pronunciation are more accurate.’” Rasiah S. Sugirtharajah, *The Bible and Empire: Postcolonial Exploration*, Cambridge University Press, 2005, p. 177. See also Bernard S. Cohn, *Colonialism*, pp. 139-140.

serve, the Shanars were seen as a community which was divinely “determined” to adapt Christianity and its system of evangelism that seemed to suit them well while it was introduced by the Protestant missionaries in the Tinnevely district, where they were the majority. As simple, hardworking and frugal, they showed a strong loyalty to their race and were remarkably biddable.¹⁴² When the Shanar and other Christian converts advanced in education and enterprise, and improved in worldly circumstances, it was most natural that they should not so tamely, as before, endure the injustice and oppression to which they had been exposed from higher castes.¹⁴³

Notwithstanding the innumerable difficulties and sufferings under the upper castes, the Nadars had been exploited steadily by the Maharaja’s Government in Travancore, which had appointed several officers at the District, Taluk and village level to collect taxes from the inhabitants. The officials demanded many types of taxes and bribes from the poor, depressed population, and ordered to punish and torture for those who did not comply with. Charles Mead, long time LMS missionary and a district judge at Nagercoil for a brief time, desired that his converts should live in tolerably good peace, and pay only their lawful taxes and dues.¹⁴⁴

The missionary intervention in socio-cultural issues made a deep imprint among the lower castes women and made the officials obliged. Ringeltaube, the first LMS missionary, on seeing their sufferings made representations to the British Resident, who helped to free them from the much dreaded ‘poll tax’ and ‘oolium’ service on Sundays. The Resident, John Munro in 1812, not only granted permission to their women ‘to cover their bosoms as obtained among Christian women in other countries,’¹⁴⁵ but also could intervene the officials of the Travancore administration. The Travancore Government issued a circular in May 1814, which allowed the female Nadar converts to Christianity to wear jackets (known as *kuppayam*) as was worn by the women of Syrian Christians

142 Gore, *Soldiers, Saints and Scallywags*, p. 154.

143 Mateer, *Land of Charity*, p. 41.

144 *Ibid.*, pp. 77-78.

145 Order from Col. John Munro, Resident Dewan to the *Sarvadicariacarars* of Trivandrum and Neyyattinkarai Taluk, dated 19 Dhanoo 988 (1812). See Peter, *Liberation of the Oppressed*, p. 129. See also C. M. Agur, *Church History*, Appendix XVIII, p. 1.

and others.¹⁴⁶

The Dewan, Supaiyan Shankara Narayanan proclaimed an order in 1815 regarding the dress of Christian women: ‘Whereas Elavars, Shanars and such other castes in this country who have embraced Christianity, having solicited that they may be permitted to inherit and dispose of their property both movable and immovable according to the usage of that religion and that their women may be permitted to wear cloth over their bosoms as directed in the Christian *Vedam*, and the same was reported to Her Highness the Sovereign who passed a *Neetu* that it should be allowed agreeably to that custom and that measures may therefore be adopted to carry the same into effect.’¹⁴⁷

Utilising their educational and economic programmes the LMS missionaries aimed at changing the economic and legal position of dependable of their low-caste followers. Bernard Cohn argued that among the many schools they established, one particular school was for Nadar girls at Nagercoil in which, apart from teaching modern education, the girls were trained in European-style lace making.¹⁴⁸ Charles Mead, the LMS missionary at Trivandrum and Neyyoor wrote that the missionaries could establish a school in every place where they had a congregation, principally for the education of illiterates and women, and it was open to all. Slowly and steadily the unlettered women became progressive in day-to-day activities, and this made the landlords furious and showed repressive attitude over them.

The ascendancy and upward mobility of the women of the lower rungs created great confusion and commotion among the upper castes, and tension prevailed throughout the Nadar populous South Travancore ever since the Maharani’s proclamation of the *neetu*. John Charles Harris wrote, ‘One of the most significant instances of what outside critics call the ‘trouble caused by missionaries,’ was in what were called the ‘upper-cloth riots,’ which broke out first in 1822 and then again thirty years later.’¹⁴⁹ The LMS missionaries,

146 Aiya, *Travancore Manual*, vol. I, p. 525.

147 Quoted in Agur, *Church History*, Appendix XVIII.

148 Cohn, *Colonialism*, p. 140.

149 Harris, *London Missionary Society*, p. 82.

who worked among the Nadars, had so much success because most of their converts in this region was from this caste, which had been subjugated to many atrocities, including 'indentured labour' for centuries.¹⁵⁰

The controversy over breast cloth, was narrated and analyzed by a number of historians and writers who had stated that the battle waged by the Nadar women as a victory in the march of progress against untouchable habits, customs, and privileges of orthodox Hindus, who were the representatives of a pleasure loving feudal caste-culture.¹⁵¹ The restrictions placed on the dress of the lower caste women in Travancore was a gross denial of rights. By strict conventions and rigid rules they were bidden to wear a coarse piece of cloth known as '*mundu*' extending from the waist to the knees, but not '*tolcilai*' or 'the upper-cloth,' leaving the breasts bare. A woman was given one or two 'mundus' a year by her master. Working in the fields from morning till evening, standing knee deep in water in the rain and sun, planting and weeding wearing the same piece of cloth day in and day out, from the harvest to harvest with hardly any facility or the time to wash, they went about in filthy rags, foul smelling and really 'untouchable.' Like dumb driven cattle these poor women accepted the mandates of the higher castes who denied their human hood.¹⁵²

The new religion offered the possibilities of secular salvation in release from the fetters of traditions which had for centuries burdened them with social disabilities and economic dependence.¹⁵³ The specific and ostensible subject of dispute however was the wearing of certain articles of dress by the Christian women. To maintain the laws of caste, it had been found necessary to enforce several arbitrary and indecent restrictions respecting dress as well as distance.¹⁵⁴ The undeterred and undaunted Shanar women rose up with an indomitable spirit to break the yoke of bondage imposed on them by the high castes, particularly Nairs and fought almost fifty years.¹⁵⁵

150 Metcalf, *Ideologies of the Raj*, p. 216.

151 Cohn, *Colonialism*, p. 142.

152 Gnanadason, *A Forgotten History*, p. 35.

153 Hardgrave, *Breast-Cloth Controversy*, p. 55. Also see, Gnanadason, *A Forgotten History*, p. 102.

154 Mateer, *Land of Charity*, p. 277.

155 Frykenberg, *Christianity in India*, p. 273.

Gnanadason was of the opinion that if the entry of the missionaries into South Travancore and their work kindled the wrath of the high caste people, the arrival of the missionary women and their work among the women, unleashed their fury.¹⁵⁶ In the schools, particularly in the boarding schools, the missionary wives not only admitted the lower caste girls, but also clothed and fed them well, and encouraged them to wear blouses wherever they went- school, market and other public places. As a result, Nadar women with the close association of LMS missionaries in general and women missionaries in particular, made them conscious of their marginality, which later helped them question the habits, customs, and privileges of caste Hindus, leaving an unequivocal public space for the emergence of modern, rational and anti-traditional ideologies.¹⁵⁷

The missionaries' wives had designed and produced a loose jacket that met their criteria for modest clothing that befitted them.¹⁵⁸ The Shanar women, as soon as they came under the influence of Christianity, resented inferiority and indecency, and began to wear a loose scarf or upper-cloth over the shoulder. This practice was opposed by the higher castes, and was the ostensible cause of a bitter persecution of the Christians. In May 1822, the Nairs started assault against those Shanar women who wore clothes over their bosom and went out to market and other public places. Their upper clothes were torn and hanged on the trees.¹⁵⁹ But the Shanar women were so determined as they heard about the attitude of French women, who struggled against the corrupt rulers during the last decade of the eighteenth century in France through the Jesuit priests, who had occasionally visited and preached at Kottar and other places in Travancore.

A proclamation was issued in 1829 prohibiting the upper-cloth, but granting certain concessions such as exemption from free labour (*oolium*) to the landlords on Sundays and employment in idolatrous service at the temples. Although later permission was granted

156 Gnanadason, *A Forgotten History*, p. 102.

157 Cohn, *Colonialism*, p. 142.

158 *Ibid*, p. 141.

159 For a vivid description of the assault of Nairs on Shanars, refer Hardgrave, *The Breast- Cloth Controversy*, pp. 169-187; Mateer, *Land of Charity*, pp. 77-78; Yesudas, *A People's Revolt in Travancore*; Peter, *Liberation of the Oppressed*, pp. 21-40; Gnanadason, *A Forgotten History*, pp. 100-120.

for wearing a coarse upper-cloth, so strong was the power of 'caste structure' that never allowed them in South Travancore, while some neighbouring districts, particularly Tinnevely (Tirunelveli), the low-caste Nadar women moved on the streets in the style of dress repudiated by missionary women so long ago.¹⁶⁰

Despite the fact that permission to cover the upper part of the person had been given to Shanar women, the reluctance on the part of officials to enforce the law in the initial stages did not make a significant impact. The missionaries petitioned again to the Maharaja in February 1859. Since he did not respond, they referred it to the Government of Madras. The women sent a petition to Queen Victoria, the Empress, representing in detail the several oppressions they were under and requesting Her Majesty to deal with the matters in a just way before greater harm could be done.¹⁶¹ In response to the petition of the missionaries, the Secretary of State for India ordered Sir Charles Trevelyan, the new Governor for Madras to investigate the matter. The Government of Travancore could not ignore the letter any more the letter of Trevelyan as he pointed out that 'not only truth and justice but every feeling of our common humanity are entirely on one side.'¹⁶² A Proclamation was issued on 26 July 1859 which announced that,

There is no objection to Shanar women of all creeds dressing in coarse cloth and tying round with it as the *Mukkuvathikal* (fisher women) do, or to their covering their bosoms in any manner whatever, but not like women of high caste.¹⁶³

It may be argued that Christian missions helped Nadar women to gain the right during the violent breast-cloth controversy of the first half of the nineteenth century. After the 1859 proclamation, the right of the Nadar women to cover their bodies in a moderate way was at last recognized by the Government of Travancore and the age old evil practice had come to an end. The position and influence of the missionaries helped Nadars to challenge their indigenous superiors, and Nadar Christian converts became leaders in the

160 Harris, *London Missionary Society*, p. 82.

161 Quoted in Gnanadason, *A Forgotten History*, p. 117. Also see Samuel Zachariah, *A Brief History of the Church in South Travancore*, vol. III, LMS Press, Nagercoil, 1906, p. 22.

162 Gnanadason, *A Forgotten History*, p. 117.

163 Edgar Thurston, *Castes and Tribes in Southern India*, vol. 6, pp. 363-365. Also see Gnanadason, *A Forgotten History*, p. 117.

movement for social change.¹⁶⁴ Thus the missionary education sought not only to impart knowledge but also attempted to foster a particular quality of living with the fundamental elements in human society health, industry, citizenship and recreation.¹⁶⁵

The missionaries saw the potential for mass conversion through the literate female in these places and these literate women, whether from the lower classes or the higher, made excellent Bible women. By the late nineteenth century Christian female converts often overcame the dual impediments of gender and low social rank to aspire for superior academic goals. Their literary rates were higher than that of many groups, and they frequently became teachers and nursing professionals and that added to reveal the 1881 Census that Madras ranked higher than other provinces in female education.¹⁶⁶

Deeply devastated by the rigid social stigma, the South Indian women got education, new identity and space largely through missionary education. The way in which the education was offered to them made an indelible impact on the social history of Indian women, liberating them from the age-old economic dependence to liberation. The LMS missionaries attempted to uplift depressed classes, who were denigrated by the Hindu caste system to climb the social ladder. Education as a liberation ideology made them realise their right to wear upper-cloth through upward mobility. This pioneering women's movement in India propelled and propounded for further initiatives in the succeeding years by other communities. Moreover, missionary education became a model to be implemented not only in Hindu religious schools but Government schools at large, creating women social reformers to address twentieth century women question including fundamental rights, *devadasi* system, political participation, citizenship right and so on. At the wake of the twentieth century, the anti-devadasi campaign, initiated by Amy Carmichael was further widened by Muthulakhmi Reddy in Madras Presidency, who

164 Susan Billington Harper, *In the shadow of the Mahatma: Bishop V.S. Azariah and the travails of Christianity in British India*, William B. Erdmans, Cambridge, 2000, pp. 14-15. Also see Duncan Forrester, 'The Depressed Classes and Conversion to Christianity, 1860-1960' in Geoff Oddie (ed.), *Religion in Asia*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1977, p. 53. See also Cohn, *Colonialism*, pp.139-143; Robert Hardgrave, *The Breast- Cloth Controversy*, pp. 69-70, 265-66.

165 Doren, *Christian High Schools in India*, p. 102.

166 Raman, *Getting Girls to School*, pp. 54, 253. Also see Government of India, Report of the Indian Education Commission (Hunter Commission), vol. I, 1882, p. 523.

garnered support not only from the public, but also from the devadasi community at large.¹⁶⁷

167 Frykenberg, *Christianity in India*, pp. 272-274. S. Muthulakshmi Reddy, *The Awakening: Demand for Devadasi Legislation*, India Printing Works, Madras, 1928, pp. 1-2.

Chapter VI

Indian Response to Missionaries

The Christian missionaries who took interests in learning Indian languages to initiate inter cultural communication to address questions of culture, religion and education played a remarkable role in the social history of India in the nineteenth century. Many a times, they were active in condemning the aspects of Indian as ‘inferior’ and ‘barbaric.’ Evangelisation of India became their central focus of attention. Consequently, Indian intelligentsia criticised European missionary’s tendencies and their social superiority. Nevertheless, the missionaries succeeded in devoting their lives to serving the poor people through development oriented programmes like education, medical care, and so on. Opening their institutional space to lower castes to access into public offices further attracted scholarly attention. In South Travancore, the collective association and aggressive protests by lower castes would not have been possible without the independent role played by the Christian missionaries.¹

There were ambiguities that the rulers of India up to the middle of the nineteenth century, the East India Company, had its staunchest relation with Christianity and Christian missionaries, particularly the Protestants, and used ‘as an arm of empire,’ and proclaimed ‘where the flag went, the cross was never far behind,’² though in reality it is debatable. The Company used the missionaries, particularly in the absence of the appointed priest ‘chaplain,’ for conducting the Sunday service at their barracks and churches. But it is irrefutable that the officials gave preference to missionaries, as and when, there were chances they needed each other.

The missionaries had to face the most powerful hindrances, due to native custom and thought, to the spread of gospel in different parts of Indi.³ They had to undergo a series of

1 Manali Desai, *State Formation and Practices of Democracy in India*, Routledge, New Delhi, 2007, p. 63.

2 Ian Copland, ‘Christianity as an Arm of Empire: The Ambiguous Case of India under the Company, c. 1813-1858,’ *The Historical Journal*, vol. 49, no. 4, December, 2006, p. 1025.

3 Lovett, *History of the London Missionary Society*, II, p. 4.

challenges including the climate, and the myriad accompaniments of a cultural scene which was fundamentally different from Europe. The physical hazards, though greater in the earlier part of the period, had always been an inescapable feature of their commitment towards their religion. Many young wives met premature death with the first few years overseas, and the young husbands had to cope with the hurt without consolation.⁴ In fact, these missionary women, who were educated in England, were eager to prove their worth, in converting adult married Indian women to Christianity.

Generally, the wives of missionaries were seasick as they were unable to travel far off places. Bitter experience brought LMS missionaries sustained because of their 'indomitable will' and courage.⁵ When the second LMS missionary to Travancore Charles Mead's first wife died within days they arrived at Madras from England, and he had to come with the infant child to Nagercoil station. Again when Johanna, his second wife died thirty years later, he had to depend on an Indian woman to serve him his later years.

1. Opposition by Colonial Officials

The close association between religion and government has been a common phenomenon in all societies. Yet, in Madras Presidency, there were cases where the Christian missionaries were opposed by the colonial Government. The way in which the missionaries entered into many parts of the impenetrable world through their works like education, medical work, rehabilitation, and so on later changed the scenario to some extent.⁶ Therefore, they could reach in far-flung places in India and also receive immense support from the people, officials and native rulers.

King Edward VI, who approved the attempt of opening trade with India, had his royal instructions that the missionary endeavour to be a duty not to be neglected. The King had desired of the duties of the sailors and traders on 'Christian principles.' The King said to the navigators that the sowing of Christianity must be the chief interest of such

4 Goodall, *A History of the London Missionary Society*, pp. 12-13.

5 Piggin, *Making Evangelical Missionaries*, p. 131.

6 Stephen Neill, *Colonialism and Christian Missions*, Lutterworth Press, London, 1966, p. 14.

as should make any attempt at foreign discovery. In 1660, the Company sent out Bibles to India in several European languages and ordered that if anyone be able to repeat the verses from the Bible by heart, two rupees should be given to them for their encouragement.⁷ Nevertheless, encouraging people by giving money was interpreted differently by scholars. The fact that people got money for repeating catechism by heart also attracted a range of reactionary responses from people of other faiths.

The Lutheran missionaries who arrived and worked before the coming of LMS missionaries had to face reaction. They also interacted with the local kings and the colonial officials. Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg had to face strong opposition from the Danish officials at the Tranquebar coast on his arrival though he had an official letter from the King of Denmark who had commissioned and sent them. On this issue Fenger wrote:

... on 9 July 1706, both Ziegenbalg and Plutchau arrived at the Tranquebar coast... However, they found themselves among the Danish merchants and officials not only so sympathy for their undertaking, but a cold and almost inimical reception... Many of them mocked them... On 19 November 1708, Ziegenbalg was arrested and passes four months in the castle prison... The anger and cruelty of the commandant even went so far as to deny pen, ink, and paper to the innocent prisoner.⁸

Similarly inter-denominational interactions between different missionary sections and local rulers continued to exist. For instance, in 1712, George Lewis, the Company chaplain at Fort St. George, appealed the SPCK to support the work of the Danish missionaries. He stated that the missionaries at Tranquebar must be encouraged as it was the first ever attempt by any Protestant organisation towards joint effort.⁹ On the other, William Stevenson, the Company chaplain in 1716, told the SPCK that he itinerant missionaries, catechists were not to be molested nor interrupted in their work. He added that they must be powerfully recommended to the favour and protection of the Governors of St. George and Tranquebar.¹⁰

7 Mayhew, *Christianity and the Government*, 1927, p. 17. See also Sharma, *Christian Missions*, p. 22.

8 Fenger, *History of Tranquebar Mission*, pp. 24, 38, 41.

9 Frank Penny, *The Church in Madras, vol. I*, Smith & Elder, London, 1903, p. 184.

10 James Hough, *History of Christianity in India, vol. III*, 1839, pp. 378-379.

The LMS missionaries tried their efforts to penetrate into the wide world through their efforts to open new mission fields, but wherever they went the way was almost wholly closed against them. They could enter the South Seas though their islands were almost unknown. Even the West Indies were close shut for the LMS missionaries. It is very clear from the strong opposition and sudden reaction of the Governor of Demerara to one of the missionaries saying, "If you preach to the slaves ... I cannot let you stay here."¹¹ Hence, by and large, there were responses and reactions to missionary work.

2. Challenges to Missionaries in England and in India

Even the Directors of the East India Company, the shareholders, and the people who did the actual trade or who were in the Company's service, asserted that they did not want missionaries. They felt that if other people taught new religion it would disturb them and offend them. They understood that it would create problems to them and for their trade. In a way they dismissed the very idea of inviting missionaries to India.¹² But the Christians in England had a different view altogether. They realised that the sole objective of being a Christian was for no other reason but to send missionaries. The popular slogan 'We must send missionaries, what else we Christians are for?' became the order of the day in England. And finally, when the House of Commons agreed the idea of sending missionaries was accepted on certain conditions. The House of Commons said, 'Yes, you may, but there are certain conditions. For every man you send out as a missionary you must get a license from the company, and you must find securities for 500 pounds for each man's good behavior.'¹³

Reactions from the East India Company officials were expressed as the Company felt that the missionary arrival would challenge the 'religious neutrality' in India. The acceptance of the missionaries by the East India Company Government was considered by many as 'deceptive,' because without a company license to reside in the East they

11 *Fruits of Toil in the London Missionary Society*, published by the LMS in association with John Snow & Co, London, 1869, pp. 1-2.

12 A. H. Cullen, *Blazing the Trail: London Missionary Society*, London, 1916, pp. 47-48.

13 *Ibid.*, pp. 50-51.

could be compelled to withdraw at any time. In 1792, both William Carey and John Thomas got themselves smuggled on board a British ship bound for India, and were bundled ashore before the ship sailed, because the captain 'discovered' they were missionaries.¹⁴

Moreover, the missionaries and their supporters could not influence British authority there in London or in India as the East India Company exerted much of its powerful influence to the detriment of missions. On the other hand, one representative of the LMS in the area, Nathanael Forsyth, had to reside with in the Dutch colony of Chinchurah, was allowed to come occasionally to Calcutta and preach in the general hospital.¹⁵ And also, upon landing in India, the missionary found that both Government officials and European residents had a speculation at him.¹⁶

The Government almost ostentatiously disregarded the religious gathering on Sunday. The Government was dominated by the fear of Christianity and its negative implications in India through missionaries. The government opposed largely due to the feeling that the presence of missionaries would excite the fears and prejudices of the Hindus, and lead them to acts of violence against British rule. This unfounded fear had been greatly stimulated by the Vellore mutiny in 1806, which had been, erroneously, attributed by many to the spread of Christianity among the natives.¹⁷ This was precisely a kind of event which made the scope a difficult one for missions. There were demands of recall of all missionaries and an end to the circulation of missionary translations, as the only way of protecting Britain's position in India.

Despite the fact that the LMS missionaries and their freights were allowed every year in the ships of the EIC to travel from London to other parts of the destinations,¹⁸ at times, the Company refused missionaries passage on its ships and forbade them on their labours

14 Harris, *Pioneers of London Missionary Society*, p. 71.

15 Kitzan, *The London Missionary Society*, pp. 457-463.

16 Lovett, *History of the London Missionary Society*, II, pp. 47-48.

17 *Ibid.*, p. 48.

18 Buchanan, *Christian Researches in Asia*, p. 57.

in its territories, particularly in India.¹⁹ In Bengal Sir George Barlow, the acting governor-general served an expulsion order on two Baptist missionaries who landed at Calcutta. He also introduced stiff curbs on religious teaching, preaching and literature distribution.²⁰

In London the situation was different. Sydney Smith, a theologian, revolted against missionaries and criticised missionary intention to visit India. Smith regarded the missionaries bound for India as ‘little detachments of maniacs, benefiting as much more by their absence, than the Hindus by their beliefs.’²¹ Meanwhile, he wrote in *Edinburgh Review* in 1808: “The wise and rational part of the Christian missionaries find they have enough to do at home... But if a tinker is a devout man, he infallibly sets off for the East.”²²

When two missionaries of the society, William Lee and John Gordon, bound for the mission in South India, landed in Calcutta in 1809, they had no choice but to proceed to Madras without the permission of the Calcutta government. Another missionary, Edward Pritchett, who had come to Calcutta in 1811 after he had found it necessary to abandon an attempt to begin a mission in Burma, was ordered to leave India. He also found that he was watched so closely by the Government officials that he had to steal away in a small native boat in order to join his colleagues in South India.²³

When the renewal of the Charter of the East India Company was coming under discussion in England in 1812, issues relating to religious policy were discussed. Similarly, the free trade forces were marshalling an attack on the trade monopoly of the company in the East. In addition, William Wilberforce and the Clapham Sect gave notice that they would prefer for some changes in the religious policy of the Company. The immediate effect of this agitation was the adoption of a stronger line by officials in

19 Carl C. Campbell, *The Young Colonials: A Social History of Education in Trinidad and Tobago, 1834-1939*, University of West Indies Press, 1996, p. 33.

20 Andrew Porter, *Religion versus Empire*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2004, p. 69.

21 Andrew Porter, ‘Cultural Imperialism’ and Protestant Missionary Enterprise, 1780-1914,’ *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, vol. 25, no. 3, 2002, p. 369.

22 Sydney Smith, *The Works of the Reverend Sydney Smith*, John Snow & Co., London, 1839, pp. 136-137.

23 Kitzan, *The London Missionary Society*, pp. 457-473.

India. Among the first to feel the effects of this policy were five missionaries of the newly formed American Board of commissioners for Foreign missions, and one missionary of the LMS, John Thompson who landed in Madras in 1812, and was ordered to catch the first ship to France or Europe, but died before he could do so.²⁴

Missionaries felt that they had faced years of almost fruitless toil in the face of ‘Indian hostility’ and the caution of Company officials. They alleged that the officials tried to prevent them from making ‘new converts’ among the India population saying that the missionaries were compelled the Company officials to permit them to reside in its territory.²⁵ John Charles Harris wrote:

No missionary might land in India without depositing a bond for £200, and getting permission from the Company. Many missionaries landed, both British and American, only to be deported reasoning that they had to face the common charge that ‘missionaries only make trouble.’²⁶

This policy persisted till it was reversed by Act of Parliament in 1813. In addition to these obstacles the missionaries had to face bitter opposition from the East India Company. Prior to the passing of the Charter of 1813, missionaries had to be smuggled into the country, and could be expelled by the arbitrary dictum of the local Governor.²⁷ Similarly, in the Bengal Army, if any native soldier wished to become a Christian he was ‘forcibly’ prevented, and if he became baptized he was expelled from the service. Missionaries argued that the prejudice that even at the time of the mutiny the services of thousands of Indian Christians were refused by the Government.²⁸

In addition, the East India Company was criticised by missionaries for refusing to recognize or employ any native Christian in any capacity, and for enforcing all the Hindu laws against them. It could be summed up that the relationship between missionaries and colonial officials was not responsive but reactionary at large. Both of them were criticizing each other, especially questions of religion and neutrality. For instance,

24 *Ibid.*

25 Lovett, *History of the London Missionary Society*, II, pp. 50-51.

26 Harris, *Pioneers of London Missionary Society*, p. 70.

27 Lovett, *History of the London Missionary Society*, II, pp. 7-9.

28 Harris, *Pioneers of London Missionary Society*, p. 70.

missionaries criticized colonial officials for ‘favouring’ Hindu rituals. They cited that a European officer in a public office contributed a thousand rupees for the construction of a pagoda at Bellary in 1828.²⁹

Many a times, missionary views were not taken very seriously by colonial officials. But the native rulers were keen on accommodating missionaries as they found that the missionary would make a significant contribution through education. For instance, the Governor of Madras, Irving, attacked an LMS missionary’s dependence on his institution, telling that ‘missionaries should put their faith in God alone.’³⁰ Though the missionary movement and its educational aspects was widespread in Travancore in 1830s, where the Maharaja himself visited the Nagercoil Central School and invited its Headmaster John Roberts by offering a lucrative job in Trivandrum to start Maharaja’s school, when attempts were made by the LMS missionary Miller to establish a mission station in Trivandrum that time, he was refused by the Travancore Government.³¹

It was during the sepoy mutiny missionaries had their ‘valley of the shadow of death.’ Those who were able to remain quietly at their posts felt that they were standing on an ‘active volcano’ and that at any moment the outburst might come.³² Joseph Mullens, a mission official noted in 1857 that after the mutiny, the disorders which it produced, directly affected a large number of Indian missions and for a time entirely suspended all their operations, while it indirectly affected the stations in all parts of India in general and South India in particular.³³

The places where missionary presence was felt, it was not unnatural that the religious character of the place, especially the Christian population had to fear for other religious rivals. Native Christians, who had been driven out of their homes, were living in a large tent near what remained of the mission premises. One of the largest tents in the mission

29 Reid, *Memoir of the late Rev. John Reid of Bellary*, pp. 126-127.

30 Antony Copley, *Religions in conflict: Ideology, Cultural Contact and Conversion in Late Colonial India*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1999, p. 8.

31 Samuel Mateer, *Land of Charity*, pp. 274-277.

32 Horne, *The Story of the LMS*, p. 285.

33 Mullens, *Ten Years Missionary Labour in India*, p. 21.

premises had been set on fire. It was speedily repaired, and one of the worshippers at the reopening service was a Christian whose arm had been cut off by a mutineer.³⁴

In addition to this, the Government officials reacted sensitively towards those missionaries who had acquired reputation as ‘troublemakers,’ and the authorities criticized the role of missionaries as ‘pacifiers.’ Furthermore, it was much more difficult for missionaries who were at loggerheads with the indigenous leadership, to invoke colonial support.³⁵ Clive Whitehead, a colonial educational historian argued that the Indian Government’s strict policy of religious neutrality often strained relations between missionaries and Government officials and criticized that the development of modern education in nineteenth century India was also far from uniform.³⁶

Missionaries who were sent by their sponsors in London faced tough times as their sponsors were not keen to look after their economic needs. The first LMS missionary Ringeltaube was destined for doing missionary work in Travancore, but, his parent society and its directors in London took no notice of his serious and systematic work he carried out in Travancore once he obtained permission. Ringeltaube wrote from Fort Oodagherry (Udhayagiri) on the 10th October 1811:

I am sorry to think that my Society seems to neglect me. Not a word from them for the last three years. Things cannot go on much longer so. But let patience have its full work.³⁷

The mission supporters in Britain and the United States also often found the statistics submitted by missionaries in India, perplexing, troubling and confounding. They alleged that if the purpose of the missionary enterprise is the evangelization of India, why were mission resources being used to found institutions for non-Christians? Moreover, it was believed that missionaries abandoned their commitment to conversion in order to build schools, as if they did not know what they were doing. Committed to the Christianization of India, the missionaries took a characteristically long view in

34 Home, *The Story of the LMS*, pp. 286-287.

35 Tilman Dederling, *Hate the Old and Follow the New: Khoekhoe and Missionaries in Early Nineteenth Century Namibia*, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart, 1997, pp. 87-90.

36 Clive Whitehead, *Colonial Educators: The British Indian and Colonial Education Service 1858-1983*, I. B. Tauris & Co Ltd, New York, 2003, p. 6.

37 Agur, *Church History of Travancore*, pp. 581-582.

which the institutional expansion of Christianity was a step in the moral progress of the nation. They felt that Christianity would be an eventual and inevitable stage in that progress.³⁸ Sydney Smith, in his sermon to missionaries pointed out that the religious conversion encountered in the barracks at Vellore could also be one of the reasons for the mutiny there in 1806 and warned the missionaries while doing evangelization.³⁹

3. Response from Colonial and Native Officials

With few exceptions, there were cordial relations between native rulers and missionaries when it comes to questions of education, health, and other humanitarian activities. In fact, the close association between the Rajah of Tanjore, Serfoji, and the missionary Christian Frederick Schwartz, became very crucial, when Schwartz almost worked as a 'liaison officer' between the Rajah and the East India Company.

Claudius Buchanan, the Vice-Provost of Fort William College, after visiting the Madras Presidency wrote: The East India Company sent out to Madras a monument of marble to be erected in the church of St. Mary at that place, to the memory of Schwartz, inscribed with a suitable epitaph; and they announced it, in their general letter, dated the twenty ninth of October, 1806, 'as a testimony of the deep sense they entertained of his transcendent merit, of his unwearied labours in the cause of religion and piety, and of his public services at Tanjore, where the influence of his name and character was, for a long course of years, productive of important benefits to the Company.' The honourable court further added that 'On no subject has the court of directors been more unanimous than in their anxious desire to perpetuate the memory of this eminent person, and to excite in others an emulation of his great example.' They direct finally, 'that translations shall be made of the epitaph onto the country languages, and published at Madras; and that the native inhabitants shall be encouraged to view the monument. Buchanan also wrote on the relation between Schwartz and the Tanjore Rajah Serfoji:

When Schwartz died in 1798, the Rajah came to do honour to his memory in the

38 Jeffery Cox, *Imperial Fault Lines: Christianity and Colonial power in India*, Stanford University Press, California, 2002, pp. 194-195.

39 Piggin, *Making Evangelical Missionaries*, p. 176.

presence of his Brahminical court. He covered the body with a gold cloth, and shed a flood of tears. He afterwards composed an epitaph for him when he called 'his father and his friend,' and caused it to be inscribed on the stone which covers Schwartz grave in one of the churches in Tanjore.⁴⁰

When the evangelicals demanded free access to India for missionaries, the Company responded that the Indians would be happiest if left to worship in their traditional ways. Meanwhile, Wellesley 'tolerated' the presence of unlicensed missionaries in British India. The LMS missionaries were advised not to put the matter of licenses to the test and entered India secretly. In fact, colonial Resident in Travancore, Colonel Macaulay procured visa for Ringeltaube.⁴¹ Nonetheless, the Company granted the Lutheran missionaries in India free passages, a free mail services, and allowance for performing divine service and running charity schools and asylums. It also helped with land and buildings.⁴²

4. Reaction among Indian Population

The LMS had altogether different engagement and negotiation with colonial officials when they reached India. The converts to Christianity often suffered persecution not only at the hands of the Hindu Government officials, but also from their non-Christian neighbours. Though it had been a continuous occurrence in many parts of India, particularly in Madras Presidency that attacking those who had already converted to Christianity, the LMS missionaries showed the attitude of patience and silence. The people especially converts in South Travancore had a high regard for missionaries. For example, in 1810s, when the infuriated mob thrashed the Christians and drove them away in a village at Palayamkottai, Ringeltaube collected the scattered Christians to a safety place as he thought there would be no use in complaining to the Government officials. As a result, they went away peacefully after Ringeltaube's instructions.⁴³

40 Claudius Buchanan, *The Star in the East: A Sermon*, Williams & Whiting, New York, 1809, pp. 15-16.

41 Joseph Mullens, *Missions in South India*, 1854, p. 103.

42 Penny Carson, *The British Raj and the Awakening*, pp. 61-62.

43 Agur, *Church History of Travancore*, pp. 524-525.

The LMS missionaries had got appreciations and criticism by the Dewan and officials of the Travancore Maharaja's kingdom though both of them had seen challenges and opportunities in each other. The Government sought to control missionary proselytisation through restrictions, as the Kingdom was dedicated to the deity Padmanaba Swamy long back and declared as a Hindu Kingdom.⁴⁴ The native kingdom found it difficult to establish schools on its own. When the mission school spread education among the people of all castes, the Travancore Government helped the missionaries and sanctioned grants till the time the new education rules were brought out.⁴⁵

There were reactions to missionary methods of proselytisation, particularly, the feeling of orthodox Hindus against the new religion was visible from the conversion of depressed class masses, who according to the traditional system, had been compelled by the upper caste Hindus to work for the temple throughout their lives without any wages, and got relieved from the difficulty when the colonial Government exempted those converted Christians from working for the temple.⁴⁶ Consequently, converts were suspected by the Dewan of Travancore due to their close association with missionaries. Maharasan, who was identified as a friend of the missionaries after his conversion in Tanjore,⁴⁷ was heavily challenged by Velu Thampi, the Dewan, who sent a force of sepoy to capture and kill him during the Travancore unrest, but the attempt ended in vain.⁴⁸

The real motive which actuated the Dewan in taking the hostile measures was his fears about the spread of Christianity in Travancore. This was openly avowed by him when he invited the neighbouring chiefs of Malabar to help him in his designs against Christianity. Further an important letter which Velu Thambi at this time addressed to the Zamorian Rajah, he declared that the chief cause of his plans against the English

44 Gnanadason, *A Forgotten History*, pp. 1-10.

45 Kawashima, *Missionaries*, pp. 81-101.

46 Tho. Paramasivan, *Indu Desiyam* (English translation: *Hindu Nationalism*), Yadumahi Publications, Tirunelveli, 2009, p. 9.

47 Maharasan (Vedamanickam after conversion to Christianity); see William Robinson, 'Where the Peacocks Dance – The Story of Maharasan,' *The Chronicle of the LMS*, May 1903, p. 109.

48 Agur, *Church History of Travancore*, pp. 544-545.

was his ‘great apprehensions of the extension of the missionary work and Christian faith in Travancore.’ So, to resist the progress of Christianity in Travancore, the Zamorin was exhorted to rise against the English and expel them from the country.⁴⁹

The Dewan further proudly wrote that he had already begun hostilities and that within eight days the East India Company’s battalions would be compelled to evacuate Travancore. In the extraordinary composition referred to, the Dewan further appealed to the attachment of the natives to their ancient faith and customs and invoked their hearty co-operation in his endeavours to oppose the encroachments of Christianity. During the Travancore war, the early Christians were hiding themselves in fear of Velu Thampi and his Nair brigade, who not only opposed strongly the spreading of the new religion, but also challenged in his ‘Kundara Proclamation’ to wipe out Christianity from Travancore soil.⁵⁰

It was in this scenario, the Nairs and Vellalas, who had allegedly attacked the Christian converts, had a major participation in the Travancore Maharajah’s kingdom. They equated the Christian missionaries with anti-Hindu sentiments.⁵¹ The Nairs, a Sudra land-owning caste in Travancore, had been trained properly the martial arts, named *kalari*, and were at any time ready to attack⁵² as they had the power destined with their *janmies*, or the land lords. The atrocities of these leaders on the lower castes, particularly on the ‘slave castes’ were very severe that every one male and female had to reach the paddy field on hearing the screams of the *karanavan*, the one who takes care of all land.

The atrocities of the Nairs on the converts by illustrating the cruel killing of a slave caste woman convert, who was in her advanced stage of pregnancy in a village in south Travancore show the level of hostility between communities. Madathy, the slave woman, sick and weak, and could not move around, was dragged to the paddy field by

49 *Ibid.*, pp. 530-532.

50 Mateer, *Land of Charity*, pp. 274-281.

51 D. Peter and Ivy Peter, *Liberation of the Oppressed: A Continuous Struggle*, Kanyakumari Institute of Development Studies, Nagercoil, 2009, pp. 158-159. Also see Mateer, *Land of Charity*, pp. 274-281.

52 Yesudas, *A Peoples Revolt in Travancore*, 1975, pp. 187-188.

force, and the landlord ordered her to be yoked to a plough along a buffalo and to pull the plough to the utter horror of every one. Madathy died on the spot.⁵³ These Nair landlords, subterfuge and cunning, dubbed the other Sudras and Kshatriyas in to ‘outcastes’ and ‘untouchables’ proclaimed their superiority and possessed unlimited powers.⁵⁴

Thus the enmity between landowning Nairs and missionaries created troubles for converts in one way or the other. One of the Maharajah’s official Nagam Aiya, expressed that anarchy prevailed in South Travancore to a sad extent which was further intensified by the regicidal proclivities of the petty chieftains and the *yogakkars*—a body of managers of the temple of Sri Padmanabhaswamy owning enormous landed wealth and commanding the influence and power which went with it.⁵⁵

The evangelizing efforts of the missionaries roused considerable opposition in South Travancore. In spite of the liberalizing and enlightening influences in other Presidencies, through modern education, the South Travancore continued to have issues and challenges with regard to religion and tradition. The efforts of the missionaries to gain converts to Christianity were, therefore, attracted a hostile reaction from the influential Hindus.⁵⁶

Consequently, the missionary enterprise in South India underwent a significant change as the local resistance against missionary activities gained momentum in the first half of the nineteenth century. As South India was the earliest field of Protestant missionary endeavour in the sub-continent and it had also attracted the largest share of evangelical enterprise, there was a long-standing conflict between Hindus and Christian missionaries and the subsequent involvement of European officials in this controversy. The immediate cause for the change in Hindu attitude was the two-pronged missionary

53 *LMS Travancore District Committee Report*, LMS Press, Nagercoil, 1881, p. 23.

54 Gnanadason, *A Forgotten History*, pp. 17-19.

55 Quoted in M.S.S. Pandian, *The Political Economy of Agrarian Change, Nanchilnadu, 1880-1939*, Sage, New Delhi, 1990, p. 50.

56 Muhamamad Mohar Ali, *The Bengali Reaction to Christian Missionary Activities, 1833-1857*, Mehrub Publications, Chittagong, 1965, p. 201.

attack on Indian religions, one aimed at compelling the Madras Government to relinquish control over Indian religious institutions, and the other designed to convert high caste Hindu youths through the agency of modern education.⁵⁷ In 1841, the Hindu group was literally shocked when three high caste Hindu students of the John Anderson's Scottish institution (today's Madras Christian College) at Madras embraced Christianity, thereby causing a panic in the Hindu community. This act led to the precipitate withdrawal of many students from the school for a little while.⁵⁸

Ever since the foundation of the city, Madras had exercised a strong attraction among the mercantile castes, mainly Chettians, Mudaliars and Vellalars of the Tamil districts and Komatis and Naidus of the Andhra region. During the early nineteenth century, these indigenous trading groups, having known for their organizational set up, allied themselves for their business activities in the Hindu banner in Madras city. This group was not convinced with the religious activities, particularly conversion by the missionaries, and had been waiting for an opportunity to exhibit their intention to open schools and other higher educational institutions against the aggressive campaign and establishment of institutions by educational missionaries.⁵⁹

This resulted in the formation of organized Hindu religious meetings. The prominent among them were the leaders of the Hindu Literary Society,⁶⁰ including Gazalu Lakshmanarasu Chetty,⁶¹ C. Narayanaswamy Naidu, C. Srinivasa Pillai and T. Narasinga Rao. In a memorial, what Frykenberg called 'Education petition,' to the Court of Directors in 1839, drafted by the Hindu leaders of the Hindu Literary Society, they claimed the 'public consciousness' in Madras, and the petition was signed by over seventy thousand people, and was circulated in English, Tamil, and Telugu. The content of the petition was:

57 Suntharalingam, *Politics and Nationalist Awakening in South India*, pp. 32-57.

58 Quoted in R. Suntharalingam, 'The Madras Native Association: A Study of an Early Indian Political Organization,' *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 1967, vol. 4, p. 234. Also see *Native Herald*, Madras, 18 March 1843.

59 Suntharalingam, *Politics and Nationalist Awakening in South India*, pp. 48-52.

60 George Norton, then Advocate General of Madras, with the help of his Hindu friends, started the Hindu Literary Society in 1834.

61 Gazalu's father's business firm was G. Sidhulu & Co. See for more details Suntharalingam, *Politics and Nationalist Awakening in South India*, pp. 38-39; Frykenberg, *Christianity in India*, p. 332. See also C. Parameswaran Pillai, *Representative Men of South India*, Madras, 1896, pp. 145-150.

My Lord, we are the people of this country, inheriting this land for thousands of generations. From our industry its wealth is supplied. By our aims it is defended from foreign foes. By our loyal obedience to the established Government its peace and safety are maintained. If diffusion of education be among the highest benefits and duties of the Government, we, the people, petition for our share... We ask it only in proportion to our long proved attachment to the British Government and its enlightened institutions...⁶²

The Hindu leaders also complained that their 'civil and religious rights were being openly attacked by the Protestant missionaries, who were supported by the Company's servants.'⁶³

Notwithstanding to this, the Hindu leaders worked untiringly to strengthen themselves and their influence had grown stronger in 1840s during successive Governorships. The Government was also ready to heed attention to the rising population, where some of the vibrant company officials, including George Norton, who was the then advocate-general came forward to support with the help of C.B. Powell, a former professor at the College of St. George, had devised a modern curriculum for establishing an institution to teach English and modern science - and thus the foundation stone was laid for the Madras University's High school in 1841, which later became Presidency College, Madras.⁶⁴ Though the attempt to represent as 'the Hindu community' did not attract the attention of the underprivileged masses largely due to the fact that there was very few people from below joined them in protesting missionary activities.

Generally, the Hindu landlords, who had assisted these missionary protests, began to establish counter Hindu institutions. Pachaiyappa Mudaliar (1754-1794),⁶⁵ son of Vienanda Mudaliar of Kaancheepuram, was mentored by Narayana Pillai, became a leading merchant, broker, *dubash* (interpreter), and philanthropist of the eighteenth

62 Quoted in Frykenberg, *Modern Education in South India*, pp. 52-53. Also see George Norton, *Native Education in India: Comprising a Review of its State and Progress within the Presidency of Madras*, Madras, 1848, pp. 27-30.

63 Suntharalingam, *The Madras Native Association*, p. 235.

64 Frykenberg, *Modern Education in South India*, pp. 54-55.

65 Frykenberg, *Christianity in India*, p. 322. Frykenberg, *Modern Education in South India*, pp. 51-52. See also Lambert M. Surhone, Mariam T. Tennoe, Susan F. Henssonow (eds), *Pachaiyappa Mudaliar*, VDM Verlag Dr. Mueller AG & Co, 2010, pp. 1-32. Also see C.E. Buckland, *Dictionary of Indian Biography*, Cosmo Publications, New Delhi, 1999, p. 329. See also Suntharalingam, *Politics and Nationalist Awakening in South India*, p. 325.

century; acquired great wealth by his commercial transactions with the East India Company and made large gifts to charities and religious endowments. Pachaiyappa Mudaliar, who had acquired a huge amount of rupees eight lakh at the time of his death, wrote a will to share the amount in favour of many charitable societies, which had temples, schools and other institutions. The Hindu community took one step further, and ready to start schools to offset the danger of exposing Hindu youths to missionary influences. Moreover, this time around, the Supreme Court of Madras ruled that part of Pachaiyappa's large bequest could be utilized for educational purposes. The trustees of Pachaiyappa's Charities, who were Hindus, nominated by the Government decided to start a school to impart instruction in English and the regional languages. A building was rented in Black town, and the school named after Pachaiyappa, was formally opened in January 1842, later promoted in to Pachaiyappa College, Madras. Frykenberg argued that conversions of Brahmin boys in Anderson's school was the motivating factor behind in generating pressure for diverting the Pachaiyappa legacy so that a college could be established and governed exclusively by local notables.⁶⁶

The arrival of Marques Tweeddale as the new Governor of Madras in 1846 added fuel to the burning issues prevailed among the native Hindus as he immediately announced the introduction of Bible as a 'textbook' in all Government schools. Tweeddale noted that the Bible was the only means of giving to the people as a 'practical knowledge' of the sources. He also asserted that the people should be taught the Bible so that the job of ruling over the people would be easier. As a result, Tweeddale's action made his close supporters into enemies.⁶⁷

This further resulted in reactionary responses from the Hindu community. The leaders called for a 'public meeting of the Hindu community' on 7 October 1846 at Pachaiyappa's Hall in Madras city, where thousands gathered as a form of open protest against missionary endeavour. Gazalu Lakshmanarasu Chetty, a pioneering Hindu businessman, was born near Madras in 1806 into a Komati merchant family, studied in a local school, where he acquired a fair proficiency in English. During his school days,

66 Frykenberg, *Christianity in India*, pp. 326-328.

67 Frykenberg, *Modern Education*, p. 59.

he was an active participant in debates and lectures which stimulated his interest in issues of the day and made him conscious of his rights and responsibilities. On leaving school, he joined his father's business firm, one of the few prominent agency houses in Madras, which became the wealthiest in Madras, mainly through skillful speculation in textile and indigo trade. At the death of his father, Lakshmanarasu Chetty became the chief partner of the firm, enjoying a position of considerable affluence and social prestige among the Hindu community in Madras⁶⁸ in protest against missionary activities.

In response to growing Christian activity in Madras city, a few upper caste Tamil members had started a school for their daughters. The first reference to Royapettah Hindu Female School was on 6 June 1854 when its secretary, T. Gopalakistna Pillay, submitted the second annual report for 1852-1853 for governmental inspection to the chief secretary of the Madras Presidency, H. Montgomery. The governor responded that he had viewed this Indian interest in female education with 'gratification and wished its prosperity and emulation by others.'⁶⁹

Countering the royal patronage to missionary-related activities on the one hand and organising counter religious societies on the other played a pre-eminent role in questioning the nature and authority of both the British officials and missionary agencies. Educational grants to Christian religious societies were questioned heavily by many associations in Madras Presidency. The educated Hindus started the Madras Native Association (MNA)⁷⁰ to put forward their political ideas which were partly embedded in the long-standing conflict between Hindus and Christian missionaries and the subsequent involvement of European officials in this controversy.

68 M.S.S. Pandian, *Brahmin and Non-Brahmin: Genealogies of the Tamil Political Present*, Permanent Black, Ranikhet, 2007, pp. 26-27. Also see Tho. Paramasivan, *Indu Desiyam*, pp. 13-32.

69 In 1849 in Bengal, the enlightened zamindars and merchants, including Ram Gopal Ghosh and Babu Jaikisen Mookherjee had donated land and money to a non-denomination girl's school taught by European and Indian staff in that year when Bethune and his wife threw their weight behind the novel attempt and gave it the official recognition that it needed. See for details, Raman, *Getting Girls to School*, pp. 13-14.

70 Suntharalingam writes: "The Madras Native Association was the first political organization to be established along Western lines in South India". See Suntharalingam, *Madras Native Association*, p. 233.

Attempts to counter missionary education reached its crucial period when a historic memorandum forwarded by the Madras Native Association to the then Secretary of State, asking the Secretary of State to initiate action against attempts of the Government officials including Lord Harris for favoring missionary education through the system of grant-in-aid.⁷¹ Notwithstanding to that, the association also sent a petition to the British Parliament in 1856 condemning the atrocities perpetuated by the colonial officials, particularly the misdemeanors or highhanded behaviour of the *tahasildar* of Chingelput district on some weavers, and the Christian proselytization of missionaries in alliance with the colonial officials.⁷²

The Hindus, in an effort to stem the tide of missionary advance, established their own educational institutions, instituted legal suits to recover guardianship of student converts who had taken shelter with the missionaries. Subsequently, many Hindu religious societies like *Vibhuthi Sangam* (Sacred Ash Society) at Trichendur in Tirunelveli became very active to re-convert Christians to Hindu fold, were formed to counter missionary propaganda. Hindu resistance was limited to a twenty miles radius around the temple complex of Tiruchendur. There was a serious confrontation, initiated by an inter-caste alliance in 1841, and brought to a head under the leadership of a Nadar soothsayer in 1845. On this issue George Pettit had reported that it was the irresponsible intervention of an unfaithful school teacher, taking on the self-appointed role of a panchayat committee, which had antagonized local Hindus. He confirmed that the most hostile were lapsed Christians. Here a concerted attempt was made to reassert the primacy of Siva, and to win over Europeans against the Christians on grounds of their being low caste.⁷³ The native Hindus at Tiruchendur alleged that the converted Christians influencing both missionaries and also the colonial officers.

Funded by wealthy Hindus in Madras city, there were societies which published

71 Memorandum forwarded by the Madras Native Association to the Secretary of State, Government of Madras, 15 July, 1859. Proceedings of the Government of the Fort Saint George in the Public Department for the Year 1859, Madras, The Fort Saint George Gazette Press, vol. VIII, 1860, Tamil Nadu Archives, p. 28.

72 Suntharalingam, *Politics and Nationalist Awakening*, pp. 52-54.

73 Copley, *Religion in Conflict*, p. 150.

periodicals and occasional tracts in defence of Hinduism and engaged agents to deliver lectures in the districts.⁷⁴ As a matter of fact, in Madras, Saivaite organisations like Sadur Veda Siddhanta Sabha in 1840s, Hindu Preaching Society in 1881, and Hindu Tract Society in 1887, started preaching Hindu faith through scripture reading and singing to counter missionary influence on indigenous culture.⁷⁵

A rigorous resistance flared up in the 1880s with the arrival of Madame Blavatsky and Colonel Olcott, leaders of the Theosophical movement. Their praise for Indian religions and ridicule of Christian missionaries did much to galvanize Hindu resistance. The first batch of Theosophicals in South India was set up in Tinnevely and Olcott gave a lecture in the inner precincts of its Saivite temple. The anti missionary organisations like the non-Brahmin Hindu Preaching Association and the Brahmin Hindu Tract Society took up the Hindu cause against missionary presence in Madras.⁷⁶

To counter the challenges posed by the Hindu organisations, around 64 Protestant priests gathered on the streets of Madras in 1886. They, in fact, did reaching from morning to evening. Treating this missionary idea as a grave threat to Hinduism, the Hindu Tract Society took up this challenge and sent its agents to all the main centres to places wherever missionaries worked. The outcome was that the Protestant mission effectively contained this Hindu resistance in 1890s. Oddie sees it as ‘the last great confrontation’ of its kind in the history of Hindu-Christian relations in South India.⁷⁷

The violent and angry Sudras, who interpreted the economic growth of the Christian converts differently, started attacking them and even burnt down their institutions, tempted the missionaries to approach the higher authorities. The LMS missionary

74 Quoted in Suntharalingam, *Madras Native Association*, p. 234. Also see *Madras Christian Instructor and Missionary Record III*, August 1845, pp. 475-476.

75 R.E. Frykenberg, ‘On Roads and Riots in Tinnevely: Radical Change and Ideology in Madras Presidency during the Nineteenth Century,’ *South Asia*, vol. IV, no. 2, December 1982. Also see Geoffrey A. Oddie, ‘Anti-Missionary Feeling and Hindu Revivalism in Madras: The Hindu Preaching and Tract Societies, C. 1886-1891’ in Fred W. Clothey, *Images of Man: Religion and Historical Process in South Asia*, New Era Publications, Madras, 1982, pp. 217-243; Suntharalingam, *Madras Native Association*, pp. 233-253. Also quoted in Pandian, *Brahmin and Non-Brahmin*, p. 46.

76 Copley, *Religions in Conflict*, p. 185.

77 *Ibid.*

Baylis wrote a letter to the British Resident Cullen from Neyyoor on 17 January, 1859 regarding the attacks of Shudras on the Christians:

I m inclined to think that the growing intelligence, wealth and influence of the ... Christians, owing to the efforts that have been made to educate them, to many of them going to Ceylon, where some are employed in situations of trust and responsibility... earning Rs. 50 to 70 ... and having a large number of coolies under them ... engaging in trading in jaggery, tamarind, cotton, ...causing the present irritated and much excited state of the Sudras ...⁷⁸

Missionary reactions were also manifested in different forms. While seeing the missionaries and their schools, the Hindu individuals and philanthropists also came into the education field and opened schools. A girl's school had already been started in Vellore by one Krishnaswami Mudali in 1860 in reaction to missionary schools there. The Maharaja of Vizianagram, Pasupathi Vijayaram Gajapathi began to initiate plans for a Hindu girl's school in Madras city. In 1869 it began to function in an upper caste residential area close to the Mylapore temple. A vegetable merchant contractor named Arcot Narayanaswami Mudaliar donated his house and funds for a girl's school in Kancheepuram in 1870s. A well known Brahmin began a high caste girl's school in Nagercoil in 1870 using Christian teachers.⁷⁹ These are some of the attempts made by the influential Hindus to counter missionary efforts. It should be noted that the schools established by these Hindu leaders attracted a great deal of attention from people of all caste groups. In 1871, the female school run by Sreenivasa Pillai had 202 students in Madras. The inspectors and examiners were satisfied with the progress of the girls in both Tamil and Telugu departments.⁸⁰

Yet, missionaries, on the other hand were closely observing the anti-missionary sentiments and felt that it would lead to a possible Hindu nationalistic ideology in Madras, an influence they attributed to Annie Besant, the Theosophist. In a way her pro-Hindu approach, had encouraged intellectual effort. This later led to emergence of

78 For the letter from Baylis to the British Resident, see Yesudas, *A Peoples Revolt in Travancore*, pp. 187-188.

79 Raman, *Getting Girls to School*, pp. 30-33.

80 *Madras Mail*, 15 April 1871. Source: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi.

scholarly research on Hinduism, which was later used to interrogate missionary activities in Madras.⁸¹

Norman Goodall has argued that an LMS report from Bangalore reported that Anne Besant's aversion towards mission schools not only produced a profound impression as she extolled the Hindu religion and implored her hearers to shun the beliefs and customs of the west and restore India to her former greatness. Norman quoted Besant as urging that Hindu girls should not be sent to missionary institutions. This resulted in adverse implications on the part of the LMS schools throughout India.⁸² Hindu leaders seeking to transform their religion with a nationalist rhetoric on the one hand, and the evangelical missionaries urging the mission societies to redirect their missionary resource for evangelization of the masses on the other complicated missionary-Hindu leaders relationship.⁸³

In fact, the arrival of missionaries and their policies had allegedly aggravated Hindu nationalist leaders, particularly, Swami Vivekananda, who on one occasion at the Parliament of Religions at Chicago in 1893 said:

You Christians who are so fond of sending out missionaries to save the souls of the heathen, why do you not try to save their bodies from starvation? In India during the terrible famine, thousands died from hunger, yet you Christians did nothing. You erect churches all through India, but the crying evil in the East is not the religion-they have religion enough. They ask for bread but you give them stones...⁸⁴

In an address in Detroit, U.S.A, soon after the World Religious Conference, Vivekananda said that the missionaries knew nothing about the people. They could not speak the language. Most of the missionaries were incompetent. They were absolutely ignorant of the people and their traditions. They tried to get into sympathy with them.

81 Quoted in Chandra Mallampalli, 'British Missions and Indian Nationalism, 1880-1908: Imitation and Autonomy in Calcutta and Madras' in Andrew Porter (ed.), *The Imperial Horizons of British Protestant Missions, 1880-1914*, Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing, Michigan, 2003, p. 173. Also see Anne Besant, 'Hinduism and Nationality,' *New India*, 9 January 1915.

82 Goodall, *A History of the London Missionary Society*, pp. 27-28.

83 Chandra Mallampalli, 'British Missions and Indian Nationalism, 1880-1908,' in Andrew Porter (ed.), *The Imperial Horizons of British Protestant Missions, 1880-1914*, William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, Grand Rapids, 2003, pp. 158-182.

84 Quoted in R.A. Hume, 'India at the Parliament of Religions,' *The Harvest Field*, May 1895, p. 180.

Missionary doctors did no good. They accomplished nothing in the way of converting although they have had nice sociable times amongst themselves.⁸⁵ He made an attempt to convey the liberal minded, and eclectic clerics that 'Hinduism' should be 'finally recognized' and 'elevated' into the rank of a 'world religion.'⁸⁶ This not only made an indelible impact on missionary organisations in the field of religion but education at large.

Throughout the nineteenth century a fierce debate raged amongst missionaries as to whether caste was intrinsic to Hinduism and would have to be abandoned by the convert, or was but a social phenomenon and could thus be retained. Some missionaries were insisting that the converts should surrender caste. Vellalas and other influential Hindus were not in agreement with missionaries. Converts themselves learnt to draw a line between what they saw as acceptable demands of the Christian way of life.⁸⁷ The attitude of missionaries towards caste and its implications on converts further widened missionary-converts chasm.

Even a staunch Protestant Christian merchant, E. Muthaia Pillai of Palamcottah (Palayankottai), the administrative centre for the Tinnevely (Tirunelveli) district of Madras Presidency, could not bear with the attitude of the non-observance of caste by the Protestant missionaries. He wrote a Tamil pamphlet and published it in 1894 titled, *Kristavarkalin acaramum, Gurumar potakamum*, which carried the English subtitle, *The Manners and Customs of Native Christians, and the Rules and Regulations of European Missionaries*. The subtitle expresses clearly the concern of the author, who shared the view with other Tamil Protestants that missionaries should leave alone the matters of caste observance in the church. Notwithstanding to that Muthia Pillai refused to cut off his *kudumi* (topknot).⁸⁸

The response of educational missionaries, by contrast, was to redefine missionary

85 *Ibid.*

86 Frykenberg, *Christianity in India*, p. 399.

87 Copley, *Religions in Conflict*, p. 189.

88 Dennis Hudson, 'Christians and the Question of Caste: The Vellala Protestants of Palayankottai,' in Fred W. Clothey (ed.), *Images of Man: Religion and Historical Process in South Asia*, Madras, 1982, pp. 244-258. Also see Copley, *Religions in Conflict*, p. 189.

objectives from religious conversion to cultural conversion. According to this new logic, even nationalism in its most Hindu and anti-Christian expression was the work of God in India. The educational missionaries such as T. E. Slater, J. N. Farquhar, and W.H. Findlay identified missionary agency or influence upon nationalist consciousness, not formal conversion or baptism, as the crux of their mission to India.⁸⁹

J.N. Farquhar, who was one of the LMS staff declared in 1901 that the higher education was less fruitful of conversions than it was forty years ago. Instead of a steady current towards the Christian church a very powerful backward current, a really great Hinduward action, was in progress. Everywhere societies were being formed for the advancement of Hinduism and several fresh movements within Hinduism were being followed with great and increasing enthusiasm against the nature and culture of missionaries.⁹⁰

Missionary education was criticized by nationalists in the last decades of the nineteenth and early decade of the twentieth centuries. Missionary newspapers and organs came under heavy attack by Hindu organisations with a view to stem the tide of missionary advance.⁹¹ G. Subramania Iyer, a pioneering nationalist and journalist of this period, while delivering the Presidential speech at the North Arcot District Conference of the Congress Party in August 1907, reiterated that the influence of colonial officials and missionary agencies were making education ‘denational’ and termed it unsuitable to the requirements of the people and rejected the idea of getting education from the colonizers.⁹² The criticism against missionary education was traced back to colonial rulers. For example, Subramania ‘Bharati’, known for his patriotism, wrote for the ‘*Vijaya*’ in 1910: “William Bentinck, who propagated English education, was a traitor ...”⁹³

89 Mallampalli, *British Missions*, pp. 176-177.

90 Goodall, *A History of the London Missionary Society*, p. 26.

91 Suntharalingam, *Politics and Nationalist Awakening in South India*, p. 38.

92 Devendra Nath Bannerjea, *The Indian Nation Builders*, Mittal Publications, New Delhi, 1977, pp. 122-125.

93 Subramania Bharati, ‘Aankila Paashai Indiarkalukku Karpithadin Kaaranam’ (English translation: The Reason for Educating Indians in English), *Vijaya*, 22 Feb 1910 in A.R. Venkatachalapathy (ed.), Bharati ‘Vijaya’ Katturaikal (English translation; Bharati ‘Vijaya’ Essays, Kaalachuvadu Press,

The counter Hindu schools, established by Hindu nationalists not only increased quantitatively but were result oriented. The number of children joined in these schools also increased considerable in the later part of the nineteenth century in the Madras Presidency. The *swadeshis* used schools established by the Hindu Nationalists to oppose missionaries and their policies.⁹⁴

National leaders including Mahatma Gandhi, while appreciative of missionaries' enthusiastic sacrificing efforts, criticized missionaries for involving in religious affairs. In *Young India* in 1935, he wrote:

If instead of confining themselves purely to humanitarian work such as education, medical services to the poor and the like, they would use these activities of theirs for proselytizing, I would certainly like them to withdraw.⁹⁵

The Nationalist agitation in India in 1920 made every missionary appear an agent of the British Government and every Indian Christian a foreigner. Ruth Arnon emphasised that the nationalists saw Christianity and its missionary institutions as a 'denationalizing force,' implanting loyalty to Western masters and gods and, more subtly, as encouraging the view that the choice of religion and of cultural values was solely a matter of individual choice.⁹⁶ Thus, missionaries of South India were opposed strongly. Publishing pamphlets such as, 'The Bible and the misdeeds of the Christians' against the programmes carried out by the missionaries became the order of the day.⁹⁷

5. Response to Missionary Activities

From the beginning of the nineteenth century, British control was well established throughout South India. In Travancore the colonial Residents played a key role as mediators between Madras Governor and Travancore administration. In Travancore

Nagercoil, 2004, p. 135.

94 Selected extracts from the confidential files containing C. I. D. reports etc., on political activities in the Madras Presidency during the Swadeshi Movement, 1905-1911. TNA, Madras, 1912.

95 Quoted in Kawashima, *Missionaries*, p. 140. Also see Notes, 'Deploring Conversion,' *Harijan*, 22 March 1935, in *Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, vol. 60, Delhi, 1974, p. 327; 'Interview to a Missionary Nurse,' May 1935, in *Collected Works*, vol. 61, 1975, Delhi, p. 46.

96 Ruth Soule Arnon, 'The Christian College,' *History of Education Quarterly*, vol. 14, no. 2, Summer 1974, p. 247.

97 C.I.D. Report on the scare of a seditious rising against Europeans in Coimbatore and the alleged manufacture of bombs by the Swadeshi, File No. 4, TNA, 1905, P. 147.

and Cochin, the revolts of Dewan Velu Thampi and of Paliyath Achan against the missionaries and the colonial Government had been crushed by the Company. Both the kingdoms functioned within the bounds set by the British power, and by its immediate representative, the British Resident.⁹⁸ John Munro, who was the Resident from 1810 to 1819, was among other things, influenced by the activities of the LMS and its work particularly in south Travancore in the spheres of education and health, for the elimination of slavery and against other forms of oppression of the lower castes. Although they practiced untouchability among themselves in the forms of upper and lower castes, the rulers of Travancore accommodated the activity of the LMS and absorbed important features of missionary activity into state policy.⁹⁹

Nevertheless, over a period of time, the growing influence of local rulers over missionaries created sympathy which later on ending up with the establishment of schools in their respective stations. At Palayamkottai, Ringeltaube was greatly helped by General Barter who had now returned to Palayamkottai¹⁰⁰ from the Maharatta war. Barter received Ringeltaube well and rendered him much help in his work and also furnished the empty rooms of the missionary's house with the necessary furniture.¹⁰¹

This was clearly evident from the fact that there were instances which showed cordial relationship between missionaries and native rulers. For example, Ringeltaube,¹⁰² was immensely helped by the then British Resident Macaulay by granting him permission to Travancore to continue the mission work.¹⁰³ He even offered to meet the expenses of the journey. Despite the fact that Velu Thampi's opposition towards the new religion was expressed in his famous 'Kundara Proclamation'¹⁰⁴ in 1809, Travancore Government and its officials favoured missionaries due to various socio-economic

98 A. Sreedhara Menon, *A Survey of Kerala History*, D.C. Books, Kottayam, 1967, pp. 259-265.

99 Jean Dreze & Amartya Sen (eds), *Indian Development: Selected Regional Perspectives*, World Institute for Development Economics Research, Clarendons, Oxford University Press, 1997, p. 301.

100 Earlier called Palamcottah, the administrative capital of Tinnevely (Tirunelveli) District.

101 Agur, *Church History of Travancore*, p. 493.

102 Visvanathan, *Ringeltaube in the midst of the Natives*, pp. 645-658.

103 Samuel Mateer, 'The History of Travancore,' *The Indian Evangelical Review*, April 1881, p. 439.

104 Shangoonny Menon, *Thiruvithamcore Charithram* (English translation: *History of Travancore*), Trivandrum, 1968, p. 261.

considerations.¹⁰⁵ In fact, Colonel John Munro, the British Resident at Travancore from 1810 to 1819, was a fervent evangelical Christian with all the familiar qualities of an early nineteenth century reformer who helped the LMS missionaries to reform and ‘uplift’ Travancore society.¹⁰⁶ Col. Munro, Diwan¹⁰⁷ and Resident¹⁰⁸ of Travancore and Cochin, was a staunch supporter of missions,¹⁰⁹ established a position of influence with the authorities and courts as representatives of culture and political order and made it a system throughout India.¹¹⁰

According to missionary records Ringeltaube was keen on addressing public issues on people’s behalf to the government. When Ringeltaube returned home from his visits to the congregations, the first impression that would often strike him was the numerous long cadjan petitions the people used to hang on the low roof of the verandha of his small bungalow that he must pursue them and redress their grievances against forced labour rendered to the Sirkar. The amount of trouble and uneasiness thus caused to Ringeltaube was crucial.¹¹¹

Ringeltaube had taken pioneering effort to represent himself to the Resident, Dewan, and other officials to relieve his converts from heavy taxes. Many of the converts were under the impression that because they were under a European missionary, they could discontinue their usual services to the Sirkar and they actually refused to work. The result was that an officer from Travancore, representing the government met Ringeltaube on the 27th February 1810 and asked in writing from him to show that all the Christians were loyal and obedient to the Government and would continue to render their usual services. But, Ringeltaube refused to give any reply. Yet, some converts

105 P. Chandramohan, ‘Colonial Connections of Protestant Missionaries in Travancore,’ *Indian Historical Review*, vol. 26, July 1999, pp. 60-83.

106 Copley, *Religions in Conflict*, p. 4.

107 Dewan was considered to be an equivalent to Prime Minister.

108 Precisely a British Officer, appointed by the then Colonial Government to work as an agent between the Governor of a State of British India and the Princely State; in this case Travancore-Cochin Princely States.

109 Leslie Brown, *The Indian Christians of St. Thomas – An Account of the Ancient Syrian Church of Malabar*, Cambridge University Press, 1982, p. 132.

110 Bernard S. Cohn, *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge: British in India*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1997, p. 140.

111 Agur, *Church History of Travancore*, pp. 558-559.

were totally disappointed in their motives of being released from the unjust taxes and cruel services which the Sirkar imposed on them. Yet many of the converts stood firm saying that they would never give up their new religion.¹¹²

Ringeltaube represented the grave concern of the people on the severe taxes to the Maharaja's Government in Travancore, and received a communication from Col. Munro, the then Resident, conveying to him the information that he had stipulated with the newly appointed Dewan, Palpanaban that thence forward Christians should enjoy the privilege of being exempted from the capitation tax. The abolition of poll tax brought great relief not only to Christians, but also gradually to all the people belonged to Shanar and Ezhavar communities, and later extended to the Chetties and certain other classes of people also.¹¹³

In Madurai, as early as in 1815 and Indian philanthropist, who was interested in modern education, raised money from the community and approached the missionary teacher, Miss. D.M. Root, to conduct a school for Muslim girls with an Urdu teacher from Madras city. The missionary teachers realized that their ignorance of Urdu prevented them from effectively spreading the Christian word, and so they influenced the language. The Muslim girl's school however functioned for more than a century.¹¹⁴

Similarly, Charles Mead, an LMS missionary, sent to South Travancore in 1818 after the departure of Ringeltaube, approached any official of the Princely State of Travancore, including the Maharani of that time, the Dewans, and the Residents, appointed by then Colonial Government. The Ranee of Travancore, Gauri Lakshmi Bai, contributed 300 trees and offers the usage of elephants for carrying timbers and rocks, as the school building was constructed of rock stones.¹¹⁵ The Rajah of Cochin supported the educational efforts of missionaries by presenting an amount of Rs.5000/- for the

112 *Ibid.*

113 *Ibid.*, pp. 573-576.

114 Raman, *Getting Girls to School*, p. 11.

115 *LMS Directors' Annual Report 1820*, London, p. 55.

purchase of paddy fields, so that the boarders could be fed from the yielding.¹¹⁶ Mead utilized the whole of the rupees five thousand, contributed by the Raja of Cochin in purchasing about forty-four cottahs of paddy fields at Pattamculum and Vellamadam for the mission. The lands bought by Mead were intended as an educational endowment and the income from them was invariably used for the support of students lived in the hostels.

Having learned the abilities of Mead, the Maharani of Travancore appointed him as District Judge at Nagercoil in 1818, but resigned after the directors of the LMS in London instructed him to do so and concentrate on missionary work. The Ranee was much gratified by the various labours of Mead and was encouraged, and gave him the warmest assurances of protection and favour. Through the influence of Col. Munro, he was granted a compound and a house at Nagercoil and besides rendered other material help in various ways.¹¹⁷ Norton, a CMS missionary was also appointed to the civil court at Alleppey by the Travancore Government.¹¹⁸ N. Nanoo Pillai, a former Dewan of Travancore, not only contributed Rs. 230 in favour of the construction of a new school for the upper caste girls, but also presided over the function with a lot of Government officials when the school was inaugurated at Eraniel by the missionaries.¹¹⁹ Sir Madhava Rao, who was for several years Dewan, felt strongly the need of moral teaching in the State schools, wrote himself a small text book, entitled, 'principles of morality.'¹²⁰

There are several incidents where the individuals donated their lands and also contributed other assets to missionary schools and colleges. Even in late 1930s, in the Brahmin-dominated Tanjore district, Vembu, a teacher donated his share of land to the London Mission School, as the European missionary teacher, Populi, whole-heartedly appreciated the charity of the only Brahmin, though there existed the only another school the

116 *LMS Directors' Annual Report* 1819, London, p. 55.

117 Agur, *The Church History of Travancore*, pp. 683-695.

118 *Ibid.*, pp. 686-687.

119 LMS Travancore District Council Annual Report 1881, London Mission Press, Nagercoil, 1882, pp. 40-41. Also see I. H. Hacker, *Memoirs of Thomas Smith Thomson: Medical Missionary at Neyyoor, South India*, The Religious Tract Society, London, 1887, pp. 64-66.

120 Murdoch, *Indian Teacher's Manual*, p. 189.

Brahmin-controlled Sri Sankara Vidyalaya High School.¹²¹

Similarly, the Rajah of Ellore, Bhuyanga Rao Bahadur had become a staunchest friend and supporter of Anna Kugler, an American woman medical missionary, who came to south India for establishing a medical mission. She not only treated and restored his beloved wife Rane Chinnamma Rao to health, but also saved the life of his son and heir. The Rajah offered land for a hospital and rest-house, and also translated the New Testament, which was given to him by Anna in to Telugu poetry, and also his youngest daughter was named Annamma in honour of the doctor. This Brahmin raja on his very letterhead printed a picture of the Christ.¹²² The Rajah of Kapoorthala, who (lost his Indian wife) married a young English lady, invited American Missionaries (found a mission) and established a mission in his neighbourhood, where he asked them to start a school and his sons became students, and asked to stop all public work on the Raja's Estate on the Sabbath day.¹²³

Thus the activities of missionaries were even appreciated by colonial officials. They openly acknowledged and stated missionary contributions in public domains. For example, Sir William Mackworth Young, formerly, Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, who has been associated with the Government of India for more than thirty- eight years, states that in his judgment, "the strength of our position in India depends more largely in the goodwill of the people than upon the strength and number of our garrisons, and for that good will we are largely indebted to the kindly, self-sacrificing efforts of the Christian missionary in his dealing with the people."¹²⁴

Moreover, the campaigns led by the LMS missionaries to uplift Parayans and other untouchable and depressed castes in the Tamil districts of the Madras Presidency evoked wide interest among the educated lower caste people. In Madras, *The Hindu* supported the arguments put forth by the missionaries and demanded an enquiry into the reasons

121 K. P. Selvaraj, 'Pitchu Master, selfless, and secular to the core,' *The Hindu*, September, 11, 2011, New Delhi, p. 11.

122 Alden H. Clark, *India on the March: Missionary Education Movement of the United States and Canada*, New York, 1922, pp. 141-145.

123 Mullens, *Ten Years Missionary Labour in India*, p. 65.

124 Dennis, *Christian Missions and Social Progress*, III, p. 447.

behind the degraded state of the untouchable communities in the Presidency. *The Hindu* observed the issue and expressed in 1891 that:

The philanthropic efforts of the Christian missionaries to improve the condition of the low castes deserve the warm acknowledgement of the Indian public. The condition of these castes is truly miserable. The Hindus do not recognize them as a part of their community and nothing can be more humiliating and intolerable than the treatment that the Pariahs and other low-caste people receive from the Hindus of the higher castes...The Christian missionaries have treated them in an altogether different spirit. Moved by their deep hatred of caste distinctions and their sympathy for a despised and a degraded class, they have taken the low castes under their special patronage and already done much to raise them to a high social status.¹²⁵

In 1893, a Tamil monthly, the *Paraiyan* emerged as the mouth piece of the socially ostracized communities. The *Paraiyan* exposed the hardships faced by the untouchable's communities in Madras. While it supported the missionary stand on the issue of Pariah upliftment, the Indian National Congress was strongly criticized for trying to strengthen the foundations of Brahmanical domination in south India. There were others who argued that instead of totally depending on the Christian missionaries, the Hindus needed to establish their own social organizations for removing the social injustices and economic exploitation of the untouchable communities.¹²⁶

The spread of missionary education in other parts of Madras Presidency was crucial as there was a shift in the approach towards missionary education. As a result, students from Islamic tradition too sought admission in missionary schools. The Muslim critics of the missionary education in a way were silenced by a series of efforts by the missionaries. Theodore Pennell, the missionary, reported the following sequence of events:

Any parent sending his son to the mission school will be excommunicated" was the *fatwa* of the Mullahs at Bannu when the mission school was inaugurated. But parents and boys were desirous of availing themselves of the advantages of the school, so the Mullahs relented, and said, "Let the boys go to school, but beware lest they learn English, for English is the language of infidelity, and will certainly destroy their souls."¹²⁷

125 Cited in Basu, *Nandanar's Children*, p. 109. Also see *The Hindu*, dated, 3 June 1891.

126 Basu, *Nandanar's Children*, p. 110.

127 Quoted in Jeffrey Cox, *Imperial Fault Lines: Christianity and Colonial Power in India, 1818-1940*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, California, 2002, p. 191.

There was the feeling that without English all the best Government appointments were unattainable. The Mullahs were not willing to be content with lower posts and less pay. So they appealed missionaries to teach their children English instead of scriptures. The expressed that:

Let the boys read English, so long as they do not read the Christian Scriptures, for the Christians have tampered with those books, and it is no longer lawful for true Muhammadans to read them.¹²⁸

It should be noted that Muslims and Christian missionaries had no hostility with regard to religion and culture. At Padacappattu even the Mahomedans received Ringeltaube kindly. In fact the missionary records say that these Muslim men changed their religion to Hinduism. The Muslims of Manapad appealed Ringeltaube that they might be permitted to revert to Hinduism due to economic compulsions.¹²⁹

Historically, the changing pattern of mission-colonial-and native ruler relations and the reactions of missionaries to changes in India throw light on the magnitude of the problem inherent in this cross-cultural encounter. The cultural values and national concerns remained paramount in determining the reactions of Indian nationalists in Madras Presidency. Although the missionary methodology ultimately failed to convert many to Christianity through religious deliberations, it attracted a great deal of attention among lower caste people.

The Christian missionary societies could set up schools despite reactionary responses from the emerging Hindu leaders. It has made an enormous effect on the thus far unlettered masses to get public space, power, and identity.¹³⁰ Yet, the reactionary responses towards educational institutions of missionaries in Madras Presidency widened the wide chasm between missionary and Hindu schools.

128 *Ibid.*

129 Agur, *Church History of Travancore*, p. 513.

130 Henry Whitehead, *The Future of Christianity of India*, November, 1906, p. 529. See also Susan Billington Harper, *In the shadow of the Mahatma: Bishop V.S. Azariah and the travails of Christianity in British India*, William B. Eerdmans, Michigan/Cambridge, 2000, pp. 180-187.

Unquestionably, the missionary way of representing the underprivileged masses made a tremendous impact in the nature, culture of depressed class people.¹³¹ Attempts to counter missionary education with a view to challenge¹³² missionary dominance created anti-missionary intelligentsia who later took nationalism as their tool to challenge missionary religion and its multiple forms.¹³³ Meanwhile, for lower caste people the Christian missionaries appeared to be saviours. Missionary education, protection from influential Hindus, and material help made the converts to be loyal to missionary activities in Madras Presidency in general and South Travancore in particular.

131 Subyasachi Bhattacharya, 'Introduction: An Approach to Education and Inequality' in Subyasachi Bhattacharya (ed.), *Education and the Disprivileged*, Orient Longman, New Delhi, 2002, pp. 1-32.

132 Bhattacharya, 'Introduction,' in Sabyasachi Bhattacharya (ed.), *Education and the Disprivileged*, p. 10.

133 Samita Sen, 'A Father's Duty: State, Patriarchy and Women's Education' in Bhattacharya (ed.), *Education and the Disprivileged*, pp. 198-199.

Chapter VII

CONCLUSION

Education had been viewed as a panacea for all the ills of the human society since times immemorial. This liberating tool was wielded powerfully by missionaries and reformers in India to penetrate the rigid social order evolved out of caste system and superstitions over the centuries. The results may not be spectacular but worthy of deep research and emulation. Even though missionaries tried to remedy their cause of reform through charity and evangelism, the former received more visibility through numerous schools and other institutions, medical missions and hospitals most of which exists even to this day, but the later received lukewarm response in some places and reaction from the populace as well as colonial government officials. Through this an attempt was made to place missionary education as an integral part of modern educational historiography and placing specifically LMS in a historical perspective. The area of study encapsulates Madras Presidency in general and Travancore in particular during the nineteenth century.

In the early modern period the missionary activities began with the arrival of Jesuits, who worked among the fishing Parava community on the coastal regions in and around Madras Presidency. The arrival of Protestant missionaries to preach Christianity in India is one of the direct consequences of the Reformation movement that started in Germany during the early sixteenth century. This also led to the advent of innovative scientific inventions, free from the dogmatic clutches of the church into rational social consciousness among the European countries initially. This trend slowly percolated into the Indian soil by the educational efforts of missionaries, and then pursued by private individual reformers subsequently.

Yet, the objective of missionaries is contested in many ways partly because of their approach towards other religions and partly of their strategies to attain their evangelistic ends through the domain of education at large. Nonetheless, historians, who worked on missionary education, are divided in their approach. Scholars who see the whole issue

argue that it was a 'benevolent mission' and it was seen as a political question from nationalistic approach. This study makes an attempt to see missionaries and their 'mission' for education through the perspective of history from below.

Religion is one aspect of culture, which has significant conditional influence on human beings. This is due to the fact that religion is a system of rituals and symbols, with a view to serve and disseminate the world as living experiences with the world as imagined communities.¹ The Indian society in the nineteenth century was caught in a vicious web created by religious dogmatism and redundant superstitions. When the Protestant missionaries including women missionaries took initiatives to advocate a number of changes in the Hindu society,² they heavily criticized Hindu religious traditions and commented that 'pure, enlightened, and active population will take place of the myriads and its deluded and wretched inhabitants.'³

The missionary women also raised issues such as female infanticide, *sati*, *devadasi*, and so on. For instance, Amy Carmichael (1867-1951), who worked in Tirunelveli noted for her *thottil kulanthai* [cradle baby] scheme for children who were dedicated to temples as *devadasis* and musicians. It was for her work she is still identified by local people as *amma* [mother] which later caused a stir among the fellow missionaries. She had criticized the caste system, child marriage and temple prostitution (*devadasi*). Very often colonial officials too were in line with the missionaries in demanding the abolition of *sati* by supplying detailed figures of the numbers of cases in Bengal, and its increasing tendency in other parts of India too. Utilizing this historical understanding of Hindu religious traditions, missionaries learned vernacular languages and often established schools in the mission compounds in the hope to liberate Indians from their age old traditions and customs. Many a times, gurus who formed a significant part in traditional schooling system were appointed as local teachers due to the non-availability of educated converts. To achieve mastery over difficult languages missionaries used these gurus as

1 Bauman, *Christian Identity and Dalit Religion*, p. 227.

2 Oddie, *Social Protest in India: British Protestant Missionaries*, p. 1. See also Oddie, *Missionaries as Social Commentators*, pp. 197-210.

3 Quoted in Johnston, *Missionary Writing and Empire*, p. 66.

translators to communicate with the locals. Visiting villages, mingling and interacting with the people in the temples, markets and other public places, entering the houses of common people, responding to people who were affected by natural calamities such as famines, choleras, plague and disasters were some of their strategies whereby they could establish contacts with local people to enlist their support for starting schools and other educational initiatives.

It is to be noted that the missionaries were the first to establish exclusive schools, for co-education being a cultural taboo, for girls in South India and there was a shift in the nature of missionary education in Indian women during the first half of the nineteenth century. From 'moral rescue' to 'liberation discourse,' making new spaces for women in the germination of new ideas to promote the quest for equality and liberty. As a result, women intelligentsia including Muthulakshmi Reddy and others imbibed Amy Carmichael model to question questionable practices like *devadasi* system, *sati*, child infanticide etc. In fact, at the wake of the twentieth century, the anti-devadasi campaign was gaining momentum under the leadership of Muthulakshmi Reddy in Madras Presidency, who garnered support not only from the general public, but also from the *Devadasi* community itself.

Missionary movement in India had a direct cultural impact. Their schools functioned as a bridge between Brahmin and non-Brahmin students, imparting elementary and secondary education for children and literacy and vocational classes for adults. The medical dispensaries, temperance campaigns, cooperative societies and banks, printing presses, agricultural settlements, and industrial projects, mobilized a powerfully challenging social movement against four 'demons'—dirt, disease, debt and drink. In fact, plagues in rural villages, campaign against crimes, poisoning cattle, and murder were regularly denounced by missionaries. They encouraged thrifts, and discouraged costly weddings and dowries.⁴

4 Harper, *The Dornakal Church on the Cultural Frontier*, p. 187.

It has been argued by some historians that the European colonialism and the 'Christian revivalism' were the fundamental causes for the spread of Christian missionary activity. They have argued that the colonial officials provided British missionaries with a sense of 'justice' and 'moral authority.' In addition to this, identification of missionaries with colonialism gained its currency when the so-called imperial expansion, offered missionary networks a range of models to 'modernize' indigenous communities through European cultural traditions.⁵ In the field of education, missionaries played a crucial role, as it formed the foundational part of modern education in the annals of Indian history. Few missionaries, noted for their literary, cultural, educational and above all religious pursuits, focused their attention towards their respective specialized fields, getting to know the Indian society. Schools and institutions were set up to educate people of all castes, including lower castes and girls, who thus far had no opportunity to study in any manner or form. Nevertheless, their idea of development for all caste groups through education was experimented by 'civilizing' the people which they called as 'torch-bearers upon the path of progress.'⁶ In this regard, missionaries did a commendable work through their educational initiatives in Madras Presidency.

The missionary movement from the West is an historical reality in countries like India. The LMS was one of the predominant missionary societies to establish their 'mission' centers to initiate their reform and evangelistic works during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Its idea to send missionaries to foreign countries was a result of the united efforts by leaders of different Christian denominations, like David Bogue, Thomas Haweis, John Eyre, Alexander Waugh, James Stevens, John Love and Mathew Wilks of London. In India the LMS expanded its role from evangelism to education as a way to spread the former. Benjamin Rice, a missionary of LMS worked in Bangalore and other stations of Madras Presidency from 1836 to 1887, wrote that he looked upon education as a very important means of diffusing the gospel in India with special reference to education on Christian principles.

The system of education pursued in missionary schools has had a consequential

5 Johnston, *Missionary Writing and Empire*, pp. 10-20.

6 Mann, *Torch-bearers upon the path of progress*, pp. 3-25.

implication among those who had attended these schools. Interestingly, the tremendous upheaval of the local communities, which has got educated under the LMS missionaries imbued with European knowledge and rationality, led to the emergence of leading teachers at various schools across the spectrum of the Madras presidency. These self-supporting agents with small industries and at the plantations of the government and individuals as skilled and semi-skilled labourers played a historic role in enlightening the downtrodden about their virtual social oppression in the name of culture and tradition.

Similarly, the introduction of English and vernacular education among the people, particularly the underprivileged, had far-reaching repercussions and implications. In fact, it witnessed the emergence of new educated elite with a range of ideas began to occupy 'respectable' positions in government and other available esteemed organizations. The mode of education served the colonial Government's purpose of getting English educated clerks in various government agencies. But the hallmark of this missionary education was 'education for every one irrespective of their caste position,' which served the needs of the lower classes and oppressed sections in a tremendous way. The lower castes took it as a powerful (or only available) weapon to fight their way up with the other sections of the society for an equal footing in the social ladder though circumspectly.

The description of the missionary school education, narrates the in-depth historical survey explaining the strategies and manoeuvres of schools, students, teachers, curriculum, infrastructure, grant-in-aid, supervision, and examination etc., established by LMS in various regions of the Madras Presidency in addition to the indigenous and colonial education. Signs of awakening interest in educational and philanthropic progress, set up during missionary era were picked up by Indian social reformers as models to be followed. For example, 'village education societies' and 'teachers' fellowships' were being formed in various parts of Madras Presidency.

Much before the grant-in-aid system came into being, the LMS missionaries showed unwavering attitude towards school education since early nineteenth century from constructing school building, getting printed books, scheming and streamlining the

curriculum, collecting students from all the sections of the society, feeding and clothing them, recruiting teachers of different categories - elementary, primary, high school and matriculation, and finally raising funds for their salaries privately and later on through government grant-in-aid scheme. Their commitment for education made them to write directly to their directors at the headquarters in London well-in-advance and received funds from time to time. The European educational experience helped them to select qualified and experienced Anglo-vernacular teachers passed out from the teachers' training institutes for training village teachers.

The colonial rule had ushered a series of crucial and historic changes in to the Indian society with special reference to women. The question of women and education can be largely identified with missionaries, which later made dramatic and far-reaching changes in the discourses of space, mobility, sexuality and respectability, radically transforming the nature of femininity to a subject of study with a different articulation. The transition from servitude to a 'discourse of respectability'⁷ and liberation through education needs to be located within the specific historical context in which women's empowerment received attention though meager, in the nineteenth century Madras Presidency.

In fact, the history of education for women is identified with a movement towards liberation, respectability and equality. This is evident from the fact that women in modern India could be partly equated with a march towards 'modernity' after a long period of stagnation, decline and deplorability.⁸ While the indigenous schools run by guru's could not accommodate girls, except a very few, and the rigid social systems of the society constricted women under its stringent policies. The women's education movement initiated by the Tranquebar missionaries in the eighteenth century, who became the mentors for the LMS missionaries, took initiatives to reform the society by influencing the British government as well as private individuals to initiate the task of liberating women by establishing schools in various parts of Madras Presidency.

The wives of LMS Missionaries had handled the issue of 'education for women' with a

7 Kent, *Converting Women*, p. 4.

8 Forbes, *Women in Modern India*, p. 1.

view to liberate them from domestic constraints in Madras Presidency. The missionaries had adopted new educational norms for women, particularly the oppressed and down-trodden to address questions of the customs of early marriage, widow remarriage, women domestic seclusion and so on. The missionary efforts to establish schools for girls, with partial financial assistance from the government attracted a great deal of resistance from the privileged sections of the society, making a new era in the annals of history of women's education in India.

The colonial Government's utter neglect to establish schools and educate the people, especially women, the missionaries represented by the LMS, particularly the missionary women attempt to start residential schools for girls who were deserted by their parents and society, as orphans, and child-widows received great impetus. These schools were always located in the main compound of the working 'stations' where the missionary resided to teach students without much difficult⁹ and with a fair degree of success too. An attempt to establish technical education, a range of auxiliary institutions such as lace, embroidery and so on so forth became a significant land mark precisely due to the fact that missionaries could run their societies with much less economic capital at their disposal. The way in which missionaries tried to introduce various economic measures to uplift their followers and adherents not only opened up new vistas to have a better and dignified livelihood but also created a space wherein missionaries felt that they could run their agency without much support from their parental countries as they got self sustainable economic benefits out of their technical schools and lace industries. It is to be underlined that the economic resources which they had at their disposal and benefits achieved by the students of these institutions were used for better infrastructure and establishment purposes.

The struggle for freedom from slavery through education instilled a new consciousness among the missionary educated masses, especially the women, who had been subjugated for ages, got valid and vibrant knowledge to protest against the tyranny of the upper castes. The LMS missionaries' unflagging commitment for the abolition of 'slavery'

9 Haggis, *Ironies of Emancipation*, p. 113.

famed them the real ‘champions’ of the slaves and untouchables. The slaves, who were compelled to serve ‘*oolium*’ or free labour extracted by the upper castes, who were privileged ‘to sell him or kill him’ according to the transfer deed. The slavery-ridden Travancore society of the nineteenth century underwent cataclysmic changes towards modernization. In consequence to this educational empowerment in South Travancore, the underprivileged and depressed sections of the society began to voice issues of their social disabilities and discrimination, which they had suffered for generations.

The untouchability, unseeability and unapproachability, as an accident of birth, that continued, stigmatized and ostracized millions of people under subjugation in a caste-ridden system under the aegis of caste hierarchy in India.¹⁰ The caste discrimination was seemed to be not merely social evils but economic deprivations and political ostracisations. The missionaries took notice of the socio-economic conditions of these slaves and depressed classes, which had been most humiliating, and came out with some self supporting programmes to improve their moral and social standing through education. These missionaries had been hailed as messiahs of modern education, left their imprint as custodians of social justice, spokesmen of modernities and the best equipped to train reformers for later generations as leaders.

The missionaries initiated attempts including writing memorandums and approaching the officials of the British government and the Native Kingdoms, through the British Resident for the rights of the untouchables to use the public roads, entry into the government schools, to approach police stations and courts, helping the downtrodden to get proper wages of all types of works, to use umbrellas and other common equipments for personal use, to construct homes according to their choices, so on and so forth- the law became common to everybody irrespective of their social standing. The equality, justice and dignity of the individual were guarded in a better way by these pioneers than never before in the history of India.

In fact, depressed classes such as Nadars, as palmyra tappers, had to undergo severe

10 Pandian, *Caste in Tamil Nadu*; Deliege, *The Untouchables of India*.

impingement during the early part of nineteenth century, and they had to undergo many challenges as their women-folk could not dress modestly for centuries. This ‘unnoticed’ custom of not permitting the women of lower strata of society to cover their bosoms which was evidently the handiwork of a ‘degenerate,’ ‘pleasure-loving licentious feudal’ caste culture indicates the low state of morality and culture. It can be argued that missionary education empowered women community in general and Nadar women in particular with special reference to the ‘breast-cloth controversy.’ It was Nadar women’s ‘French model protest’ against this alleged social evil finally gave a death-knell to this practice.

Missionary movement, philanthropy and patriotism, united in urging the claims of the noble enterprise of medical mission even though the missionaries were not able to learn the importance of the indigenous medical system. The benefits of the Neyyoor medical school and hospital of the LMS medical mission were later on utilised by both Travancore government and missionaries and acknowledged that ‘the death rate of the surgical cases was substantially less than it was in the large hospitals in London and in the Presidency towns in India.’ The success of the medical mission, at times, silenced the ‘vaidyars’ or ‘native doctors,’ some of whom, identified to be ‘quacks,’ who maltreated the patients and aggravated the diseases quite often because of their lack of physiological knowledge. The admittance of the ‘untouchables,’ who were denied the facilities for long by the government authorities, were treated in these mission hospitals, almost free of cost and the only available mode of affordable treatment for large sections of the society.

The missionaries made an indelible imprint in the history of Indian education, by establishing schools and other institutions for the first time in the history of Indian educational historiography. The advent of English education and the missionary efforts of vernacular schools remodeled on the conventional methods of teaching throughout the colonial India, particularly in the Madras Presidency was highly commendable and deeply acknowledged by the corpus of literary investigation.

The way in which mass education was carried out by the LMS missionaries, during the

early part of the nineteenth century by establishing adult schools, evening schools, week-end schools, Sunday schools, and schools for the plantation and other workers in many parts of Madras Presidency, undoubtedly and undeniably made the missionaries pioneers to educate the unlettered masses. The missionary intervention for the setting up of printing press, printing and publication of books, scheming schools and classes of various levels, urged the public not only to send their children to the missionary schools but also to adhere to the educational principles to the best possible level. This attempt attracted a great deal of students from different walks of life making a larger implication on the idea of mass education as a workable model to be followed by both government and other social reformers in India in general and Madras Presidency in particular.

The research shows a highly accomplished attitude of the missionaries, particularly from the LMS, who initiated new methods of writing the text books for the neo-literates at various levels in accordance with their age and level of understanding. The writing and publication of these books, particularly the books in vernaculars led to the learners to stimulate and emulate to change their way of thinking and reach the advanced level of comprehending new ideas in a meaningful way. It was an eye-opening for these lower castes to be bestowed to get the new primers and notes, hand-written and printed in their own arms, which was taboo to them for long centuries. These initiatives heralded new avenues in the annals of the history of lower castes, particularly women in Madras Presidency.

The missionaries were also in the fore front of establishing higher educational institutions for the general public. The colleges set up by missionary societies were among the first to disseminate modern ideas of education in India. Despite the fact that missionaries were able to generate a considerable amount of resources from overseas, missionary colleges could receive a very great 'assistance' and 'encouragement' from the Maharaja's Government. The higher education of the middle and lower classes is very largely due to missionary institutions, where there was a possibility of the non-Brahmin competing on equal terms with the Brahmin in the higher educational institutions run by missionaries. The missionary way of representing the underprivileged masses for the

educational opportunities underwent a transition and transformation in India, when there was a broadening access to higher education. A significant landmark development in the field of higher education in South Travancore was said to have happened largely after the establishment of Nagercoil Seminary and Central English School, which was later transformed in to present day very renowned institution called Scott Christian College.

The work that is done in the missionary institutions is playing a great part in the achievement of the great mass movements among the depressed classes and their search and quest for knowledge through modern secular education inherited through the LMS missionaries, not only provided moral and material benefits to their families by occupying higher echelons in the governmental positions but also enabled them to revitalize their 'thirst for liberation' from the oppressive and inhuman caste hierarchy.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

Missionary Sources

United Theological College – Church History Archives and Library, Bangalore

London Missionary Society Reports & Missionary Records

Reports of the Directors of the LMS submitted in the Annual General Body Meeting (AGM) held in the second week of May every year since 1796 (the entire reports are with School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), London.

Ringeltaube's letter to his friend in London, requesting him to influence the Directors for sending £ 100 for the purpose of constructing the church and school buildings, Palamcottah, 1806.

Ringeltaube's letter to the Directors (1809) of LMS, London, after establishing the English school at Mayiladi. Extract of the letter is cited in Robert Caldwell, *Records of the Early History of Tinnevely*, Madras, 1881, pp. 138-139.

David Bogue, *A Sermon on the Death of the Reverend George Cran, Augustus Desgranges and Jonathan Brain, Missionaries in India from London Missionary Society (1811)*, preached at Gosport, 17 March, 1811, American Edition, Boston.

Ringeltaube's letters to his sister Redeppening, living in Stettin, stating his work in South Travancore, 1812.

Ringeltaube's mission reports to the Directors in London, 1812-1815, LMS Directors' Annual Reports, 1813, 1814 & 1815.

LMS Directors' Annual Report 1816, London.

Letter of the LMS missionary William Reeve, Dated February 13, 1818 from Bellary Mission House to the Secretary of the LMS in London, *LMS Directors' Annual Report 1818*, London.

LMS Directors' Annual Report 1819, London.

LMS Directors' Annual Report 1821, London.

LMS Directors' Annual Report, Appendix, no. X, 1822, London.

LMS Directors' Annual Report 1823, London.

Letter of John Hands & William Reeve, Missionaries to A.D. Campbell, Collector of Bellary (undated), *LMS Report, 1824*, Appendix, A, pp. 137-141.

LMS Directors' Annual Report 1824, London.

LMS Directors' Annual Report 1825, London.

LMS Directors' Annual Report 1833, London.

Reid, John, *Memoir of the late Rev. John Reid of Bellary*, Jackson & Walford, London, 1845.

London Missionary Society Travancore District Committee Annual Report, 1860.

Annual Report of the Travancore District Committee, LMS, South Travancore, 1861, LMS Press, Nagercoil, 1862.

London Missionary Society Travancore District Committee Annual Report, 1862.

LMS Directors' Annual Report 1870, London.

LMS Directors' Annual Report 1894, London.

LMS Directors' Report, 1896, London.

LMS Report of the Nagercoil Mission, South Travancore for the year 1895, Madras, Addison & Co., Mount Road, 1896.

LMS Directors' Annual Report 1897, London.

LMS Directors' Annual Report 1898, London.

LMS Directors' Annual Report 1903, London.

LMS Directors' Annual Report 1904, London.

LMS Directors' Annual Report 1906, London.

LMS Directors' Annual Report 1907, London.

LMS Directors' Annual Report 1908, London.

Report of Ten Years Work in connection with the South Travancore Medical Mission of the LMS for the Years 1901-1910, LMS Press, Nagercoil, 1910.

LMS Missionary Records (Secondary)

LMS Directors' Annual Report 1909, London.

LMS Directors' Annual Report 1910, London.

Report of Ten Years Work in connection with the South Travancore Medical Mission of the LMS for the Years 1901-1910, Including the Annual Report for 1910, London Missionary Press, Nagercoil, 1910.

LMS Directors' Annual Report 1911, London.

LMS Directors' Annual Report 1912, London.

South Travancore Medical Mission, Annual Report for the Year 1913, LMS, London Mission Press, Nagercoil, 1913.

LMS Directors' Annual Report 1914, London.

LMS Directors' Annual Report 1915, London.

LMS Directors' Annual Report 1922, London.

LMS Report on the Institutional Work, Industries and Properties under the Supervision of the Mission Council, LMS Press, Nagercoil, 1922.

LMS Directors' Annual Report 1923, London.

LMS Directors' Annual Report 1926, London.

LMS Travancore Mission Council Report 1926, LMS Press, Nagercoil.

LMS Directors' Annual Report 1927, London.

LMS Travancore Mission Council, Select Minutes, 1922-1926, London Mission Press, Nagercoil, 1928.

LMS Directors' Annual Report 1930, London.

Minutes of the Education Committee, Travancore Mission Council, London Mission Society, Nagercoil, 25 July 1930, LMS Press, Nagercoil, 1930, Appendix- VI.

LMS Directors' Annual Report 1932, London.

Scott Christian College Magazine 1979-1980, Nagercoil, 1980.

Other Missionary Societies, Archival Reports and Sources

CMS Missionary Register 1823, London.

CMS Missionary Register, February 1825, Madras.

Edmund Crisp, 'London Missionary Society, 1805,' in *CMS Missionary Register*, Madras, 1825.

Edmund Crisp, 'London Missionary Society 1805,' in *CMS Missionary Register*, Madras, 1825.

Church Missionary Society, Nineteenth Report, London, 1818-1819, pp. 137-145.

CMS Missionary Register, February, Madras, 1825.

Evangelical Magazine, November, 1826.

Madras Church Missionary Record, vol. 1, no. 9, December, 1830.

Letter of Martha Mault addressed to a friend at St. Neots, Huntingdonshire, *Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle*, vol. XI, New Series, 1831.

Madras Church Missionary Record, South India Mission, Madras, 1835.

Madras Missionary Chronicle, vol. V, Madras, 1841.

Madras Church Missionary Record, 1845, Madras.

Report of the South India Missionary Conference May 1858, held at Ootacamund, printed by D.P.L.C. Conner at the press of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, Madras, 1858.

Report of the Conference on Missions held in 1860 at Liverpool, James Nisbet & Co., London, 1860.

The Harvest Field, August, 1866.

The Editor, 'National Education and Christian Missions in India' *The Harvest Field*, August, 1866.

Christian Work: The News of the Churches, vol. I, *Magazine of Religious and Missionary Information*, S.W. Partridge and Co, London, 1867.

The Missionary Magazine, pub. by the American Baptist Missionary Union, vol. LI, Boston, 1871.

Madras Church Missionary Record, October-December, 1875.

The Harvest Field, October, 1892.

The Harvest Field, 'A New Treatment for Cholera,' July, 1895.

Report of the Ecumenical Missionary Conference on Foreign Missions, New York, 1900, Vol. II, *Religious Tract Society*, New York & London, 1900.

Statistical Summary of Foreign Missions Throughout the World, Ecumenical Missionary Conference New York, 1900, vol. II, American Tract Society, New York, 1900.

Thoburn, Isabella, 'The Power of Educated Womanhood' in *Report of the Ecumenical Missionary Conference on Foreign Missions, New York, 1900*, vol. II, Religious Tract Society, New York & London, 1900.

Davis, Margaret C., 'Aim of Manual Training' in *Report of the Ecumenical Missionary Conference on Foreign Missions, New York, 1900*, vol. II, Religious Tract Society, New York & London, 1900, pp. 181-182.

Armstrong, Samuel T., *The Missionary Herald*, vol. 103, American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions, 1907.

C. I. D. reports on political activities in the Madras Presidency during the Swadeshi Movement, 1905-1911. TNA, Madras, 1912.

Government Sources

Tamil Nadu State Archives and Library, Chennai

G. O. No. 33, Education, Home Department Files, January 25, 1899, TNA, Madras, n.p.

Minute by Warren Hastings, Government of India, Fort William, Calcutta, Dated: 17 April 1781.

Application of the Directors of the London Missionary Society to the East India Company officials at Madras that all letters on the business of the Society may pass free of postage, Public Consultation 554-555, Despatches 43 & 44, Dated: 16 October, 1827.

Munro's Minute, 1822-1826, Government of Madras, Madras, 1828.

Selections from Educational Records, Government of India, Calcutta, 1828-1856.

Letter of R. B. Howell, Assistant Secretary and N. I. Rowlandson, Secretary, Government of Madras, to the Chief Secretary on the status of government schools, dated 18 August, 1836, Public Consultation, File. No. 5, 1840, pp. 459-475.

Despatches No. 49 of 1854 from the Court of Directors of the East India Company, and No. 4 of 1859 from the Secretary of State for India, to the Government of India on the Education of India, House of Commons, London, 1854-1859.

Reports of Public Department, Department of Home, Department of Public Instruction, Press Clippings etc.

The Records of the Madras Government, no. XLIV, *Report on Public Instruction for 1856-57*, Madras, Public Instruction Press, Madras, 1857.

Report of Census of Education in Madras Presidency, Government of India, Calcutta, Public Instruction Report, 1857-1858, Madras, 1858.

Mac Lean, C.D., *Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency: In Illustration of the Government*, Government of Madras, Government Press, Madras, 1885, vols. I-III.

Report of the Administration of the Madras Presidency, During the Year 1896-97, Education, Government Press, Madras, 1897.

Reports on public instruction in Madras for 1901-02 and for the Quinquennium 1897-8 to 1901-02, vol. II, Table II, TNA, Chennai.

C.I.D. Report on the scare of a seditious rising against Europeans in Coimbatore and the alleged manufacture of bombs by the Swadeshi, File no. 4, Madras, 1905.

Kerala Council for Historical Research, Thiruvananthapuram

Travancore District Committee Papers (English)

Travancore Administration Report, 1865-1866.

Order from Col. John Munro, Resident Dewan to the *Sarvadicariacarars* of Trivandrum and Neyyattinkarai Taluk, dated 19 Dhanoo 988 (M. E.), 1812, English Records.

Letter from Rev. John Lowe, LMS Missionary, Neyyoor, to T. Madhava Row, Dewan of Travancore, dated: 22-9-1865, cover file, English Records.

Letter from Rev. Baylis to T. Madhava Row, Dewan of Travancore, dated: 26-9-1865, cover file, English Records.

Other Archives and Libraries Visited

National Archives of India, New Delhi

Serampore Seminary and Archives, Serampore, Kolkata

Gurukul Theological College and Research Institute and Lutheran Archives, Chennai

Tamil Nadu Theological College, Madurai, Tamil Nadu

Stephen Neill Library and Research Centre, Palayamkottai, Tamil Nadu

Vidya Jyoti Archives and Seminary, New Delhi

Yale Divinity School Library, New Haven, USA.

Books - Primary

Abbs, John, *Twenty-two Years Missionary Experience in Travancore*, London, John Snow & Co., 1870.

Agur, C. M. *Church History of Travancore*, S.P.S. Press, Madras, 1903.

Aiya, Nagam, *The Travancore State Manual*, vols. I-III, Government Press, Trivandrum, 1903-1906.

Bell, Andrew, *Instructions for conducting a School, through the Agency of the Scholars themselves: Comprising the Analysis of an Experiment in Education, made at the Male Asylum, Madras, 1789-1796*, London, 1813.

Brainwood, John, *True York Fellows in the Mission Field: The Life and Labours of John Anderson and Robert Johnston*, London, 1862.

Buchanan, Claudius, *The Star in the East: A Sermon*, Williams & Whiting, New York, 1809.

_____, Claudius, *Christian Researches in Asia*, published by Richard Scott, New York, 1812.

Buchanan, Francis, *A Journey from Madras through the Countries of Mysore, Kanara and Malabar*, vol. I, T. Cadell and W. Davies, London, 1807.

Caldwell, Robert, *The Tinnevelly Shanars*, Madras. 1849.

_____, *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages*, Madras, 1856.

_____, Robert, *Lectures on the Tinnevelly Missions, Descriptive of the Field, the work and the results*, Bell & Daldy, London, 1857.

_____, Robert, *A Political and General History of Tinnevelly in the Presidency of Madras from the Earliest period to its cession to the English Government in A.D. 1801*, Madras Government Press, 1881.

Campbell, Donald, *A Journey over land to India, Partly by a route never gone before by any European*, London, T.N. Longman, 1796.

Capper, John, *The Three Presidencies of India: A History of the Rise and Progress of the British Indian Possessions from the Earliest Records to the Present Time*, Ingram, Cooke and Co., London, 1853.

Carmichael, Amy W., *Things As They Are: Mission Work in Southern India*, Morgan and Scott Ltd., London, 1903.

Chapman, Priscilla, *Hindu Female Education*, R.B. Seelay and W. Burnside, London, 1839.

Cullan, A.H., *Blazing the Trail: Some LMS Pioneers of 1816*, London Missionary Society, London, 1904.

Dennis, James S., *Christian Missions and Social Progress: A Sociological Study of Foreign Missions*, Fleming R. Revell Company, London, 1906.

Duthie, James, *London Missionary Society: Scott Christian College*, LMS Press, Nagercoil, 1899.

Ellis, William, *History of London Missionary Society*, John Snow & Co., London, 1841.

Fenger, J. Ferd, *History of the Tranquebar Mission*, Evangelical Lutheran Press, Tranquebar, 1863.

- Gracey, John Talbot, *A Manual of Modern Missions*, Revell, London, 1889.
- Gleig, G. R., *The Life of Major-General Sir Thomas Munro, Late Governor of Madras: With Extracts from his Correspondence and Private Papers, vols. I & II*, Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, London, 1830.
- Hacker, I. H., *Memoirs of Thomas Smith Thomson: Medical Missionary at Neyyoor, Travancore, South India*, The Religious Tract Society, London, 1887.
- _____, *A Hundred Years in Travancore 1806-1906: A History and description of the Work done by LMS in Travancore*, H.R. Allenson Ltd., London, 1908.
- Holmes, T. W., *Ringletaube: Pioneer Missionary to India*, London, 1900.
- Horne, C S, *The Story of the LMS*, London, 1895.
- Hough, James, *History of Christianity in India*, vols. I-V, London, 1839-1860.
- Hutten, W. H, *Indian Rulers*, Oxford University Press, 1897.
- Kaye, John William, *Christianity in India*, London, 1859.
- Lancaster, Joseph, *A Vindication of Mr. Lancaster's System of Education by a member of the Royal Institution*, London, 1812.
- Logan, William, *Malabar Manual*, vol. I, Government Press, Madras, 1887.
- Love, Henry Davison, *Vestiges of Old Madras*, John Murray, London, 1903.
- Lovett, Richard, *The History of the London Missionary Society 1795-1895*, Oxford University Press, London, 1899.
- Lowe, John, *Medical Missions: Their Place and Power*, F.H. Revell Co., London, 1892.
- Mac Lean, C.D., *Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency: In Illustration of the Government, vols. I-III*, Government of Madras, Government Press, Madras, 1885.
- Mahmood, Syed., *A History of English Education in India (1781-1893)*, Idarah I Ababiyati-I, Delhi, 1895.
- Mateer, Samuel, *The Land of Charity: Travancore and its People with reference to Missionary Labour*, London, 1871.

_____, *Native Life in Travancore*, London, 1884.

Mill, James Stuart, *History of British India*, London, 1825.

Montgomery, James, *Voyages and Travels Round the World by the Rev. Daniel Tyerman and George Bennet, Esq, Deputed from the London Missionary Society to visit the various Stations in the South Sea Islands, Australia, China, India, Madagascar and South Africa between the years 1821 and 1829*, John Snow & Co, London, 1841.

Morrison, J., *The Fathers and Founders of the London Missionary Society*, London, 1839.

Mullens, Joseph, *Missions in South India*, W.H. Dalton and Co., London, 1854.

_____, *A Brief Review of Ten Years of Missionary Labour in South India: Between 1852 and 1861*, James Nisbet and Co., London, 1863.

Murdoch, John, *Education as a Missionary Agency in India. A Letter to the Church Missionary Society*, Caleb Foster, Madras, 1872.

_____, John, *Indian Teacher's Manual*, The Christian Vernacular Education Society, Madras, 1885.

Nelson, Henry Addison, and Albert B. Robinson (eds), *The Church at Home and Abroad, vol. 19*, Presbyterian Church in the USA, 1896, pp. 522-526.

Penny, Frank, *The Church in Madras, vol. I*, London, 1903.

Pillai, C. Parameswaran, *Representative Men of South India*, Madras, 1896.

Raghavaiyengar, S. Srinivasa., *Memorandum of the Progress of the Madras Presidency During the Last Forty Years of British Administration*, Madras, 1893, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1988.

Rao, Rajah Rama, *Ramnad Manuel*, Madras, 1889.

Reid, John, *Memoir of the late Rev. John Reid of Bellary*, Jackson & Walford, London & Gloscow, 1845.

Richter, Julius, *History of Protestant Missions in India*, Oliphant Anderson & Ferrier, Edinburgh, 1908.

Robinson, William, *Ringeltaube, the Rishi*, Sheffield, Sheffield Independent Press, 1908.

Satakopachari, *The Educational Policy of the State in India*, Satakopachari & Co., Madras, 1904.

Sathianadhan, S., *History of Education in the Madras Presidency*, Srinivasa, Varadachari & Co., Bombay, 1894.

Schultze, Benjamin, *Notices of Madras and Cuddalore*, Longman and Co., Madras, 1858.

Sharrock, J.A., *South India Missions*, Society for the propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, Westminster, United Kingdom, 1908.

Sherring, M A, *The History of Protestant Missions in India*, The Religious Tract Society, London, 1884.

Smith, Sydney, *The Works of the Reverend Sydney Smith*, John Snow & Co., London, 1839.

Stock, Eugene. *The History of Church Missionary Society*, vol. II, Church Missionary Society, Salisbury Square, London, 1899.

Thoburn, J.M., *My Missionary Apprenticeship*, Phillips and Hunt, New York, 1886.

Thoburn, J.M., *Life of Isabella Thoburn*, Eaton and Mains, New York, 1903.

Timpson, Thomas, (ed.) *Memoirs of British Female Missionaries: With a Survey of the Condition of Women in Heathen Countries*, William Smith and Co., London, 1841.

Venn, Henry, *The Missionary Life and Labours of Francis Xavier: Taken from his own Correspondence*, Longman, Roberts & Green, London, 1862.

Wyatt, J. L., *Reminiscences of Bishop Caldwell*, Addison and Co., Madras, 1894.

Zachariah, Samuel, *The London Missionary Society in South Travancore (1805-1855)*, LMS Press, Nagercoil, 1897.

Zachariah, Samuel, *A Brief History of the Church in South Travancore*, vols. I-III, LMS Press, Nagercoil, 1906.

Articles - Primary

Allnut, S.S., 'The Present Needs of Christian Educational Enterprise in India,' *The Harvest Field*, March 1895, Wesleyan Mission Press, Mysore, 1895, pp. 82-85.

Andrew, A., 'Panchamas and Education,' *The Harvest Field*, June, 1895, pp. 228-231.

Armstrong, Samuel T., 'The Missionaries,' *The Missionary Herald*, vol. 103, American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions, Boston, 1907, p. 175.

Barber, W.T.A., 'The Place of Education in Foreign Missions' in *Report of the Ecumenical Missionary Conference on Foreign Missions*, held in New York, 1900, vol. II, Religious Tract Society, New York & London, 1900.

Bennyson, J.S., *The Harvest Field*, August, 1862, p. 220.

Christian Work; The News of the Churches, vol. I, Magazine of Religious and Missionary Information, S.W. Partridge & Co, London, 1867.

Christian Work: The News of the Churches, New Series, vol. IV, 1870, Magazine of Religious and Missionary Information, S. W. Partidge and Co., London, 1870.

Dennis, James S., Statistical Summary of Foreign Missions Throughout the World, *Ecumenical Missionary Conference New York, 1900*, vol. II, American Tract Society, New York, 1900, pp. 424-433.

Fordyce, James J., 'Female Education in the East,' in the *Report of the Conference on Missions held in 1860 at Liverpool*, James Nisbet and Company, London, 1860.

Gostling, Sarah S, 'Education in India: 'Why it takes more to cure a European of ignorance than it does a Native', *LSE Selected Pamphlets*, 1885, pp. 2-6.

Gould, William, 'How the Pariahs are Oppressed?' *The Harvest Field*, July 1895.

Grace, Watson, 'Industrial Education' in *Report of the Ecumenical Missionary Conference on Foreign Missions*, vol. II, New York, 1900.

Grant, Charles, '*Observations on the state of society among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain, particularly with respects to morals; and on the means of improve it*,' London, 1792.

Hume, R.A., 'India at the Parliament of Religions,' *The Harvest Field*, May, 1895.

Hudson, J., 'Dr. Miller's Lecture,' *The Harvest Field*, June, 1895.

Madras Mail: 9 January, 1869; 6 September, 1871; 11 June, 1870; 7 June, 1870; 12 June, 1873.

Mateer, Samuel, 'The History of Travancore,' *The Indian Evangelical Review*, April, 1881, pp. 439-443.

_____, William, 'Where the Peacocks Dance – The Story of Maharasan,' *The Chronicle of the LMS*, May, 1903.

McMurry, Frank Morton, 'Controlling Ideas in Curricula' in *Report of the Ecumenical Missionary Conference on Foreign Missions, New York, 1900*.

Sathianadhan, S. 'Missionary Work in India,' *The Harvest Field*, May 1887.

Thomson, Miss., 'The Importance of Female Agency in Evangelizing Pagan Nations' in Thomas Timpson (ed.) *Memoirs of British Female Missionaries: With a Survey of the Condition of Women in Heathen Countries*, William Smith and Co., London, 1841.

Walker. 'The Tinnevelly Mission,' *The Harvest Field*, October, 1892.

Washburn, George, 'The Christian College' in *Report of the Ecumenical Missionary Conference on Foreign Missions, held in New York, 1900*, Vol. II, Religious Tract Society, New York & London, 1900.

Whitehead, Henry, 'The Future of Christianity of India,' NDM, I, II, November, 1906.

Wilkie, John, in Report of the Ecumenical Missionary Conference on Foreign Missions, held in New York, 1900, Vol. II, *Religious Tract Society*, New York & London, 1900.

SECONDARY SOURCES

Books

Arnold, David, (ed.), *Imperial Medicine and Indigenous Societies*, Manchester University Press, Oxford, 1988.

_____, *Colonizing the Body: State Medicine and Epidemic Diseases in Nineteenth Century India*, California University Press, Berkeley, 1993.

Aslam, Mohamad, *English Language Teaching in India*, Foundation Books, New Delhi, 2003.

Baird, Robert, *Category Formation and History of Religion*, Mouton, Paris, 1971.

Balfour, Margaret I., *The Work of Medical Women in India*, Oxford University

Press, 1929.

Bannerjea, Devendra Nath, *The Indian Nation Builders*, Mittal Publications, New Delhi, 1977.

Basu, Aparna, *The Growth of Education and Political Development in India, 1898-1920*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1974.

_____, *Colonial Education: A Comparative Approach.*, Presidential Address, Indian History Congress, Gorakhpur, 1979.

Basu, Anathnath, *University Education in India: Past and Present*, Swinburne Press, New Delhi, 1941.

Basu, Raj Sekhar, *Nandanar's Children: The Paraiyan's Tryst with Destiny, Tamil Nadu 1850-1956*, Sage, New Delhi, 2011.

Bauman, Chad M., *Christian Identity and Dalit Religion in Hindu India, 1868-1947*, Studies in the History of Christian Missions, William Eerdmans Publishing, Michigan/Cambridge, 2008.

Bayly, Susan, *Saints, Goddesses and Kings: Muslims and Christians in South Indian Society 1700-1900*, Cambridge University Press, London, 1989.

Beidelman, T.O., *Colonial Evangelism: A Socio-Historical study of an East African Mission at the Grassroots*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1982.

Bellenoit, Hayden J. A., *Missionary Education and Empire in Late Colonial India, 1860-1920*, Pickering and Chatto, London, 2007.

Bhattacharya, Sabyasachi, Joseph Bara, Chinna Rao Yagati (eds), *Educating the Nation: Documents on the Discourse of National Education in India, 1880-1920*, Kanishka Publishers in association with Educational Records Research Unit, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, 2003.

_____, S, *Education and the Disprivileged*, Orient Blackswan, New Delhi, 2002.

Bickers, Robert A., & Rosemary Seton (eds), *Missionary Encounters: Sources and Issues*, Curzon, Surrey, 1996.

Blackburn, Stuart, *Print, Folklore and Nationalism in Colonial South India*, Permanent Black, New Delhi, 2003.

Boyd, R. H. S., *A Church History of Gujarat*, The Christian Literature Society, Madras, 1981.

Brockway, K. Nora, *A Larger Way for Women: Aspects of Christian Education for Girls in South India, 1712-1948*, Madras, 1949.

Brockway, K. Nora, *Unfinished Pilgrimage: The Story of some South Indian Schools*, St. Christopher's Training College Golden Jubilee Volume, 1923-1973, Christian Literature Society, Madras, 1973.

Brown, Judith M., and Robert Eric Frykenberg (eds), *Christians, Cultural Interactions, and India's Religious Traditions*, William B. Eerdmans, Cambridge, London, 2002.

Brown, Leslie, *The Indian Christians of St. Thomas – An Account of the Ancient Syrian Church of Malabar*, Cambridge University Press, 1982.

Buckland, C.E., *Dictionary of Indian Biography*, Cosmo Publications, New Delhi, 1999.

Bugge, Henriette, *Mission and Tamil Society: Social and Religious Change in South India (1840- 1900)*, Curzon Press, Surrey, 1994.

Campbell, Carl C., *The Young Colonials: A Social History of Education in Trinidad and Tobago, 1834-1939*, University of West Indies Press, 1996.

Canagarajah, A. Suresh, *Resisting Linguistic Imperial Nationalism in English Teaching*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1999.

Carnoy, Martin, *Education as Cultural Imperialism*, David McKay Company, New York, 1967.

Chandra, Bipan, *History of Modern India*, Orient Blackswam, New Delhi, 1971.

Chakravarti, Uma, *Rewriting History: The Life and Times of Pandita Ramabai*, Zubaan, New Delhi, 2006.

Chaudhri, Nupur, Margaret Strobel (eds), *Western Women and Imperialism*, Indiana University Press, USA, 1992.

Choa, G.H., *"Heal the Sick" was their motto: The Protestant Missionaries in China*, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1990.

Clark, Alden H., *India on the March*, Missionary Education Movement of the United States and Canada New York, 1922.

Cohn, Bernard S., *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge: British in India*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1997.

Christudas, D., *Tranquebar to Travancore*, Indian Society for the Promoting Christian Knowledge, New Delhi, 2008.

Cleall, Esme, *Missionary Discourse of Difference: Negotiating Otherness in the British Empire, 1840-1900*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2012, p. 88.

Copley, Antony, *Religions in Conflict: Ideology, Cultural Contact and Conversion in Late Colonial India*, Oxford University Press, 1999.

Cox, Jeffrey, *Imperial Fault Lines: Christianity and Colonial Power in India, 1818-1940*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, California, 2002.

Cullen A. H., *Blazing the Trail: Some LMS Pioneers of 1816*, London, 1916.

Daniel, M. D., *Autobiography*, Alexandra Publishers, Nagercoil, 2010.

Das, Santhosh Kumar, *The Educational System of the Ancient Hindus*, Calcutta, 1933.

Davis, R.W., and R.J. Helmstadter (eds) *Religion and Irreligion in Victorian Society: Essays in honour of R.K. Webb*, Routledge, London, 1991.

Dederling, Tilman, *Hate the Old and Follow the New: Khoekhoe and Missionaries in Early Nineteenth Century Namibia*, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart, 1997, pp. 87-90.

Deliege, Robert, *The Untouchables of India*, Berg Publishers, Oxford, 1999.

Dharampal, *The Beautiful Tree: Indigenous Indian Education in the Eighteenth Century*, Biblia Impex Private Limited, New Delhi, 1983.

Dhas, Martin Daniel, *Missionary Medical Work in Travancore*, The South India Press, Marthandam, 1981.

Dick, Lois Hoadley, *Amy Carmichael: Let the Children Come*, Moody Publishers, Chicago, 1984.

Dirks, Nicholas B., *Castes of Mind: Colonialism and the Making of Modern India*. Delhi: Permanent Black, 2001.

Doren, Alice B. Van, *Christian High Schools in India: Being the Report of a Survey conducted on behalf of the National Christian Council of India, Burma and Ceylon*, YMCA Publication House, Calcutta, 1936.

Dowley, Tim, *Eerdman's handbook to The History of Christianity*, Eerdman's

Publishing Company, Michigan, 1977.

Dreze, Jean & Amarty Sen (eds), *Indian Development: Selected Regional Perspectives*, World Institute for Development Economics Research, Clarendons, Oxford University Press, 1996.

Dunston, Leslie L., *Protestantism*. London: Prentice-Hall International, 1961.

Durkheim, Emile, *Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, Free Press, New York, 1965.

Elankath, K.R., *Dewan Nanoo Pillai: Biography with Selected writings and Letters*, Trivandrum, 1974.

Elliot-Binns, L. E, *Religion in the Victorian Era*, Lutterworth Press, London, 1946.

Ferre, Nels F. S., *Christian Faith and Higher Education*, Harper & Brothers Publishers, New York, 1954.

Fisher-Tine, Herald, Michael Mann (eds), *Colonialism as Civilizing Mission: Cultural Ideology in British India*, Wimbledon Publishing Company, London, 2004.

Flemming, Leslie A., (ed.), *Women's Work for Women: Missionaries and Social Change in Asia*, Westview Press, London, 1990.

Etherington, Norman, (ed.), *Missions and Empire*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2005.

Forbes, Geraldine, *Women in Modern India*, The New Cambridge History of India, IV. 2, Cambridge University Press, New Delhi, 1996.

Forrester, Duncan B., *Caste and Christianity: Attitudes and Policies on Caste of Anglo-Saxon Protestant Missions in India*, Curzon Press, London, 1980.

Freire, Paulo, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, New Rev. Edn., Penguin Books, London, 1996.

Frykenberg, Robert Eric, *History of Christianity in India: From the Beginning to the Present*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2008.

Gayathri, Radha, *Female Medical Education in Colonial India*, Ajanta Press, New Delhi, 2008.

Ghosh, S. C., *The History of Education in Modern India 1757-1998*, Orient Longman, New Delhi, 2000.

Gladstone, J.W., *Protestant Missionary and Peoples Movement in Kerala, 1850-*

1936, *Seminary Publications*, Kerala United Theological Seminary, Trivandrum, 1984.

Gnanadason, Joy, *A Forgotten History: the Story of The Missionary Movement and the Liberation of the People in South Travancore*, Gurukul Theological Research Institute, Madras, 1994.

Golwalkar, M.S., *A Bunch of Thoughts*, Vikrama Prakashan, Bangalore, 1966.

Goodall, Norman, *The History of the London Missionary Society, 1895-1945*, Oxford University Press, London, 1954.

Gore, David, *Solders, Saints and Scallywags: stirring tales from family history*, pub. by author, Oxford, 2009.

Grafe, Hugald, *The History of Christianity in India*, Part IV. Church History Association of India, Bangalore, 1990.

Gross, Andreas et. al., *Halle and the Beginning of Protestant Christianity in India*, vol. I-III, Franckesche Stiftungen, Halle, 2006.

Grafton, Anthony, (eds) *Conversion: Old Worlds and New*, University of Rochester Press, New York, 2003.

Gramsci, Antonio and Joseph A. Buttigieg (ed.), *Prison Notebooks*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1975.

Hardgrave, Robert, *Nadars of Tamil Nadu*, Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1969.

Hardiman, David, *Missionaries and Their Medicine: A Christian Modernity for Tribal India*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2008.

Harper, Susan Billington. *In the Shadow of the Mahatma: Bishop V. S. Azariah and the Travails of Christianity in British India*, William B. Eerdmans and Curzon Press, London, 2000.

Harris, John Charles, *Couriers of Christ: Pioneers of London Missionary Society*, Livingston Press, Westminster, 1931.

Harrison, Mark, *Climates and Constitutions: Health, Race, Environment and British Imperialism in India, 1600-1850*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1999.

Haythornwaite, John Parker, *St Johns College, Agra, 1850-1930*, Revised and completed by T. D. Sully, London, 1932.

Scot M. Manetsch (ed.), *Great Commission: Evangelicals and the History of World Missions*, B & H Publishing Group, Nashville, TN, 2008.

Hudson, D. Dennis, *Protestant Origins in India: Tamil Evangelical Christians 1706-1835*, William Eerdmans Publishing Company, Michigan/Cambridge, 2000.

Ingham, K., *Reformers in India, 1793-1833: An Account of Work of Christian Missionaries on behalf of social reform*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1956.

Ingleby, Jonathan C., *Missionaries, Education and India: Issues in Protestant Missionary Education in the long Nineteenth Century*, ISPCK, New Delhi, 2000.

Jacob, John A., *A History of the LMS in South Travancore 1806-1959*, LMS Press, Nagercoil, 1959.

James, A.T.S., *Twenty-five years of the LMS, 1895-1920*, London Missionary Society, London, 1923.

Jeyaraj, Daniel, *Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg: The First Protestant Missionary to India*, Indian Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, New Delhi, 2006.

Jayawardena, Kumari, *The White Womern's other Burden: Western Women and South Asia during British Rule*, Routledge, New York, 1995.

Johnston, Anna, *Missionary Writing and Empire, 1800-1860*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2003.

Joy, R. J. Hepzi, *History and Development of Education of Women in Kerala, (1819-1947)*, Seminary Publications, KUTS, Thiruvananthapuram, 1995.

Kawashima, Koji, *Missionaries and a Hindu State Travancore 1858-1936* . Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2003.

Kent, Eliza, F., *Converting Women: Gender and Protestant Christianity in Colonial South India*, Oxford University Press, New York, 2004.

King, Richard. *Orientalism and Religion: Post Colonial Theory, India and 'The Mystic East,'* Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1999.

Kooiman, Dick, *Conversion and Social Equality in India: The London Missionary Society in South Travancore in the Nineteenth Century*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1989.

Koschorke, Klaus, Frieder Ludwig, Mariano Delgado (eds), *A History of Christianity in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, 1450-1990: A Documentary Source Book*, William B. Eerdmans Publishing, Michigan/Cambridge, 2007.

Kumar, Deepak, (ed.), *Disease and Medicine in India: A Historical Overview*, Indian History Congress and Tulika Books, New Delhi, 2001.

_____, *Science and the Raj*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2003/2006.

Kumaradoss, Y. Vincent, *Robert Caldwell: A Scholar-Missionary in Colonial South India*, Indian Society for the Promoting Christian Knowledge, New Delhi, 2008.

Kumar, Raj, (ed.), *Essays on Social Reform Movements*, Discovery Publishing House, New Delhi, 2004.

Kuriakose, M. K., *History of Christianity in India: Source Materials*, The Senate of Serampore College, Indian Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, New Delhi, 1999.

Latourette, K. S., *A History of Christianity*, vols. I-VI, New York, 1953.

Lindsay, A. P., *Report of the Commission on Christian Higher Education in India: An Enquiry into the Place of the Christian College in Modern India*, Oxford University Press, London, 1931.

Major, Andrea, *Slavery, Abolitionism and Empire in India, 1772-1843*, Liverpool University Press, Liverpool, 2012.

Mallampalli, Chandra, *Christians and Public Life in Colonial South India, 1863-1937*, Routledge Curzon, London, 2004.

_____, *Race, Religion and Law in Colonial India: Trials of an Interracial Family*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2011.

Mangan, J. A, (ed.) *The Imperial Curriculum: Racial Images and Education in the British Colonial Experience*, Routledge, London, 1993.

Manickam, S, *Studies in Mission History*, The Christian Literature Society, Madras, 1988.

Manshardt, Clifford. *Christianity in a Changing India*, Bombay, 1932.

Mayhew, Arthur, *The Education in India*, Faber & Gwyer, London, 1927.

Mayhew, Arthur, *Christianity and the Government of India*, Faber & Gwyer, London, 1929.

Mayo, Katherine, *Mother India*, Jonathan Cape, London, 1927.

- Mehta, Sushila., *Revolution and Status of Women in India*, New Delhi, 1982.
- Melo, Carlos Mercedes de., *The Recruitment Formation of the Native Clergy in India*, Agentia Geral de Ultramer, Lisbon, 1955.
- Menon, Shangoonny, *Thiruvithamcore Charithram* (English translation: *History of Travancore*), Trivandrum, 1968.
- Menon, A. Sreedhara, *A Survey of Kerala History*, D.C. Books, Kottayam, 1967.
- _____, *Kerala Gazateers*, Government Press, Trivandrum, 1975.
- _____, *Social and Cultural History of Kerala*, Sterling, New Delhi, 1979.
- Merry, Robert W., *Sands of Empire: Missionary Zeal, American Foreign Policy and the Global Ambition*, Simon & Schuster, New York, 2005.
- Metcalf, Thomas R., *Ideologies of the Raj*, Cambridge University Press, 1998/2005.
- Mitra, C.R., *Sree Narayanaguru and Social Revolution*, Mitraji Publications, Shertallai, 1979.
- Morgan, Sue, and Jacqueline deVries (eds), *Women, Gender and Religious Cultures in Britain, 1800-1940*, Routledge, London, 2010.
- Mundadan, J. M., *History of Christianity in India*, vol.1, Church History Association of India, Bangalore, 1989.
- Neelson, John Peter, *Gender, Caste, and Power in South Asia: Social Status and Mobility in a transitional society*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1991.
- Nehru, Jawaharlal, *The Discovery of India*, Calcutta, 1945.
- Neill, Stephen, *A History of Christian Missions*, Cambridge University Press, London, 1964.
- _____, *A History of Christianity in India from the beginning till 1707*, Cambridge University Press, London, 1984.
- _____, *A History of Christianity in India 1707-1858*, Cambridge University Press, London, 1985.
- Neill, Stephen, *Colonialism and Christian Missions*, Lutterworth Press, London, 1966.

- Northcott, Cecil, *Glorious Company: One Hundred and Fifty Years life and work of the London Missionary Society, 1795-1945*, The Livingston Press (L.M.S), London, 1945.
- Nurulla, S, and Naik, J. P., *A History of Education in India*, Macmillan, London/Bombay, 1951.
- Oddie, Geoffrey A., *Social Protest in India: British Protestant Missionaries and Social Reforms 1850-1900*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1979.
- Olcott Mason., *Village Schools in India: An Investigation with suggestions*, Association Press, Calcutta, 1926.
- Pandian, M.S.S., *Brahmin and Non-Brahmin: Genealogies of the Tamil Political Present*, Permanent Black, Ranikhet, 2007.
- Panikkar, K. N., *Colonialism, Culture, and Resistance*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2007.
- Panikkar, R. Narayana, *History of Travancore*, Trivandrum, 1933.
- Paramasivan, Tho., *Indu Desiyam* (English translation: *Hindu Nationalism*), Yadumahi Publications, Tirunelveli, 2009.
- Pate, H.R., *Madras District Gazetteers: Tinnevelly*, Government Press, Madras, 1917.
- Pati, Biswamoy, and Mark Harrison (eds), *Health, Medicine and Empire: Perspectives on Colonial India*, Orient Longman, New Delhi, 2001.
- Pennell, T.L., *Among the Wild Tribes of the Afghan Frontier: A Record of Sixteen Years' Close Intercourse with the Natives of the Indian Marches, with an Introduction by Field-Marshal Earl Roberts*, Seeley & Co., London, 1909.
- Peter, D., and Ivy Peter, *Liberation of the Oppressed: A Continuous Struggle*, Kanyakumari Institute of Development Studies, Nagercoil, 2009.
- Pathak, Sushil Madhav, *American Missionaries and Hinduism*, Munshiram Manoharlal, Delhi, 1967.
- Philips, C. H., (ed.), *The Correspondence of Lord William Cavendish Bentinck: Governor-General of India, 1828-1835*, 2 vols., Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1977.
- Phuley, Jothirao, *Slavery*, Critical Quest, New Delhi, 2008.

Piggin, Stuart, *Making Evangelical Missionaries, 1789-1858: The Social Background, Motives and Training of British Protestant Missionaries to India*, The Sutton Courtenay Press, 1984.

Pillai, Appaswamy A. S., *Fifty Years' Pilgrimage of a Convert*, Church Missionary Society, Salisbury Square, London, 1924.

Pillai, Elamkulam Kunjan, *Keralam Anchum Arum Nootandukalil* (English translation: Kerala in Fifth and Sixth Centuries), Kottayam, 1924.

Pillai, K. K., *A Social History of the Tamils*, University of Madras, Madras 1924.

Pillay, K. K., *A Social History of Tamils*, Part I, University of Madras, 1975.

Porter, Andrew, (ed.), *The Imperial Horizons of British Protestant Missions, 1880-1914*, Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing, Michigan, 2003.

Porter, Roy, (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Science*, vol. 4, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2003.

Raman, Sita Anantha, *Getting Girls to School: Social Reform in Tamil Districts, 1870-1930*, Stree, Calcutta, 1996.

Ramanathan, Malathy, *Sister Subbalakshmi: Social Reformer and Educationist*, Published by Sukumar Damle, Bombay, 1989.

Ramaswamy, Sumathi, *Passions of the Tongue: Language Devotion in Tamil Nadu, 1891-1970*, University of California Press, Los Angeles, 1997.

Ram, Kalpana and Margaret Jolly (eds), *Maternities and Modernities: Colonial and postcolonial experiences in Asia and the Pacific*, Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Rao, Parimala V., *Educate Women and Lose Nationality*, Critical Quest, New Delhi, 2010.

Reddy, S. Muthulakhmi., *Awakening: Demand for Devadasi Legislation*, Madras, 1928.

Report of the Meeting of the Conference of Foreign Mission Boards in Canada and in the United States, 1926, vol. 33, New York, 1926.

Richey, J. A., *Selections from Educational Records (1840-1959)*, Bureau of Education, Government of India, Calcutta, 1922.

Riska, Elianne, and Katrina Wegar (eds), *Gender, Work and Medicine: Women and*

the Medical Division of Labour, Sage Studies in International Sociology, no. 44, Sage, London, 1993.

Robert, Dana L., *American Women in Mission: A Social History of their thought and Practice*, Mercer University Press, Georgia, 1998, p. 166.

Robert, Dana Lee, (ed.), *Converting Colonialism: Visions and Realities in Mission History, 1706-1914*, William Eerdmans Publishing, Cambridge, 2008.

Robinson, Rowena, *Christians of India*, Orient Longman, New Delhi, 2001.

_____ and Joseph Marianus Kujur (eds), *Margins of Faith: Dalit and Tribal Christianity in India*, Sage, New Delhi, 2010.

Rose, Suma, *Polity, Society and Women: with special reference to Travancore, 1700-1900 AD*, Carmel International Publishing House, Trivandrum, 2004.

Said, Edward, *Orientalism*, New York, 1978.

Saradmoni, K., *Emergence of a Slave Caste: Pulayas of Kerala*, Peoples Publishing House, 1980.

Sastri, Nilakanta, K. A., *A History of South India from Prehistoric Times to Vijayanagar*, Oxford University Press, Madras, 1966.

Schurhammer, Georg, *Francis Xavier: His Life, His Times, vol. II*, Jesuit Historical Institute, Rome, 1977.

Semple, Rhonda Anne, *Missionary Women: Gender, Professionalism and the Victorian Idea of Christian Mission*, The Boydell Press, New York, 2003.

Sen, Amartya, 'Introduction' in Jean Dreze & Amartya Sen (eds), *Indian Development: Selected Regional Perspectives*, Oxford University Press, 1996.

Sengupta, Parna, *Pedagogy for Religion: Missionary Education and the Fashioning of Hindus and Muslims in Bengal*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 2011.

Sharma, Raj Bahadur, *Christian Missions in North India*, Mittal Publications, New Delhi, 1998.

Sharp, Henry, *Selections from Educational Records (1781-1839)*, Bureau of Education, Government of India, Calcutta, 1920.

Shenk, Wilbert R., (ed.), *North American Foreign Missions, 1810-1914: Theology, Theory, and Practice*, William Eerdmans Publishing Company, Michigan, 2004.

Shurhammar, Georg, *Francis Xavier; His Life, His Times: India, 1541-1544*, Jesuit Historical Institute, Rome, 1982.

Singh, Brijraj, *The First Protestant Missionary to India: Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1998.

Singh, Hira, *Colonial Hegemony and Popular Resistance: Princes, Peasants, and Paramount Power*, Sage Publications, New Delhi, 1998.

Singh, Maina Chawla, *Gender, Religion, and "Heathen Lands": American Missionary Women in South Asia (1860s-1940s)*, Garland Publishing, Taylor & Francis, New York, 2000.

Srinivas, M.N., *Education and Social Change in India*, Orient Longman, Bombay, 1975.

Stanley, Brian, *Christian Missions and the Enlightenment*, published jointly by William Eerdmans Publishing Co., and Curzon Press Ltd., London, 2001.

_____, *The World Comes to Edinburgh: Images of the Christian and Non-Christian Worlds from Edinburgh, 1910*, Presented at the Towards 2010 Conference, 7 October, 2006.

_____, (ed.), *Missions, Nationalism and the End of Empire*, William Eerdmans Company, Michigan/Cambridge, 2003.

_____, *The Bible and the Flag: Protestant Missions and Imperialism in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, Appollos, Leicester, England, 1990.

Stephen, S. Jayaseela, *Portuguese in the Tamil coast: Historical explorations in commerce and culture, 1507-1749*, Navajothi, Pondicherry, 1998.

Subramanian, A., *Tamizhakathil Adimai Murai* (Eng. Trans: Slavery in Tamil Nadu), Kaalachuvadu, Nagercoil, 2005.

Sugirtharajah, Rasiah S., *The Bible and Empire: Postcolonial Exploration*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2005.

Sukumaran, Elanthottam K., *Enkal Viduthalai Por* (Eng. Tran: *Our Freedom War*), Santhini Pathippagam, Nagercoil, 2011.

Suntharalingam, R., *Politics and Nationalist Awakening in South India 1852-1891*, University of Arizona Press, 1974.

Surhone, Lambert M., Mariam T. Tennoe, Susan F. Henssonow (eds), *Pachaiyappa Mudaliar*, VDM Verlag Dr. Mueller AG & Co, 2010.

Thomas, Abraham Vazhayil, *Christians in Secular India*, Associated University Press, New Jersey, 1974.

Thampi, A. Narayanan, *Census of India, 1941*, vol. XXV, Travancore, Government Press, Trivandrum, 1942.

Thapar, Romila, *Ancient Indian Social History: Some Interpretations*, Orient Longman, New Delhi, 1978.

Thurston, Edgar, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, vols. I-VII, Government Press, Madras, 1909.

Tinker, Hugh, *A New System of Slavery: The Export of Indian Labour Overseas, 1830-1920*, Hansip, London, 1974.

Velupillai, T. K., *The Travancore State Manuel*, vol.III, Government of Travancore, Trivandrum, 1940.

Viswanathan, Gauri, *Mask of Conquest: Literary Study and British Rule in India*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1989.

_____, *Outside the Fold*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1998.

Visvanathan, Susan, *Christians of Kerala: History, Belief and Ritual among the Yakoba*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1999.

Walls, Andrew F., *The Missionary Movement in Christian History*, Orbis Books, New York, 1997.

Warren, Max (ed.), *The Triumph of God - A Series of Essays*. Longmans, London, 1938.

Watts, Sheldon, *Epidemics and History: Disease, Power and Imperialism*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1997.

Whitehead, Clive, *Colonial Educators: The British Indian and Colonial Education Service 1858-1983*, I. B. Tauris & Co Ltd., New York, 2003.

Yesudas, R.N., *A Peoples Revolt in Travancore*, Kerala Historical Society, Thiruvananthapuram, 1975.

_____, *The History of the London Missionary Society in Travancore*, Kerala Historical Society, Thiruvananthapuram, 1980.

Zastoupil, Lynn, Martin Moir (eds), *The Great Education Debate: Documents Related to the Orientalist-Anglicist Controversy, 1781-1843*, Curzon, Richmond,

1999.

Articles

Abraham, Leena, 'Medicine as Culture: Indigenous Medicine in Cosmopolitan Mumbai,' *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol. XLIV, no. 16, April, 18, 2009, pp. 68-75.

Abraham, William J., 'Education, Social Transformation, and Intellectual Virtue,' *Christian Higher Education*, vol. V, no. 1, 2006, pp. 3-16.

Aldrich, Richard, 'Education for Survival: an historical perspective,' *History Education*, vol. 39, no. 1, January, 2010, pp. 1-14.

Aravanan, Thayamma, 'Mahadoo Munnilai,' in *Encyclopedia of Women Poets*, Thayaram, Tiruchi, 2004.

Arnold, David, 'Deathscapes: India in an age of Romanticism and Empire, 1800-1856,' *Nineteenth Century Contexts*, 2004, vol. 26, no. 4, pp. 339-353.

Baker, Archibald G., 'Enlisting the Missionary in Research Work,' *The Journal of Religion*, vol. 4, no. 4, July, 1924, pp. 372-382.

Bara, Joseph, 'Colonialism, Christianity and the Tribes in Chotanagpur in East India, 1845-1890,' *South Asia*, vol. 30, no. 2, August, 2007, pp. 195-222.

Barton, James L., 'The Modern Missionary,' *The Harvard Theological Review*, vol. 8, no. 1, January, 1915, pp. 1-17.

Baru, Rama, 'Missionaries in Medical Care,' *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol. 34, no. 9, February, 27-March, 5, 1999, pp. 521-524.

Basu, Aparna, 'Mary Ann Cooke to Mother Teresa: Christian Missionary Women and the Indian Response' in Fiona Bowie *et al* (eds), *Women and Missions: Past and Present, Anthropological and Historical Perspectives*, Berg Publishers, Oxford, 1994.

Basu, Raj Sekhar, 'Medical Missionaries at Work: The Canadian Baptist Missionaries in the Telugu Country, 1870-1952,' in Deepak Kumar (Ed.), *Disease and Medicine in India: A Historical Overview*, Indian History Congress and Tulika Books, New Delhi, 2001, pp. 180-197.

Beaglehole, J. H., 'The Indian Christians - A Study of a Minority,' *Modern Asian Studies*, vol. 1, no. 1, 1967, pp. 1-4.

Besant, Anne, 'Hinduism and Nationality,' *New India*, 9, January, 1915.

Bharati, Subramania, 'Aankila Paashai Indiarkalukku Karpithadin Kaaranam' (English translation: The Reason for Educating Indians in English), *Vijaya*, 22 Feb 1910 in A.R. Venkatachalapathy (ed.), Bharati 'Vijaya' Katturaikal (English translation; Bharati 'Vijaya' Essays, Kaalachuvadu Press, Nagercoil, 2004, p. 135.

Bhaskaran, Theodore, 'The Treasure of Ziegenbalg: Of an Eighteenth Century German Missionary with an interest in Tamil,' (Bhaskaran's interview with Daniel Jeyaraj), *Frontline*, May 25, 2001, pp. 78-81.

Brimnes, Niels, 'The Sympathizing Heart and the Healing Hand: Smallpox prevention and Medical Benevolence in Early Colonial South India' in Herald Fisher-Tine and Michael Mann (eds), *Colonialism as Civilizing Mission: Cultural Ideology in British India*, London, 2004, pp. 191-204.

Burton, Antoinette, 'Contesting the Zanana: The Mission to make 'Lady Doctors for India,' 1874-1885,' *Journal of British Studies*, vol. 35, July, 1996, pp. 368-397.

Caplan, Lionel 'Class and Christianity in South India: Indigenous Responses to Western Denominationalism,' *Modern Asian Studies*, vol. 14, no. 4, 1980, pp. 645-671.

Carson, Penny, 'The British Raj and the Awakening of the Evangelical Conscience: The ambiguities of Religious Establishment and Toleration' in Brian Stanley (ed.) *Christian Missions and the Enlightenment*, William Eerdmans Company, Cambridge, 2001, pp. 45-70.

Chandramohan, P., 'Colonial Connections of Protestant Missionaries in Travancore,' *Indian Historical Review*, vol. 26, July 1999, pp. 60-83.

Chidambaram, S. Muthu, 'Sex Stereotypes in Women Doctors' Contribution to Medicine: India,' in Elianne Riska and Katrina Wegar (eds), *Gender, Work and Medicine: Women and the Medical Division of Labour*, Sage Studies in International Sociology, no. 44, Sage, London, 1993.

Coker, Joe L., 'Developing a theory of Missions in Serampore,' *Mission Studies*, vol. XVII, no.1-3, 2001.

Copland, Ian, 'Christianity as an arm of empire: The Ambiguous Case of India under the Company, c. 1813-1858,' *The Historical Journal*, vol. 49, no. 4, December, 2006, p. 1025-1054.

Cox, Jeffrey, 'Independent English Women in Delhi and Lahore, 1860-1947' in R.W. Davis and R.J. Helmstadter (eds) *Religion and Irreligion in Victorian Society: Essays in honour of R.K. Webb*, Routledge, London, 1991.

Cutts, Elmer H., 'The Background of Macaulay's Minute,' *The American Historical Review*, vol. 58, no. 4, July 1953, pp. 824-853.

Daniel, James R., 'First Autobiography by the First Lecturer of Scott Christian College' in *Scott Alumni News*, Nagercoil, vol. 5, no. 1, April, 2011, pp. 3-5.

Devens, Carel, "'If We Get the Girls, We Get the Race': Missionary Education of Native American Girls,' *Journal of World History*, vol. 3, no. 2, Fall, 1992, pp. 219-237.

Doumato, Eleanor Abdella, 'An Extra legible Illustration of the Christian Faith: Medicine, medical ethics and missionaries in the Arabian Gulf,' *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations*, vol. 13, no. 4, pp. 377-390.

Dunch, Ryan, 'Beyond Cultural Imperialism: Cultural Theory, Christian Missions, and Global Modernity,' *History and Theory*, Blackwell Publishing, vol. 41, no. 3, October, 2002.

Emmott, D. H., 'Alexander Duff and Modern Education in India,' *British Journal of Educational Studies*, vol.13, no. 2., May, 1965.

Etherington, Norman and David Maxwell. 'Missions and Empire,' *In Journal of Religion in Africa*: vol. 34, February - May, 2004.

Evans, Stephen, 'Macaulay's Minute Revisited: Colonial Language Policy in Nineteenth – century India,' *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, vol. 23, no. 4, 2002, pp. 260-281.

Fitzgerald, Rosemary, 'A 'Peculiar and Exceptional Measure': The Call for Women Medical Missionaries for India in the later Nineteenth Century,' in Robert A. Bickers, & Rosemary Seton (eds), *Missionary Encounters: Sources and Issues*, Curzon, Surrey, 1996, pp. 174-196.

_____, 'Clinical Christianity: The Emergence of Medical Work as a Missionary Strategy in Colonial India, 1800-1914' in Biswamoy Pati and Mark Harrison (eds), *Health, Medicine and Empire: Perspectives on Colonial India*, Orient Longman, New Delhi, 2001, p. 88-136.

Forbes, Geraldine, 'In Search of 'Pure Heathen': Missionary Women in Nineteenth Century India,' *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol. 21, no. 17, April 26, 1986, pp. WS2-WS8.

_____, 'Medical Careers and Health Care for Indian Women: patterns of control,' *Women's History Review*, vol. 3, no. 4, 1994, pp. 515-530.

Franklin, A. J., 'The First Fifty Years of the Scott Christian College' in *Scott*

Christian College Platinum Jubilee Souvenir, 1967.

Frykenberg, Robert Eric, 'The Myth of English as a Colonialist imposition upon India: A Reappraisal with Special Reference to South India' *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, No. 2, 1988, pp. 305-315.

_____, 'Modern Education in South India, 1784-1854: Its Roots and Its Role as a Vehicle of Integration under Company Raj,' *The American Historical Review*, vol. 91, no. 1, February, 1986, pp. 37-65.

_____, 'On Roads and Riots in Tinnevely: Radical Change and Ideology in Madras Presidency during the Nineteenth Century,' *South Asia*, vol. IV, no. 2, December, 1982.

_____, 'Caste, Morality and Western Religion under the Raj,' *Modern Asian Studies*, 19, 2, 1985, pp. 321-343.

_____, 'Christian Missions and the Raj,' in Norman Etherington (ed.), *Missions and Empire*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2005.

Government of Tamil Nadu, *Tamil Nadu Human Development Report: Education in Early Years of Madras Presidency*, 2007.

Grimshaw, Patricia, 'Christian Woman, Pious wife, Faithful mother, Devoted Missionary': Conflicts in Roles of American Missionary Women in Nineteenth-Century Hawaii, *Feminist Studies*, vol. 9, no. 3, Autumn, 1983, pp. 489-521.

Haggis, Jane, 'Ironies of Emancipation: Changing Configurations of 'women's Work' in the 'Mission of Sisterhood' to Indian Women,' *Feminist Review*, Palgrave Macmillan Journals, no. 65, Summer, 2000, pp. 108-126.

_____, "'A heart that has felt the love of god and longs for others to know it': conventions of gender, tensions of self and constructions of difference in offering to be a lady missionary,' *Women's History Review*, vol. 7, no. 2, 1998, pp. 171-193.

_____, and Margaret Allen, 'Imperial Emotions: Affective Communities of Mission in Protestant Women's Missionary Publications, c 1880-1920,' *Journal of Social History*, vol. 41, no. 3, Spring, 2008, pp. 691-716.

Hardgrave, Robert, 'The Breast- Cloth controversy: Caste Consciousness and Social Change in Southern Travancore,' *Indian Economic and a Social History Review*, 1967, pp. 169-187.

Harper, Susan Billington, 'The Dornakal Church on the Cultural Frontier' in Judith M. Brown and Robert Eric Frykenberg (eds), *Christians, Cultural Interactions, and*

India's Religious Traditions, William B. Eerdmans, Cambridge, London, 2002, pp. 185-186.

Heredia, Rudolf C., 'Education and Mission: School as an Agent of Evangelization,' *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol. 30, no. 37, September 16, 1995.

Hinskon, Jon N., 'Missions Among Puritans and Pietists' in Martin I. Kluber and Scott M. Manetsch (eds), *The Great Commission: Evangelicals and the History of World Missions*, B & H Publishing Group, Nashville, TN, 2008.

Hudson, Dennis, 'Christians and the Question of Caste: The Vellala Christians of Palayamkottai' in Fred W. Clothey, *Images of Man: Religion and Historical Process in South Asia*, New Era Publications, Madras, 1982.

Iyer, V. R. Krishna., 'forward' in K. Saradmoni, *Emergence of a Slave Caste: Pulayas of Kerala*, Peoples Publishing House, 1980.

James, J.P., 'The Protestant Missionary Propaganda in India,' *The Harvard Theological Review*, vol. 8, no. 1, Jan 1915, pp. 18-44.

Joseph, Jeyaraj, 'British Indian Grammar, Writing Pedagogies, and Writing for the Professions: Classical Pedagogy in British India,' *Technical Communication Quarterly*, vol. 19. no. 4, 2010, pp. 379-402.

Johnston, Anna, 'The Book Eaters: Textuality, Modernity, and the London Missionary Society,' *Semeia*, 2001.

Jolly, Margaret, 'To save the girls for brighter and better lives": Presbyterian missions and women in the south of Vanuata, 1848-1870,' *Journal of Pacific History*, vol. 26, 2003, pp. 27-48.

Jones, J. P., 'The Protestant Missionary Propaganda in India,' *The Harvard Theological Review*, vol. 8, no.1, January, 1915.

Julia, Dominique, 'Christian Education' in Stewart J Brown & Timothy Tackett (eds), *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, vol. 7, *Enlightenment, Reawakening and Revolution (1660 – 1815)*, pp. 146-175.

Kent, Eliza, F., 'Tamil Bible Women and the Zanana Missions of Colonial South India,' *History of Religions*, vol. 39, no. 2, Nov. 1999, pp. 117-149.

Kitzan, Lawrence, 'The London Missionary Society and the Problem of Authority in India, 1798-1833,' *Church History*, vol. 40, no. 4, December, 1971, pp. 457-473.

Kooiman, Dick, 'Conversion from Slavery to Plantation Labour: Christian Mission in South India (19th Century),' *Social Scientist*, vol. 19, no. 8/9, August-September, 1991, pp. 57-71.

_____, 'Who is to Benefit from Missionary Education? Travancore in the 1930s' in Robert A. Bickers and Rosemary Seton (eds), *Missionary Encounters: Sources and Issues*, Curzon Press, Surrey, 1996, pp. 153-173.

Kumar, Deepak, 'India,' in Roy Porter (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Science*, vol. 4, Cambridge University Press, 2003, pp. 669-687.

Laird, M. A., (review), 'The Contribution of the Serampore Missionaries in Bengal, 1793-1837,' *Bulletin of School of Oriental and African Studies*, University of London, vol. 31, no.1, 1968, pp. 169-170.

MacKenzie, Clayton G, 'Demythologizing the Missionaries: A Re-Assessment of the Functions and the Relationship of Christian Missionary Education under Colonialism,' *Comparative Education*, vol. 29, no. 1, 1993, pp. 45-66.

Mallampalli, Chandra, 'British Missions and Indian Nationalism, 1880-1908: Imitation and Autonomy in Calcutta and Madras' in Andrew Porter (ed.), *The Imperial Horizons of British Protestant Missions, 1880-1914*, William Eerdmans Publishing, Michigan, 2003, pp. 158-182.

Mann, Michael, "'Torchbearers Upon the path of progress': Britain's Ideology of a 'Moral and Material Progress' in India' in Herald Fisher-Tine and Michael Mann (eds), *Colonialism as Civilizing Mission: Cultural Ideology in British India*, London, Oxford University Press, 2004, pp. 1-26.

Martin, Roger H., 'The Place of the London Missionary Society in the Ecumenical Movement,' *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, vol. 31, no. 3. July, 1980, pp. 285-291.

Mathew, E.T., 'Growth of Literacy in Kerala: State intervention, Missionary Initiatives and Social Movements,' *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol. 34, no. 39, September, 25 - October, 1, 1999, pp. 2813-2817.

Menon, Dilip M., 'Religion and Colonial Modernity: Rethinking Belief and Identity,' *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol. 37, no. 17, April, 27 - May, 3, 2002, pp. 1662-1667.

Midgley, Clare, 'Can Women be Missionaries? Envisioning Female Agency in the Early Nineteenth Century British Empire,' *Journal of British Studies*, vol. 45, no. 2, April, 2006, pp. 335-358.

Muthiah, Subbiah, '*Giving India the Printed Word in Halle and the Beginning of*

Protestant Christianity in India, vol. III., (ed.) Andreas Gross et. al., Franckesche Stiftungen, Halle, 2006.

Murray, Kirsteen, 'In the Shadow of the Missionary Captain: Captain James Wilson and the LMS Mission to the Pacific,' *International Bulletin for the Missionary Research*, vol. 31, no. 2, pp. 73-77.

Mukund, Kanakalatha, 'Turmeric Land: Women's Property Rights in Tamil Society since Early Medieval Times' in Kumkum Roy (ed.), *Women in Early Indian Societies*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1999, pp. 123-140.

Nair, Sunitha B., 'Social History of Western Medical Practice in Travancore: An Inquiry into the Administrative Process,' in Deepak Kumar (ed.), *Disease and Medicine in India: A Historical Overview*, Indian History Congress and Tulika Books, New Delhi, 2001, pp. 215-232.

Oddie, Geoffrey A., 'Anti-Missionary Feeling and Hindu Revivalism in Madras: The Hindu Preaching and Tract Societies, C. 1886-1891' in Fred W Clothey, *Images of Man: Religion and Historical Process in South Asia*, New Era Publications, Madras, 1982.

Oddie, Geoffrey A., 'Missionaries as Social Commentators: The Indian Case' in Robert A. Bickers, & Rosemary Seton (eds), *Missionary Encounters: Sources and Issues*, Curzon, Surrey, 1996, pp. 197-210.

Oddie, Geoffrey A., 'Anti-Missionary Feeling and Hindu Revivalism in Madras: The Hindu Preaching and Tract Societies, C. 1886-1891' in Fred W Clothey, *Images of Man: Religion and Historical Process in South Asia*, New Era Publications, Madras, 1982, pp. 217-243.

Odgers, George Allen, 'Education in British India,' *The Phi Delta Kappan*, vol. 8, no. 2, October, 1925, pp. 1-6.

Ossary, Charles F., 'The World Missionary Conference and Some of Its Lessons,' *The Irish Church Quarterly*, vol. 3, no. 12, October, 1910.

M. S. S. Pandian, 'Caste in Tamil Nadu: A History of Nadar Censorship,' *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XLVIII, No. 3, January 19, 2013, pp. 12-14.

Peter, D., *Samudaya Sinthanai (Eng. Trans: Community Thinking)*, July, 2011, pp. 11-13.

Pierard, Richard V., 'Ringeltaube,' in D. M. Lewis, *Blackwell Dictionary of Evangelical Biography*, vol. II, Oxford University Press, London, 1995.

Porter, Andrew, 'Cambridge, Keswick and late Nineteenth Century Attitudes to

Africa,' *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 1976, pp. 5-36.

_____, 'Evangelical Enthusiasm, Missionary Motivation and West Africa in the late Nineteenth Century, the career of G.W. Brooke,' *Ibid*, 6, 1977, pp. 23-46.

_____, "'Cultural Imperialism' and Protestant Missionary Enterprise, 1780-1914,' *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, vol. 25, no. 3, 2002, pp. 367-391.

Popley, H. A., 'Missionary Education in India,' *The Harvest Field*, 1917.

Pothancamury, Thomas, 'Studies,' *An Irish Quarterly Review*, vol. 34, no. 136, December, 1945.

Ramachandran, V.K., 'On Kerala's Development Achievement' in Jean Dreze and Amartya Sen (eds), *Indian Development: Selected Regional Perspectives*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1996, pp. 255-274.

Ramaswamy, Vijaya, 'Aspects of Women and Work in Early South India' in Kumkum Roy (ed.), *Women in Early Indian Societies*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1999, pp. 150-171.

Rao, B. Surendra, 'Not just drum-and-trumpet,' *The Hindu*, April 17, 2012, p. 18.

Sarkar, Tanika, 'Missionaries, Converts and State in Colonial India,' *Studies in History*, vol. 18, no. 1, Sage Publications, 2002, pp. 121-133.

Sedra, Paul, 'Exposure to the eyes of God: Monitorial Schools and Evangelicals in Early nineteenth-century England,' *Pedagogica Historica*, vol. 47, no. 3, 2011, pp. 263-281.

Semple, Rhonda A., 'Professionalising their faith: Women, religion and cultures of mission and empire' in Sue Morgan and Jacqueline deVries (eds), *Women, Gender and Religious Cultures in Britain, 1800-1940*, Routledge, London, 2010.

Seton, Rosemary, "'Open doors for female labourers': Women Candidates of the LMS' in Robert A Bickers and Rosemary Seton (eds), *Missionary Encounters*, Curzon Press, London, 1992, pp. 50-69.

Sedra, Paul, 'Exposure to the eyes of God: Monitorial Schools and Evangelicals in Early nineteenth-century England,' *Paedagogica Historica*, vol. 47, no. 3, 2011, pp. 263-281.

Singh, Maina Chawla, 'Women, Mission and Medicine: Clara Swain, Anna Krugler, and Early Medical Endeavours in Colonial India' *International Bulletin of*

Missionary Research, vol. 29, no. 3, July, 2005, p. 128-133.

_____, 'Gender, Thrift and Indigenous Adaptations: money and missionary medicine in colonial India,' *Women's History Review*, vol. 15, no. 5, November, 2006.

Sirkin, Natalie Robinson, and Gerald Sirkin, 'The Battle of Indian Education: Macaulay's Salvo Newly Discovered,' *Victorian Studies*, vol. 14, no. 4, January, 1971.

Smith, Powis, 'The Church and Education,' *The Journal of Religion*, vol. 4, no. 1, January, 1924.

Smith, Susan, 'Moari and Mission Sisters in New Zealand since 1865: Changing Approaches,' *International Bulletin for the Missionary Research*, vol. 31, no. 2, 1997.

Spear, Percival, 'Bentinck and Education,' *Cambridge Historical Journal*, vol. 6, no. 1, 1938, pp. 78-101.

Still, Clarinda, 'Spoiled Brides and the Fear of Education: Honour and Social Mobility among Dalits in South India,' *Modern Asian Studies*, vol. 45, no. 5, 2011, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp. 1119-1146.

Sujatha, V., and Leena Abraham, 'Medicine, State and Society,' *Economic and Political Weekly*, April, 18, 2009, vol. XLIV, no. 16, pp. 35-83.

Suntharalingam, R., 'The Madras Native Association: A Study of an Early Indian Political Organization,' *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 1967, vol. 4, no. 3, September, 1967, pp. 233-254.

Tharakan, Michael, 'Socio-Economic Factors in Educational Development: Case of Nineteenth Century Travancore,' Part I & II, *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol. 19, no. 46, November 17, 1984, pp. 1959-1967.

Thapar, Romila, 'Imagined Religious Communities? Ancient History and the Modern Search for a Hindu Identity,' *Modern Asian Studies*, vol. 23, no. 2, Cambridge University Press, 1989, pp. 209-231.

Venkateswaran, T. V., 'Science and Colonialism: Content and Character of Natural Sciences in the Vernacular School Education in the Madras Presidency (1820-1900),' *Science and Education*, vol. 16, 2007, pp. 87-114.

Viswanathan, Gauri, 'Literacy in the Eye of India's Conversion Storm' in Kenneth Mills and Anthony Grafton (eds) *Conversion: Old Worlds and New*, University of Rochester Press, New York, 2003.

Visvanathan, Susan, 'Ringeltaube in the midst of the Natives – 1813 and the Narratives of Distress' in Andreas Gross *et al.*, *Halle and the Beginning of Protestant Christianity in India*, vols. I-III, Franckesche Stiftungen, Halle, 2006, pp. 645-658.

Viswanathan, S., 'Memorable Mission,' *Frontline*, 28 July, 2006, p. 84.

Walls, Andrew, 'The Eighteenth Century Protestant Missionary Awakening' in Brian Stanley (ed.), *Christian Missions and the Enlightenment*, William Eerdmans Publishing Company, Michigan/Cambridge, 2001, pp. 22-44.

Ward, J.R. (review) 'Slavery' by David Turley, *The Economic History Review*, New Series, vol. 54, no. 3, Aug 2001, pp. 584-585.

Watt, Carey A., 'Education for National Efficiency: Constructive Nationalism in North India, 1909-1916,' *Modern Asian Studies*, vol. 31, no. 2, May, 1997, pp. 339-374.

Whitehead, Clive, 'The Historiography of British Imperial Educational Policy, Part I: India,' *History of Education*, Routledge, May, 2005, vol. 34, no. 3, pp. 315-329.

Wilkinson, C. R., H., 'Missionary Service in North India,' *American Theological Library Association*, Semeia, 2001.

Wilks, Lauren, 'Missionary Medicine and the 'Separatist Tradition': An Analysis of the Missionary Encounter with Leprosy in Late Nineteenth-Century India,' *Social Scientist*, vol. 39, nos. 5-6, May-June 2011, pp. 48-66.

Williams, C. P., "'Not Quite Gentlemen' : an Examination of 'Middling Class' Protestant Missionaries from Britain, 1850-1900,' *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, vol. 31, no. 3, July, 1980, pp. 301-315.

Windhausen, John D., 'The Vernaculars, 1835-1839: A Third Medium for Indian Education,' *Sociology of Education*, vol. 37, no. 3, Spring, 1964.

Journals & Magazines

Church History Review (English), *Church Missionary Intelligencer* (English), *Desopakari* (Tamil-started in 1862 at Nagercoil by LMS), *Evangelical Magazine* (English), *Friend of India* (English), *The Harvest Field*, *History of Education*, *Indian Church History Review* (English), *Indian Economic and Social Science History* (English), *International Review of Missions* (English), *Madras Mail*, *Madras Gazette*, *Madras Courier*, *Missionary Chronicle*, *Studies in Church History*, *Samudaya Sindanai*(Tamil), *Social Scientist*.

Unpublished Theses and Dissertations

Balasundaram, Franklin J., *Depressed Class Movement and Protestant Missions in the Tamil Speaking Districts of the Madras Presidency, 1919-1939 with Special Reference to the London Missionary Society Areas in Salem, Attur, Coimbatore and Erode*, M. Th. Dissertation, United Theological College, Bangalore, 1982.

Bayly, Susan, *Popular Christianity, Caste and Hindu Society in South India, 1800-1915: A Study of Travancore and Tirunelveli*, Ph. D., Thesis, Cambridge University, 1979.

Doss, M. Christhu, *Protestant Missionaries and Depressed Classes in Southern Tamil Nadu 1813-1947*, Ph. D., Thesis, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, 2009.

Mathew, A., *Protestant Missionary Attitude Towards Higher Education and Nationalism in Madras Presidency, 1872-1930*, Ph. D., Thesis, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, 1982.

Hector, S. S., *History of the Protestant Missions in Kanyakumari District 1806-1947*, Ph. D., Thesis, Madurai Kamaraj University, 1979.

Sahanam, L., *The Contributions of LMS missionaries in the Field of Education in South Travancore- A Historical Enquiry*, M. Th. Dissertation, United Theological College, Bangalore, 1976.

Sargurudoss, M. *Educational Policy in Madras Presidency 1800-1900*, Ph. D. Thesis, Madras University, 1961.

Lawphniaw, M. *Missionaries, Education and Social Change in Garo, Khasi and Jaintia Hills During the Nineteenth Century*, Ph. D., Thesis, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, 1979.

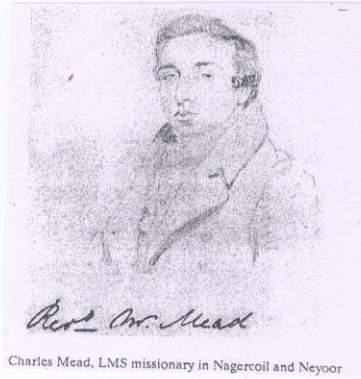
APPENDICES

- I. Photos of some of the missionaries, medical missionaries and native teachers.
pp. 252-256
- II. Photos of the missionary ships – The “Duff” and The “John Williams”, purchased by the LMS to carryout missionary activities. “John Williams” was named after the English missionary John Williams, who was sent to Society Islands for founding a mission there. John founded a mission there in 1823 and went to New Hebrides with his fellow missionary, where they were killed and eaten by the cannibals in 183
p. 257
- III. Photos of some of the selected schools run by LMS in South India: School buildings, Teachers and Students.
pp. 258-262
- IV. A Tailoring and Art school in progress at Nazareth, Tinnevely
p. 263
- V. Photos of Lady missionary, Lace and Embroidery workers, Deaf and Dumb school, Students’ Hostel, Reading Room, Boarding Schools, Industrial Schools etc.
pp. 264-273
- VI. A Brahmin adult school and a Hindu village school master teaches the boys to write on a strip of palm leaf with an iron style.
p. 274
- VII. A missionary tries to teach his young learners from the palm-leaf books at LMS Parassala mission station.
p. 275
- VIII. Photos of school-house, native leaf book, nineteenth century in Travancore etc.
pp. 276-27
- IX. Photos of LMS Medical mission-missionaries, hospital, branch hospital and dispensary, staff and students.
pp. 280-287
- X. Famine of 1877.
p. 288
- XI. Henry Steel Olcott’s ‘Olcott Panchama Free School’ in Madras (1894). Olcott and the school Superintendent Mrs. Courtright are seated with other native teachers and students.
p. 289

- XII.** The memorial brass placed on the grave of the LMS missionary at Nagercoil and the founder of the Scott Christian College, James Duthie. p. 290
- XIII.** The LMS missionary at Bellary, William Reeve wrote a letter to the Secretary of the LMS London on the establishment of the 'Bellary Free School' in 1811. p. 291
- XIV.** The LMS Directors instruction to all of its missionaries sent out by the society to the East Indies. p. 292
- XV.** Tables showing the Annual data of the LMS stations, native agents, schools and students. pp. 293-294
- XVI.** Table showing the names of missionaries who labored in Travancore since the commencement of the mission in 1806 till 1908. pp.295-297
- XVII.** Extract of the Letters of the first LMS missionary Ringeltaube requesting the Directors in London to send him money to start a seminary and school in 1806. pp. 298-299
- XVIII.** Robert Caldwell writes on the intention of Ringeltaube to start an institution for higher learning in South Travancore. p. 300
- XIX.** The Census of India Report, 1941, vol. XXV, Travancore, shows that the higher education chart points out English School at Kottayam (1816) and English School, Nagercoil (1818) were the foremost schools in Travancore, which imparted higher Education in English. p. 301
- XX.** The Curricula of Study in the different classes of Government Educational Institutions the late nineteenth century. pp. 302-310



Rev. W.T. RINGELTAUBE



Charles Mead, LMS missionary in Nagercoil and Neyoor



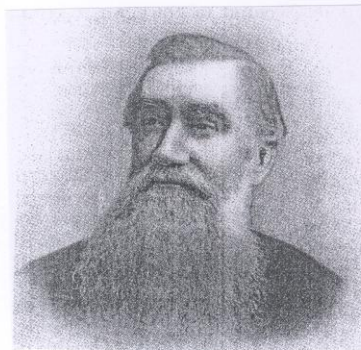
REV. CHARLES MAULT



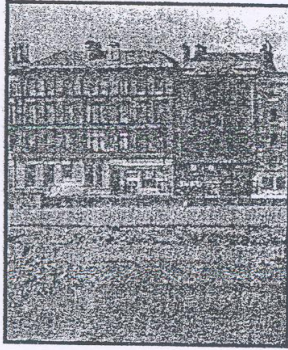
REV. J. O. WHITEHOUSE



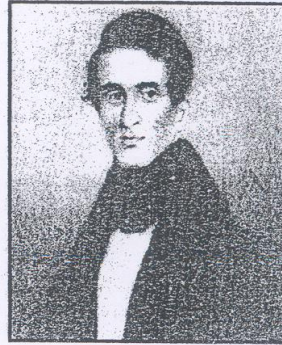
REV. F. BAYLIS



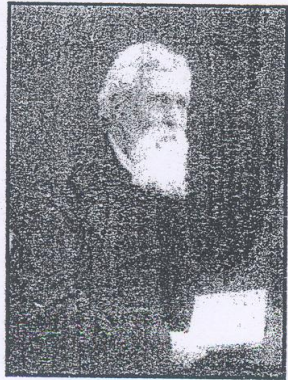
REV. S. MATEER



2 Clyde Terrace, Glasgow, on the south bank of the Clyde river. Caldwell lived with his family in an apartment there 1833-37.



Caldwell, aged 23 – a miniature painted in 1837 by Miss S Newell for the London Missionary Society in the year he left for India.



Bishop Robert Caldwell circa 1877, born in Ireland of Scottish parents and educated at Glasgow University.



His wife, Eliza Caldwell née Mault, daughter of Revd. Charles and Martha Mault, veteran LMS missionaries in Travancore.



MRS. DUTHIE



REV. JAMES DUTHIE, D.D.



Richard Knill.
India and Russia, 1820-1841.



Bernard Lucas, M.B.E.
South India, 1886-1921.

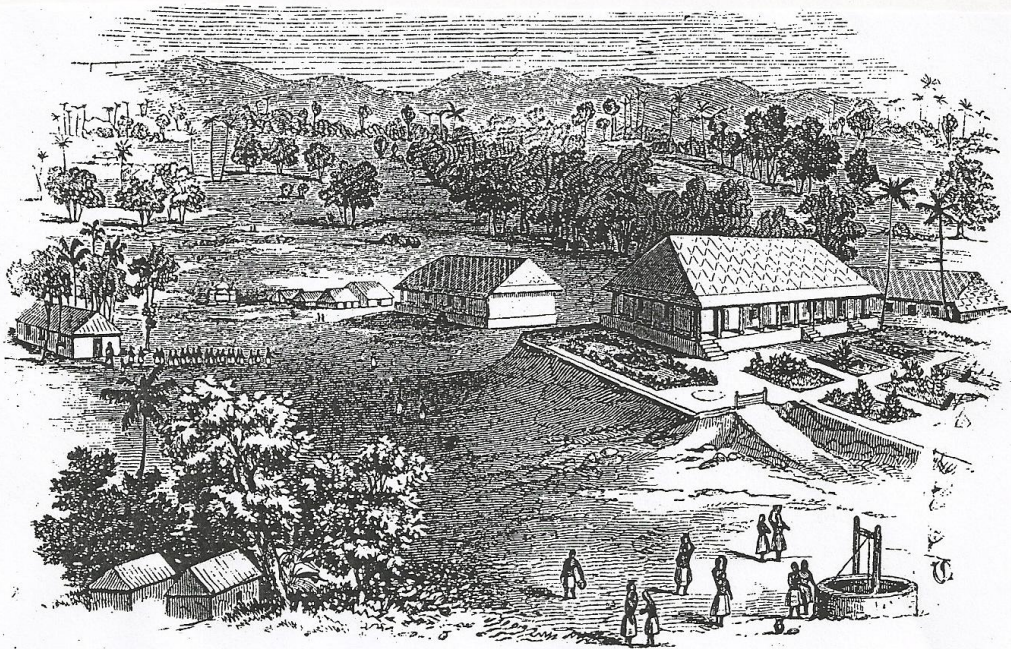


Edwin Lewis.
South India, 1865-1897.

Yours Truly
Capt (V)
(Borrow)
COPIE
India
1.
2.
3.
4.
5.
6.
7.
8.
9.
10.
The Managing Director
New Delhi-58.
Janspuri-District Centre
401-403, 4th Floor, Yashwanth Deep Building
The Manager, ARMS,
New Delhi-1.
Indian Express
The Editor
New Delhi-1
The Hindu
The Editor
New Delhi-1.
Times of India
The Editor
New Delhi-1.
Banspur-Sanskrit Kalpa
New Delhi-1.
The S. H. O.
New Delhi.
Najafgarh
BDO Office, New Delhi
New Delhi South-West
The S. D. M.
Delhi
Chief Minister's Office
Hon'ble Chief Minister
New Delhi

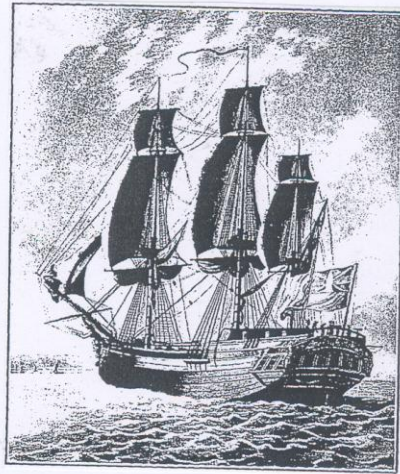


Nallamudian, (Estrick Thompson.) Daniel (Oundle Teacher.) Yövän, or John (Ebenezer Young.)
 Perinambattu. Gurupatham. Vetbamänirkkam. Sattisnathan.
 (Edward Cook.) (John Gwynne Hughes.) (Thomas Rutter.) (James Macfarlane.)
PAREYCHALEY EVANGELISTS.

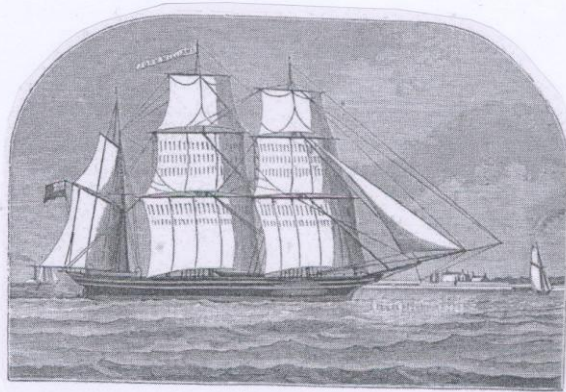


PAREYCHALEY MISSION STATION.

Source : I . H. Hacker, *A Hundred Years in Travancore*, London, 1908; Samuel Mateer, *Land of Charity*, London, 1870.



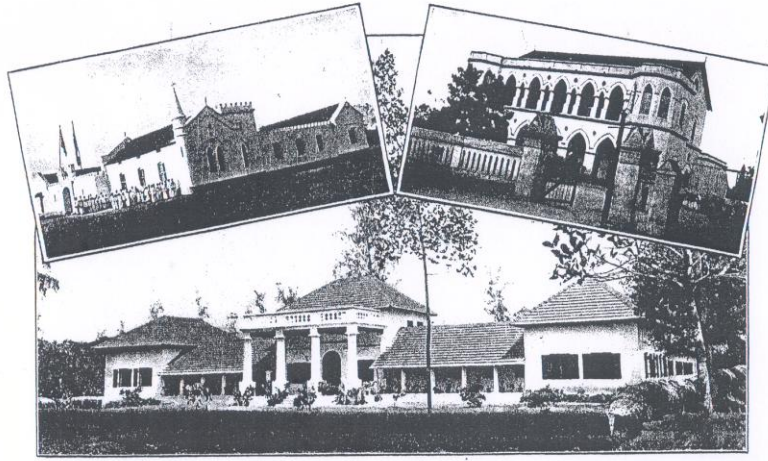
The "Duff," Sailed August 10, 1796.



THE "JOHN WILLIAMS."

Source: John Charles Harris, *Couriers of Christ: Pioneers of the London Missionary Society*, Livingston Press, London, 1931, frontispiece. London Missionary Society, *Fruits of Toil in the London Missionary Society*, 1869.

Appendix III



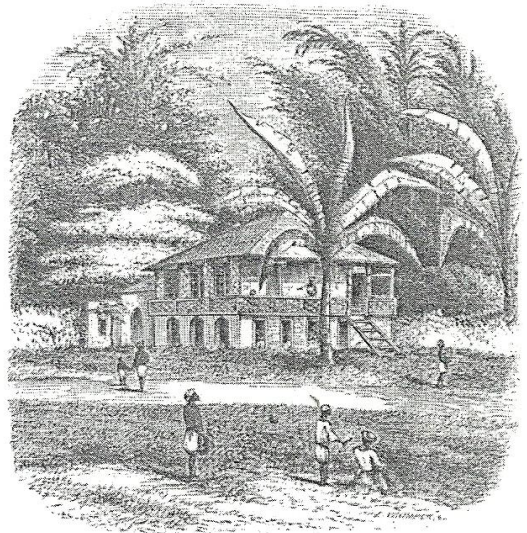
Boarding School for Boys,
Coimbatore, India.
(L.M.S.)

High School, Coimbatore, India.
(L.M.S.)

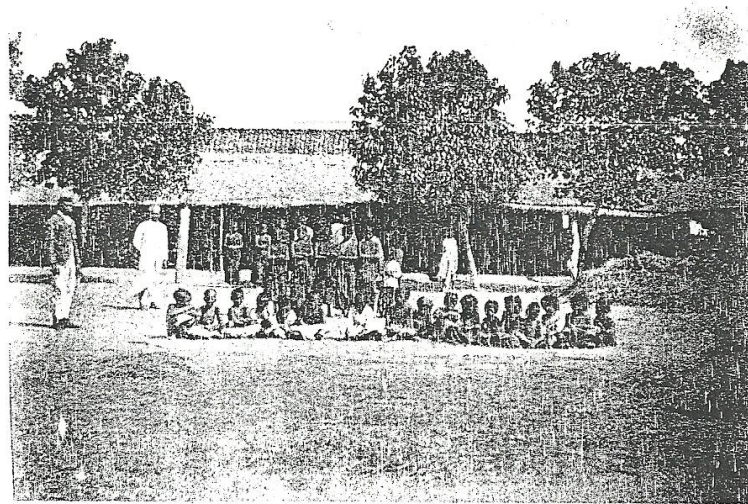
CHRISTIAN STUDENTS' HOSTEL, TRIVANDRUM, TRAVANCORE, INDIA.
(L.M.S.)



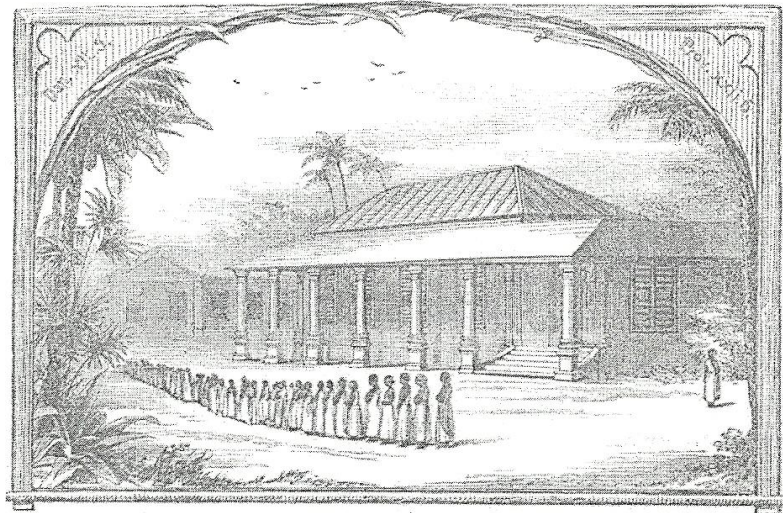
BANGALORE INSTITUTION.



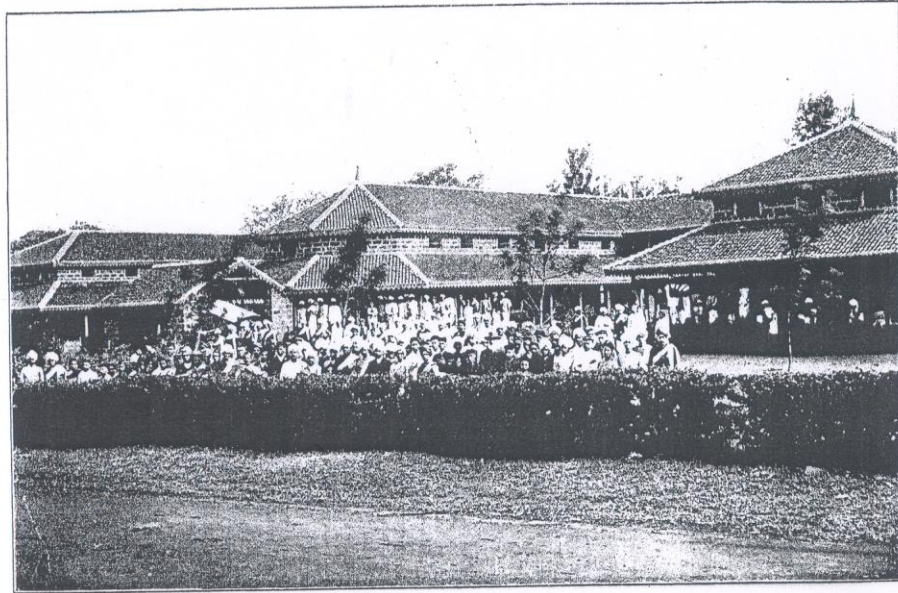
SCHOOL-HOUSE, CUDDAPAH.



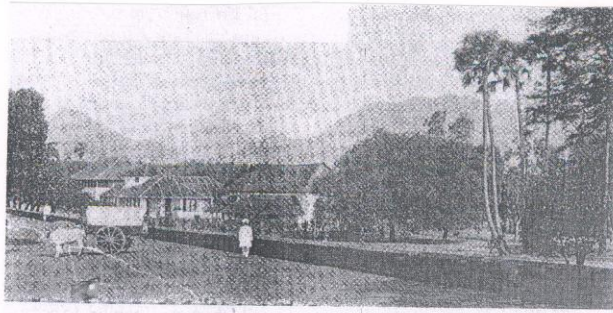
A SETTLEMENT SCHOOL FOR OUT-CASTES AT PUGALUR, TRICHINOPOLY.



MRS. CORBOLD'S GIRLS' SCHOOL, MADRAS.



BELGAUM HIGH SCHOOL, BELGAUM, INDIA.



VIEW FROM MISSION HOUSE, NAGERCOIL

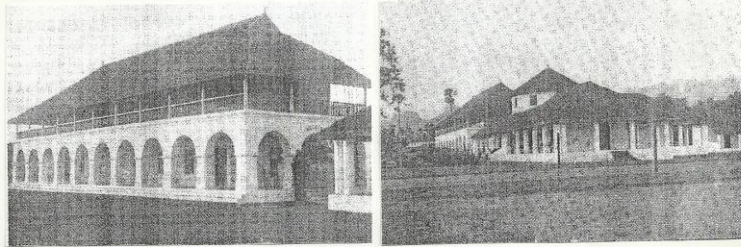
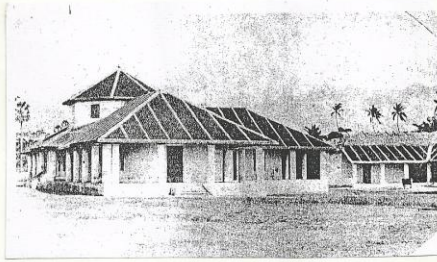


MISSION BUNGALOW, NAGERCOIL.

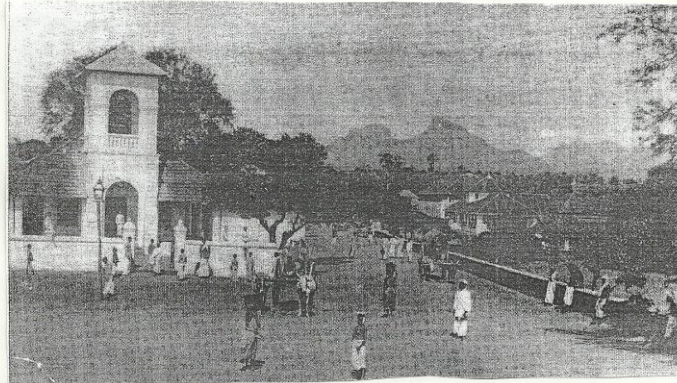


OPHANAGE AT NAGERCOIL

Source: James S. Dennis, *Christian Missions and Social Progress*, London, 1906; J.A. Sharrock, *South Indian Missions*, London, 1910.



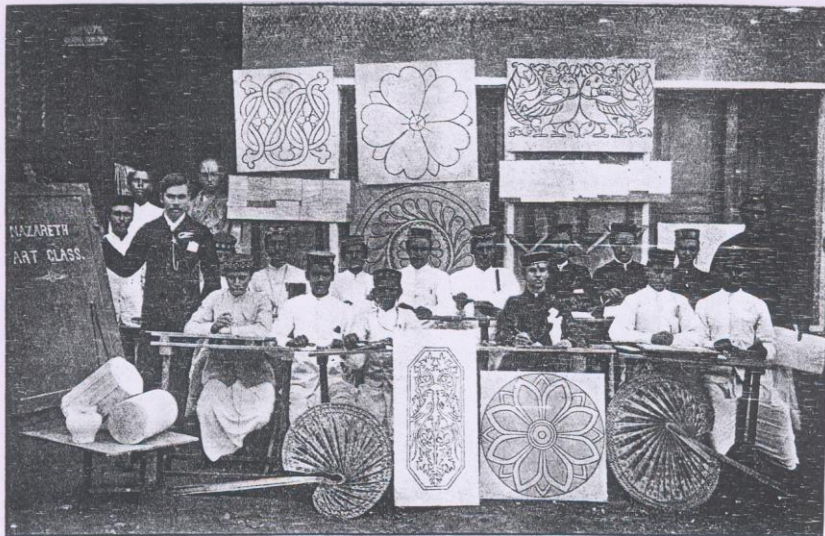
THE SCOTT CHRISTIAN COLLEGE



NAGERCOIL SCHOOL AND COLLEGE BUILDINGS

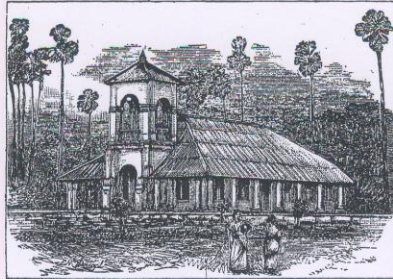


BOYS LEARNING TAILORING AT NAZARETH, TINNEVELLY.



ART CLASS AT NAZARETH, TINNEVELLY.

Source: J. A. Sharrock, *South Indian Missions*.



GIRLS' SCHOOL AT NAGERCOIL.



Boarding school girls, Nagercoil, with their European teacher



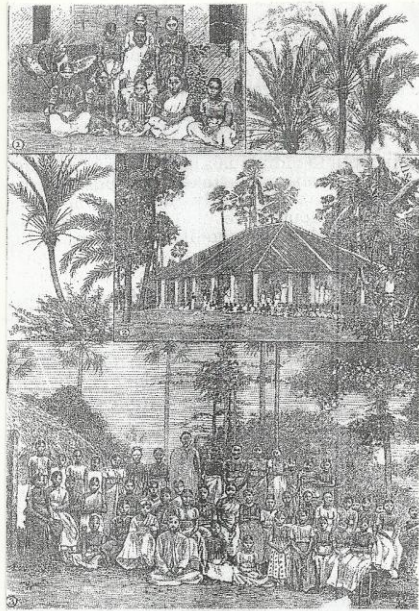
GROUP OF SCHOOL GIRLS



Reading-room at Kottar

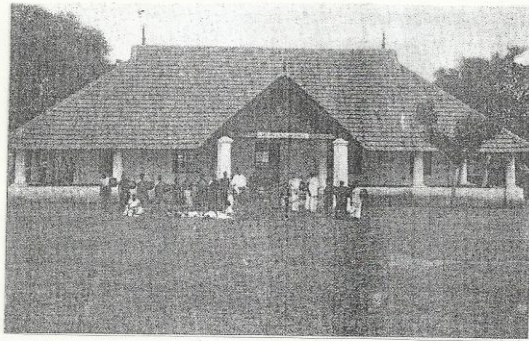


9. Lady missionary, Pareychaley district

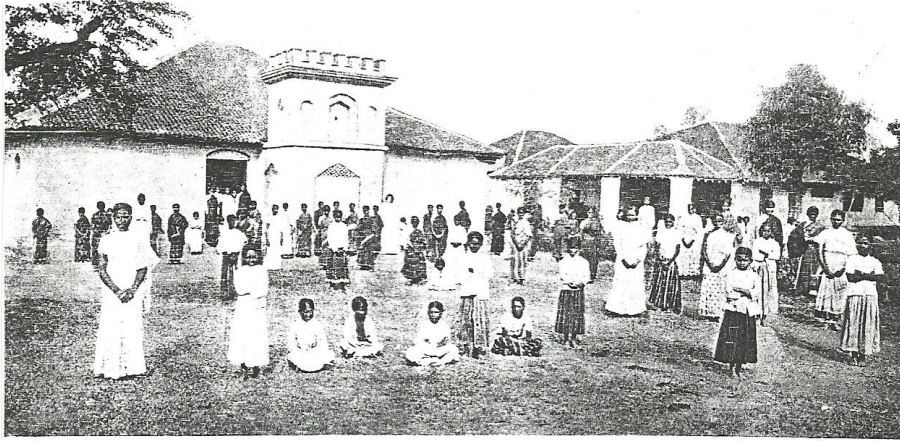


NEYOOR BOARDING SCHOOL

1. A SENIOR CLASS 2. THE SCHOOL HOUSE 3. THE SCHOLARS



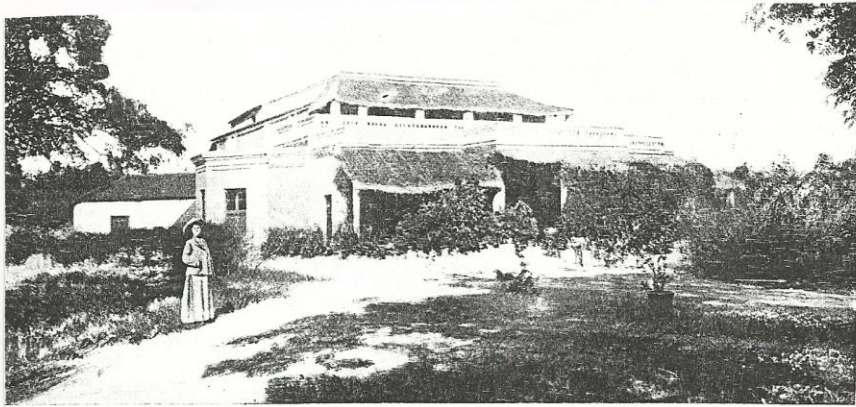
BOARDING SCHOOL



ALL SAINTS' BOARDING SCHOOL AND TRAINING INSTITUTION FOR SCHOOLMISTRESSES, TRICHINOPOLY,
UNDER MISS WELLS. HER BUNGALOW IS AT THE RIGHT.



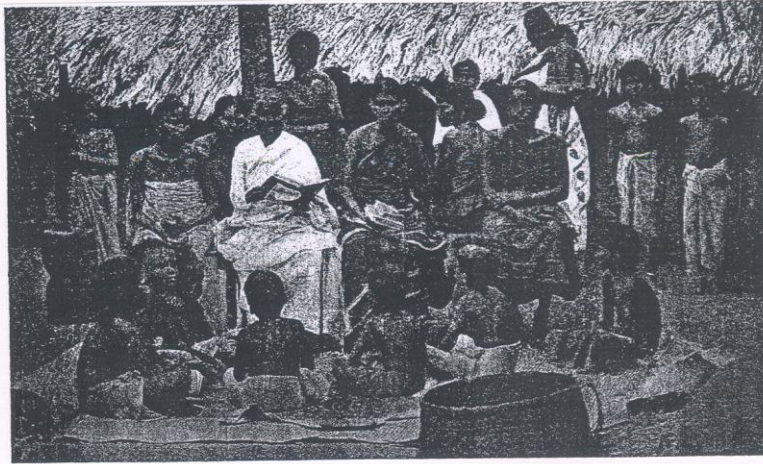
A VILLAGE SCHOOL NEAR TRANQUEBAR, WITH THE PASTOR, THE REV. G. YĒSUADIYAN.



THE MISSION HOUSE, TRICHINOPOLY.



Lady missionary with teacher trainees



A BIBLE WOMAN AT WORK



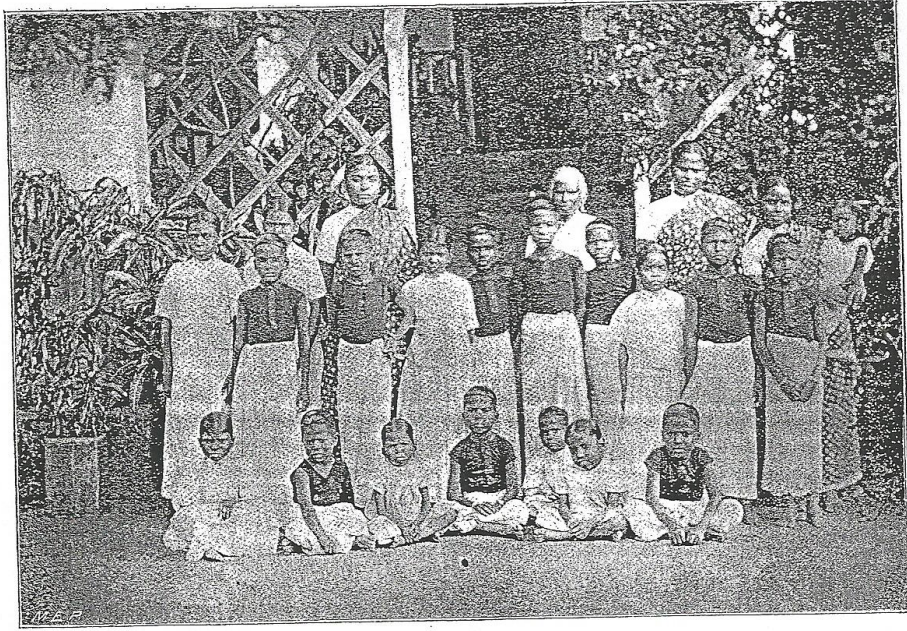
MRS. THOMSON AND BIBLEWOMENS



EDUCATIONAL WORK FOR THE BLIND IN INDIA.
(Industrial and Musical Training are combined with Christian Instruction.)



SCENES AT THE DEAF AND DUMB SCHOOL, PALANCOTTA, INDIA.
Buildings and Groups of Pupils.



Our Orphanage Children.

THE ORPHANAGE.

This continues to be under the supervision of Mrs. Davidson.

During the year we lost through death our old Matron, Caroline, who is seen with the children in the accompanying photo.

The complete list of children under our charge at present is as follows:—

No.	Name.	Age.	Supported by
1	Yesudian	14	Lepet Society.
2	John	13	Do.
3	Mannuel	8	Do.
4	Elizabeth	18	Do.
5	Aihai	14	Do.
6	Lysal	15	Do.
7	Annie	13	Do.
8	Annamany	8	Do.
9	Elisa	8	Do.
10	Mary	9	Bromley Cong. Ch. S.S.
11	Thungamal	14	Ballard Cong. Ch. S.S.
12	Rachale	8	Warrinister Busy Bee.
13	Vehamony	8	Whitney Bay Cong. Ch. S.S.
14	Chellammal	10	Bury St. Edmunds Christian Band.
15	Rosie	18	Bury Cong. Ch. S.S.
16	Charles	6	Anonymous Supporter.
17	Chelliah	15	Do.
18	Yesunason	14	Do.
19	Sammuel	15	Do.
20	Annal	17	Do.
21	Nesamony	18	Do.
22	Nesam	6	Do.
23	Rosal	10	Do.
24	Thungammal	10	Do.
25	Annie	6	Do.

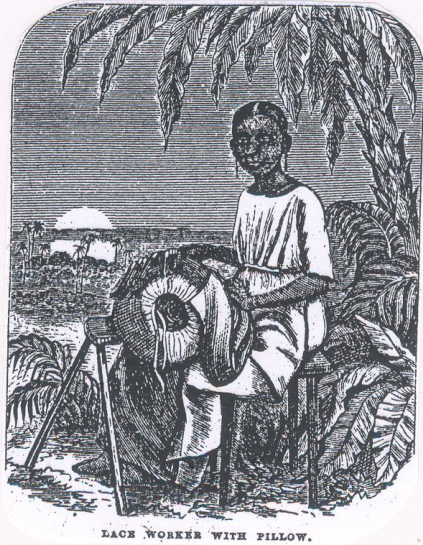
It will be noticed that no fewer than nine children are unsupported. This means a serious burden on our general funds.



LACE WORKERS, NAGERCOIL



EMBROIDERY WORKERS, NEYYOOR



LACE WORKER WITH PILLOW.



CHRISTIAN FEMALES, WITH JACKET AND UPPER CLOTH.



Source: *LMS Directors' Annual Report*, 1818-1842; James S. Dennis, *Christian Missions and Social Progress*, London, 1906; J.A. Sharrock, *South Indian Missions*, London, 1910;



A BRAHMAN ADULT SCHOOL.



This old man is the Hindu village schoolmaster. The boys write on a strip of palm leaf with an iron style.

Source: J. A. Sharrock, *South India Missions*, London, 1910.

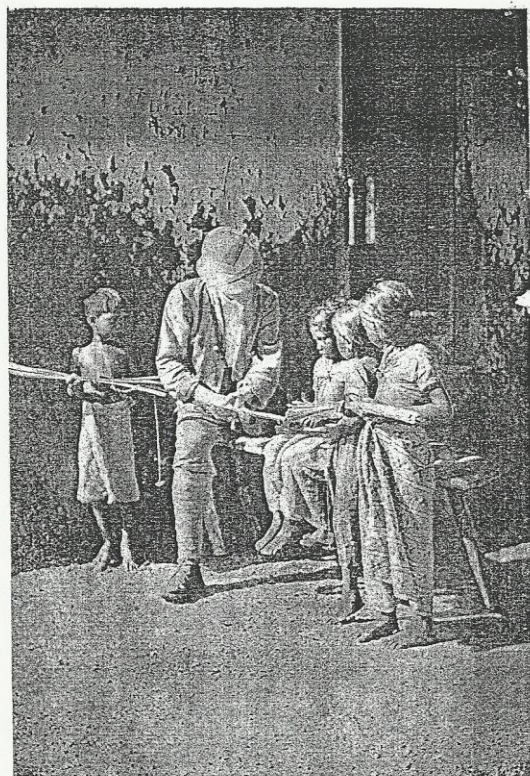


Photo by]

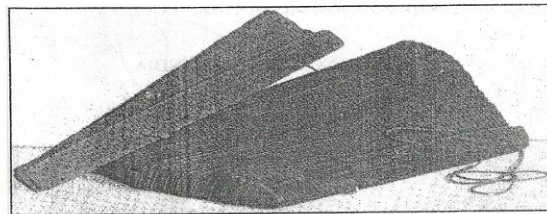
[A. T. Foster, of *Parochiality*.

Teaching India out of India's palm-leaf books.

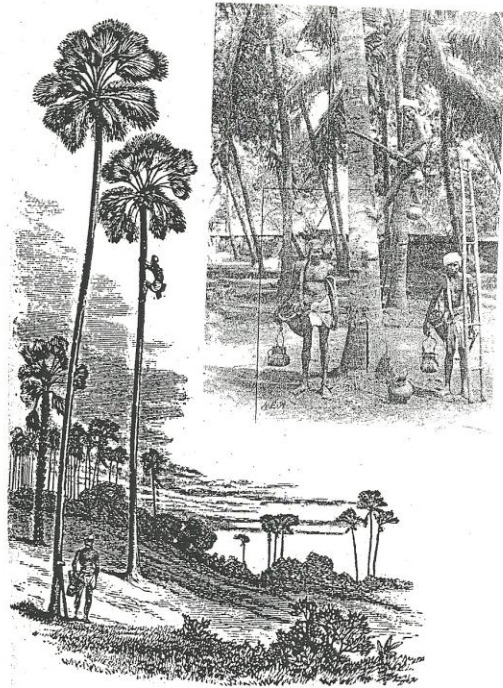
FRONTISPIECE.

Source: Basil Mathews, *Builders in the Waste: LMS, 1914-1915*, London, 1915,

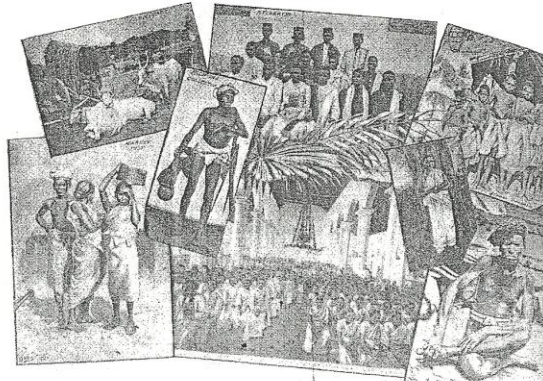
Appendix VIII



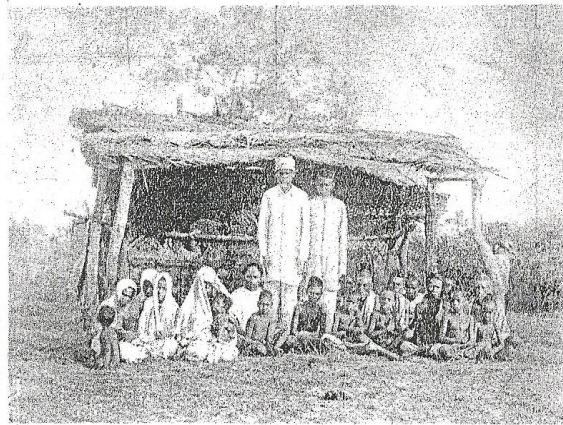
NATIVE LEAF BOOK
(Photo by D.J. Chamberlin)



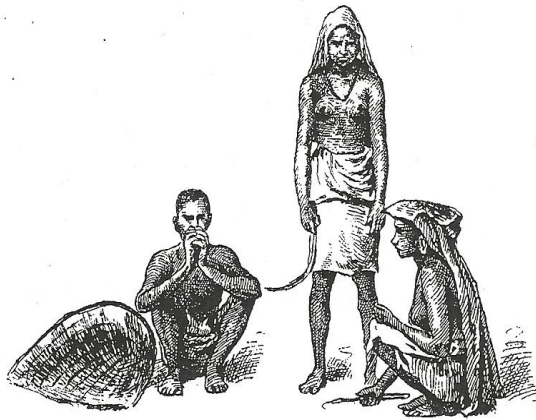
Shanar tree climbers, Travancore



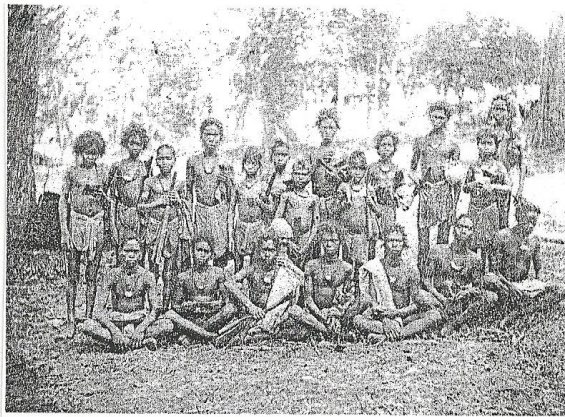
SCENES IN TRAVANCORE



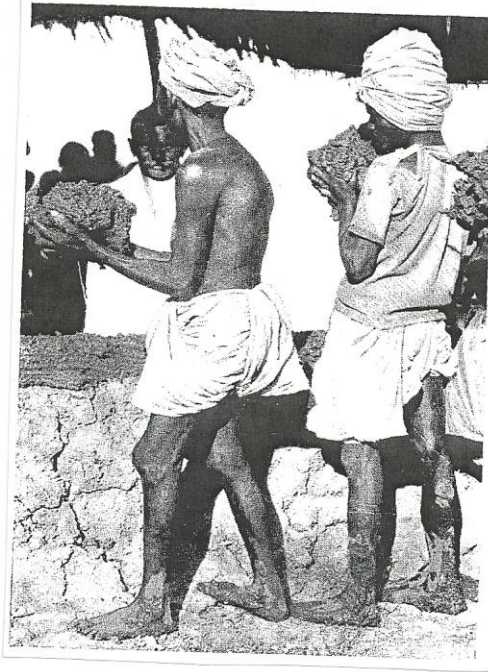
Congregation of *Pariahs* and *Pulayas* before their place of worship central Travancore



PULAYARS.



Hill Tribes Travancore



Indians constructing mud- walled houses

Source: Samuel Mateer, *Native Life in Travancore*, London, 1883; Dick Kooiman, *Conversion and Social Equality in Travancore: London Missionary Society in South Travancore in the Nineteenth Century*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1989.



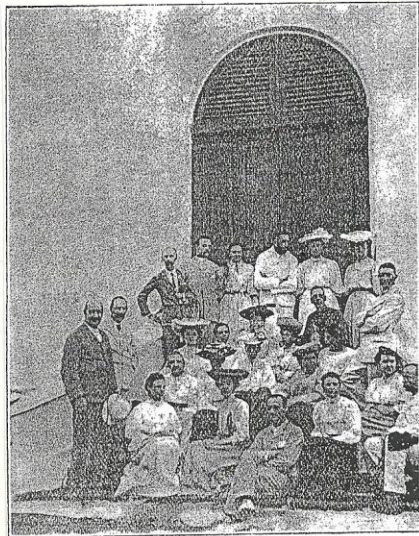
THOMAS SMITH THOMSON, L.R.C.P., L.R.C.S.



DR. JOHN LOWE



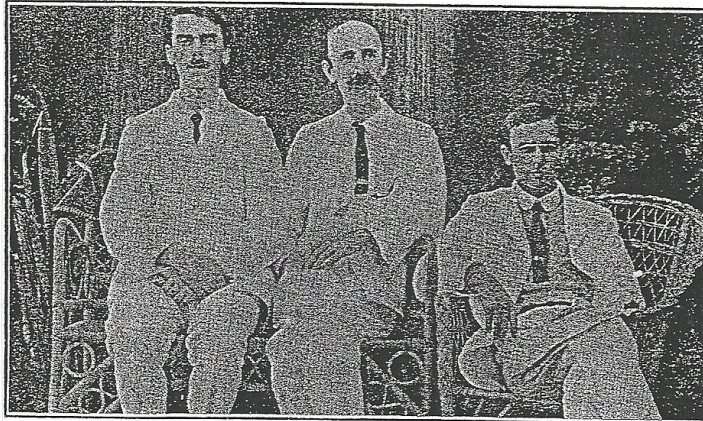
Dr. Fells.



Group of L. M. S.

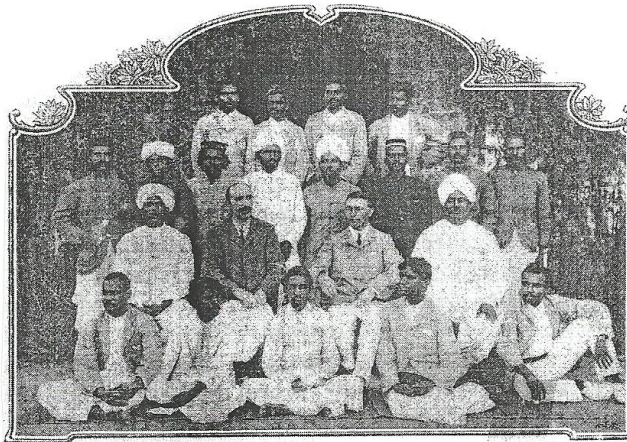


Dr. Bentall

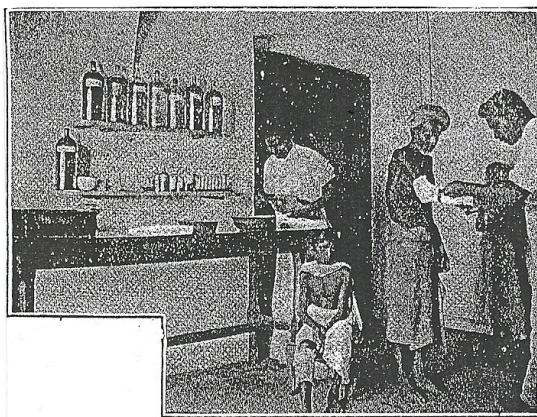


Dr. Bulloch. Dr. Davidson. Dr. Pugh.

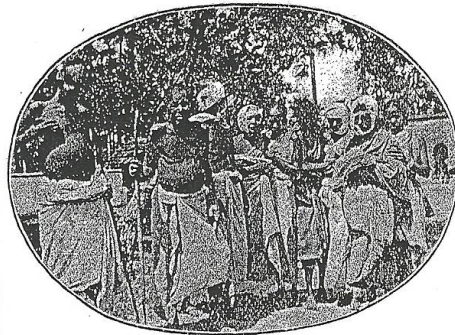
The three Doctors now at Neyoor.



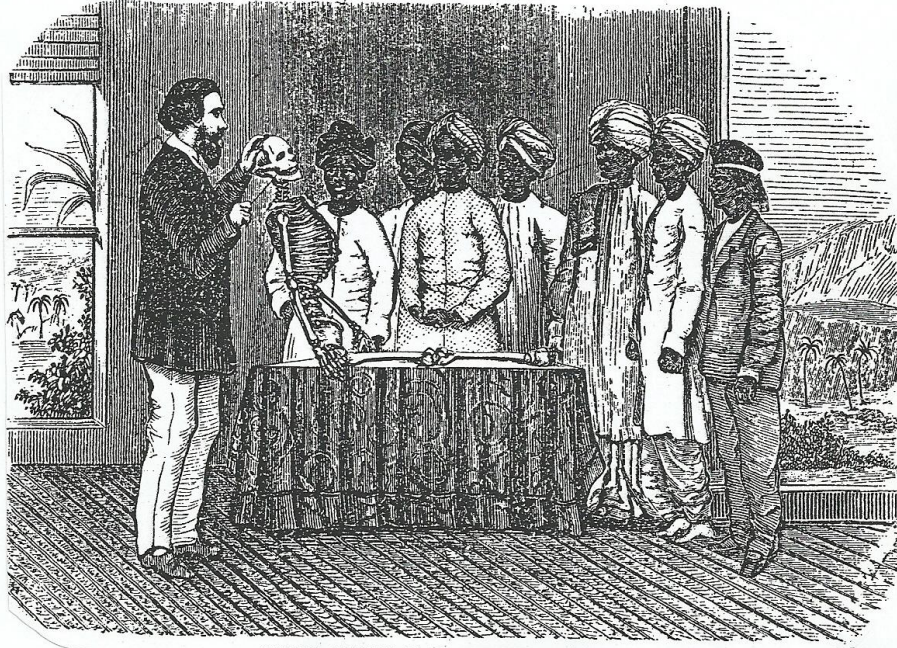
MEDICAL MISSION STAFF, TRAVANCORE



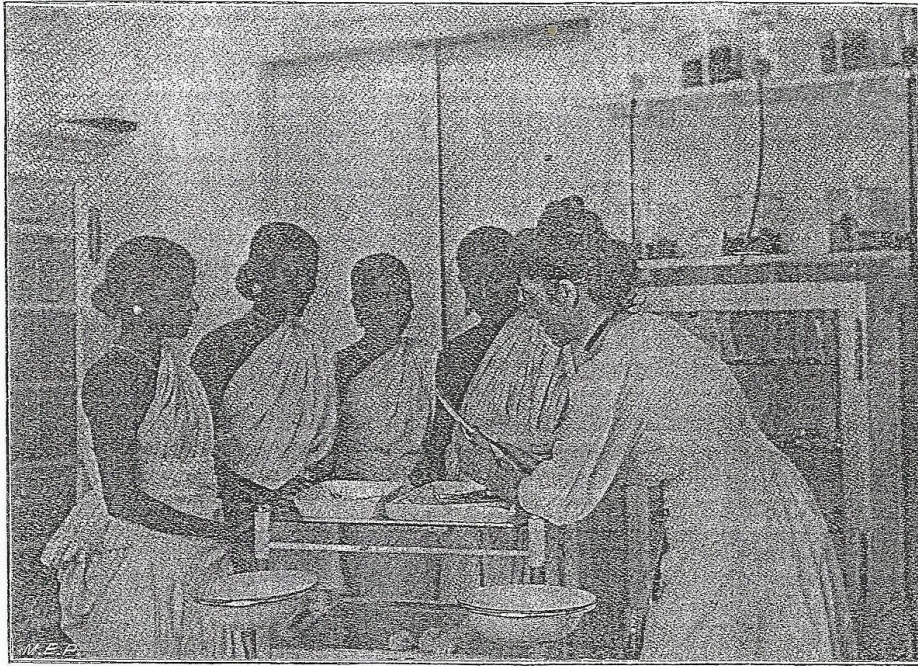
Students Dressing Cases in the Surgical Out-patient Department.



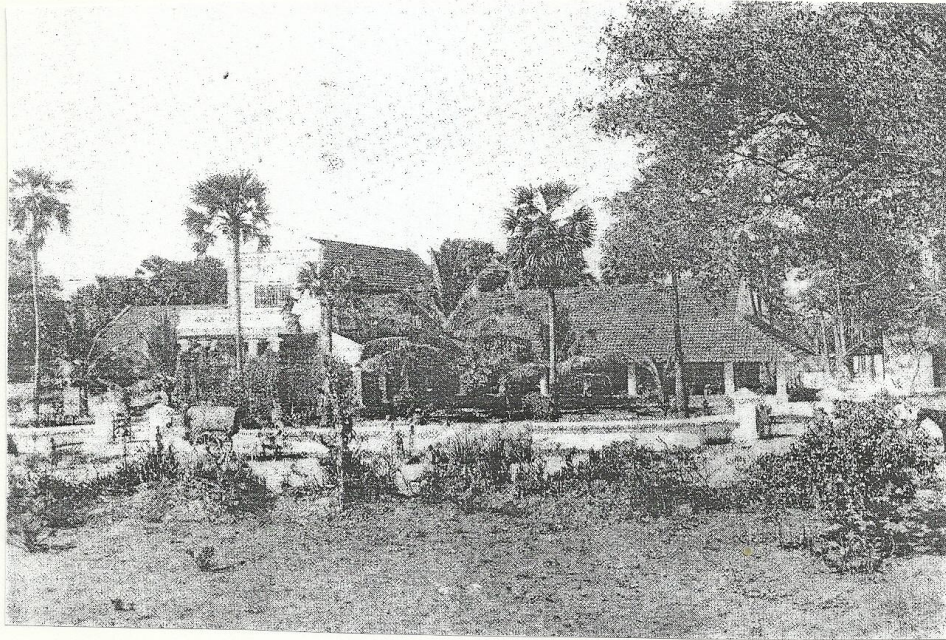
A group of Convalescents.



MEDICAL MISSIONARY AND STUDENTS.



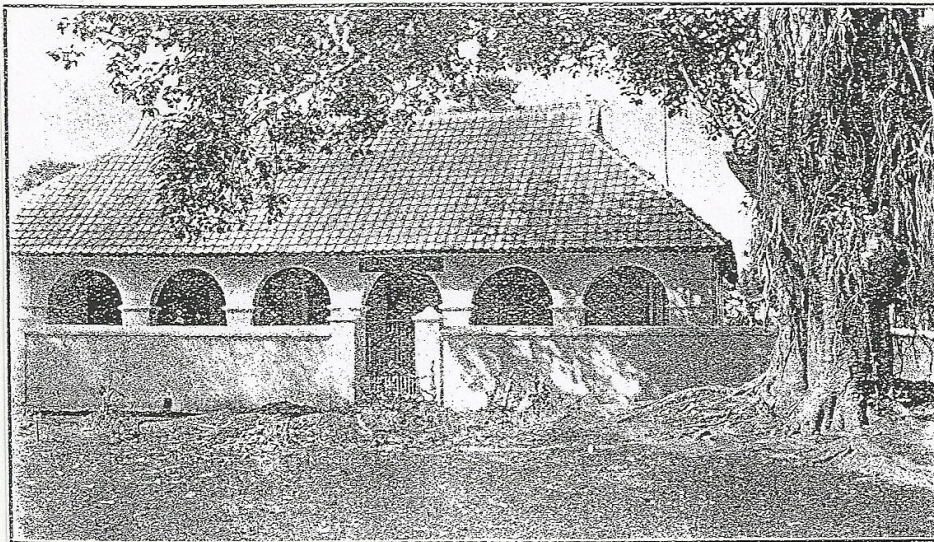
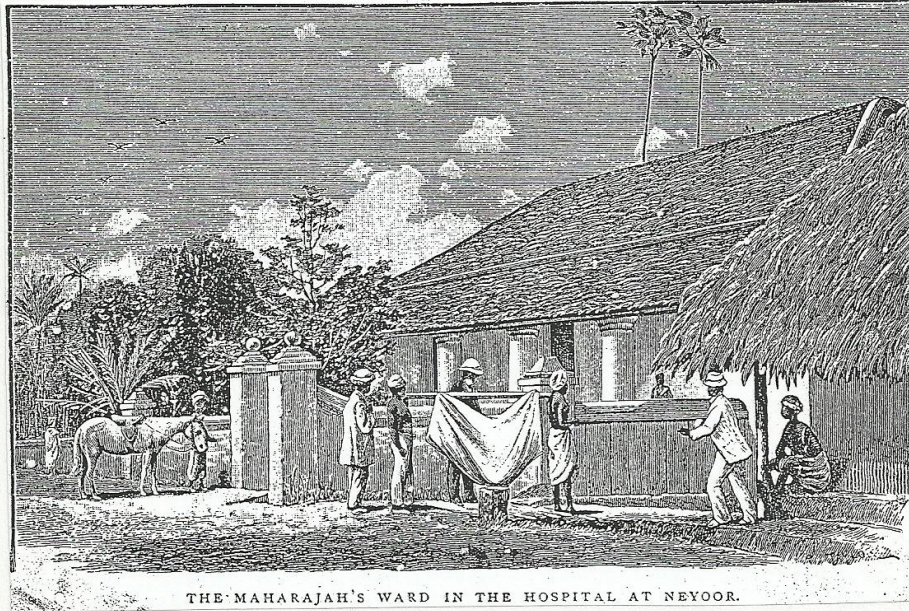
Miss MacDonnell and her Nurses.

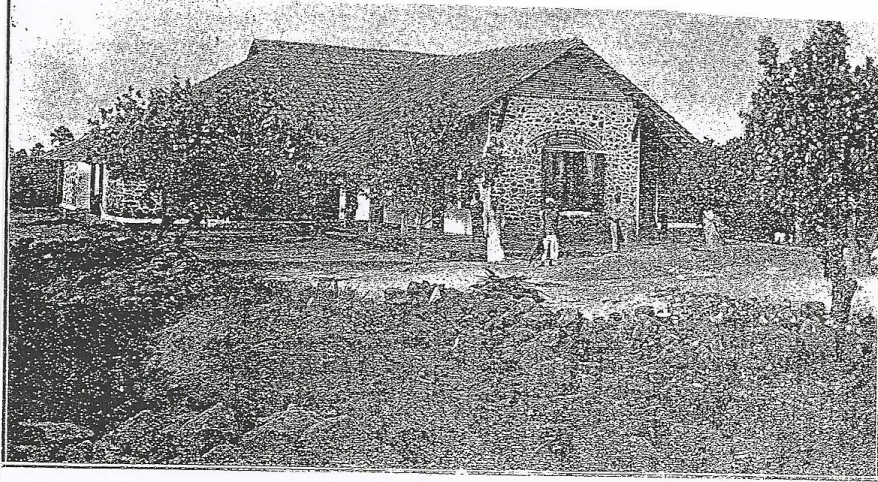


MISSION HOSPITAL, NEYOOR



THE HOSPITAL, NEYOOR. THE CENTRE OF THE LARGEST MEDICAL MISSION IN THE WORLD

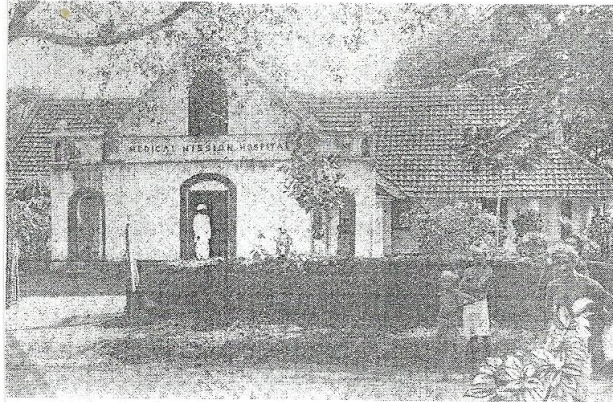




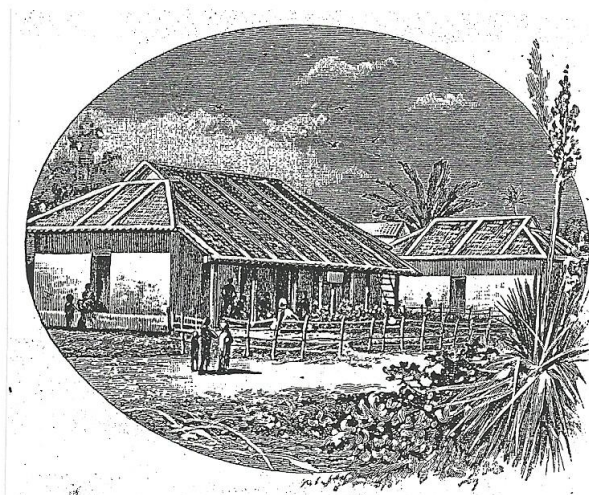
Nagercoil Branch Hospital.



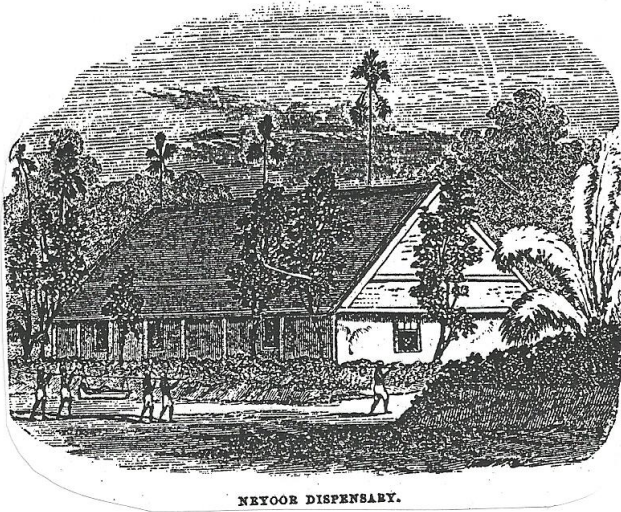
DISPENSARY



MARTANDAM MISSION HOSPITAL



THE DISPENSARY—TITTUVILEI.



NEYOOR DISPENSARY.



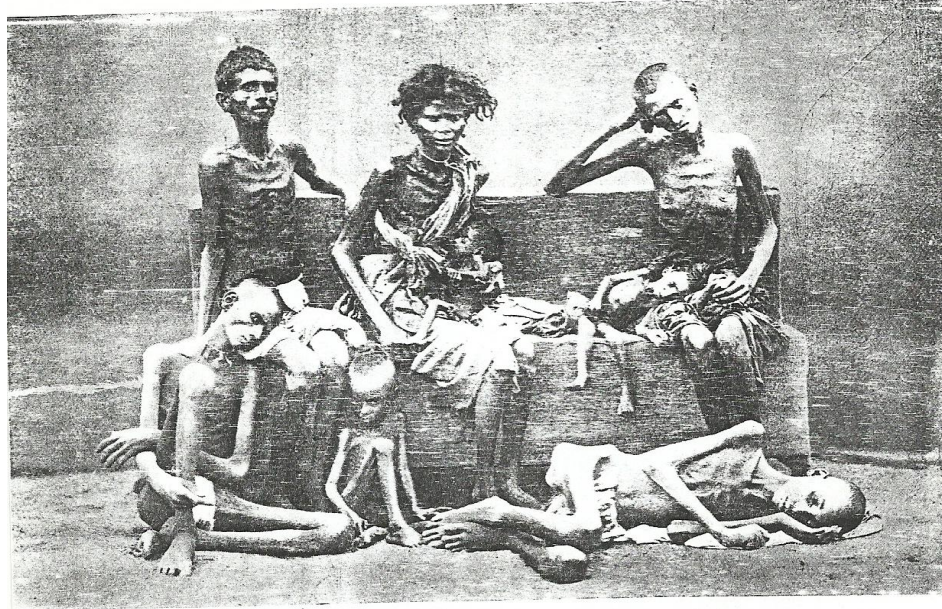
Medicine Chest used by Mrs. Mault in Travancore before the Medical Mission was begun there.

Mrs. Mault of Travancore (1818-1854), pioneer of the Lace Industry, started girls' boarding schools and gave remedies by the way.

(See page 81.)

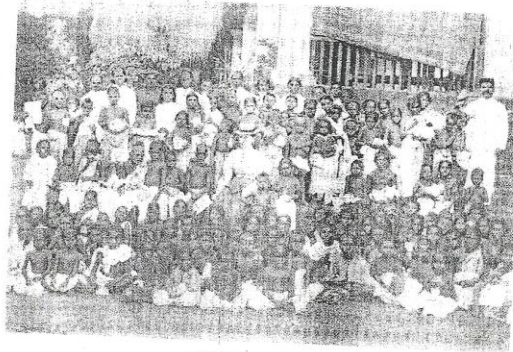
Source: *Reports of the South Travancore Medical Mission, 1870-1910*, LMS Press, Nagercoil, 1910.

Appendix X



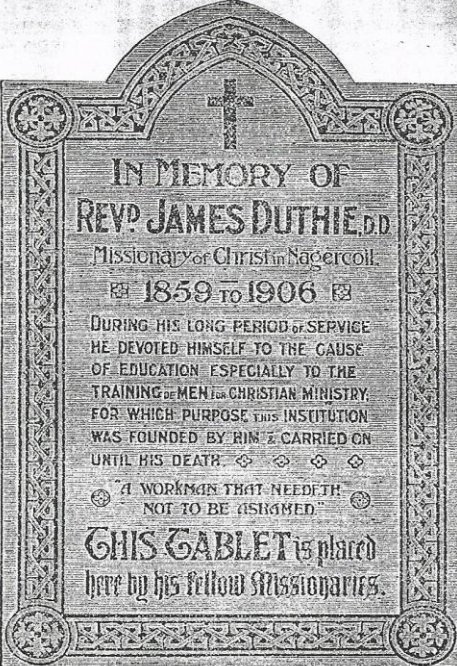
Source: J.A. Sharrock, *South India Missions*, 1910.

Appendix XI



Source: V. Alex (ed.), *The Education of the Dalits: with reference to the activities of the 'Panchama Free Schools' of the Theosophical Society, Adyar, Madras, 2009.*

MEMORIAL BRASSES
AND ALL KINDS OF
CAST AND ENGRAVED PLATES.



IN MEMORY OF
REV. JAMES DUTHIE, D.D.
Missionary of Christ in Negercoil.
1859 TO 1906

DURING HIS LONG PERIOD OF SERVICE
HE DEVOTED HIMSELF TO THE CAUSE
OF EDUCATION ESPECIALLY TO THE
TRAINING OF MEN IN CHRISTIAN MINISTRY,
FOR WHICH PURPOSE THIS INSTITUTION
WAS FOUNDED BY HIM & CARRIED ON
UNTIL HIS DEATH.

"A WORKMAN THAT NEEDETH
NOT TO BE ASHAMED."

THIS TABLET is placed
here by his fellow Missionaries.

INGALL, PARSONS, CLIVE & Co., Ltd.
Bradford Street, BIRMINGHAM; 149 & 151, Euston Road, LONDON, N.W.
Also in LIVERPOOL MANCHESTER BRISTOL and GLASGOW.
80/82, Beel Street, / / Cranford Court, / 67, Redcliffe Street, / 45, Oswald Street.

Source: Basil Mathews, *Builders in the waste: LMS, 1914-1915*, London, 1915.

Appendix XIII

To the Secretary.

Mission-house, Bellary,
Feb. 13, 1818.

Rev. and dear Sir,

Agreeably to our instructions from the Directors, we have ever been led to consider the teaching of poor untutored children, whether the descendants of Hindoos, or of European extraction, as a very important part of our missionary labours, to which our attention ought to be particularly directed. In addition to the numerous schools which we have established in the last year, there is another of earlier date, commenced in November 1811, called the Bellary Free School, instituted for the purpose of educating, and in part boarding and clothing, poor destitute native, half-caste, and European children, who speak the English language. This Institution has met with a very liberal support from persons of high rank, both in the civil and military departments, and has proved a great and incalculable blessing to many children, who otherwise must have been left to wretchedness and want. Many have been taken in literally naked, nearly starved, and almost as ignorant as the brutes, who have since been fed and clothed, and tolerably educated. But facts speak louder than words. I will therefore give you an instance of the advantages that a poor orphan boy has derived from this Institution. The annexed is in his own hand-writing, and in his own language. I desired him to give me an account of what he had learnt, and then to state the reflections which this review produced upon his own mind. The following are his answers, which I send to you, without farther note or comment, hoping they will prove a source of gratification to the Directors, and to the religious public, if it should seem fit to the Society to make them known to the world.

Your's obediently,

W. REEVE.

Source: LMS Directors' Annual Report, 1819.

A COPY OF THE FOLLOWING PAPER IS GIVEN WITH THE INSTRUCTIONS OF THE DIRECTORS TO ALL MISSIONARIES SENT OUT BY THE SOCIETY TO THE EAST INDIES, &c.

Admonitory Hints by the Directors of the London Missionary Society to its Missionaries in the East Indies.

As the avowed object of a Christian Missionary is to promote the interests of Christ's kingdom among men, and as this is a concern of superior importance to all others, it evidently follows that for Missionaries to engage in political affairs or discussions would be to retard or endanger the success of their great object; and also be an intrusion into matters out of their proper sphere, and be incompatible with their sacred designation. This remark is of *universal* application, but it is of *ten-fold force* in relation to *Missionaries in Asia*.

There is strong reason to believe, that the supremacy of the British Government over the vast population in those regions is an ordination of Providence, designed and adapted to become an inestimable blessing to the natives, by its becoming the means of the gradual introduction of Christianity.

It is, therefore, of the utmost importance that their attachment to the English Government and nation should be promoted. Indeed, a just regard to the best interests of the natives, the peace and security of the Government which so kindly protects our Missionaries, and the success of that great cause which is committed to them, combine to demonstrate both the duty and policy, on the part of Missionaries, of manifesting in their own conduct, and promoting also in others, a sincere and affectionate respect to the Government and to the subordinate authorities which it appoints.

This admonition is of a nature so essential and indispensable, that the Directors of the Missionary Society have given the strongest pledge and assurance for its due observance in behalf of their Missionaries, so that any violation of it on their part, would be regarded as a ground of immediate dissolution of their connexion with the Society.

Some of the preceding observations apply also to the subject of religious intercourse with the natives, and the best mode of recommending Christianity to their regard. On this subject it is suitable to suggest, that it is your incumbent duty to cherish in your own mind, and on all occasions manifest, a constant and earnest desire to promote their interest and happiness—a gentle and kind demeanour will be the most certain means of producing that predilection in your favour, which tends to disarm prejudice, and open the heart to admit that divine truth which you are desirous to recommend.

We are aware, indeed, that in your discussions you will sometimes find it necessary to expose the fallacy of their arguments, and the absurd nature of their idolatrous worship—but you will endeavour to do this in such a mild manner as not to wound their feelings—produce a repulsive impression, or lead them to suspect, that it is the design of the English nation in the end to abolish their religion by force.

We are persuaded that it will be your constant and most gratifying employment to unfold to them gradually all the principles of Divine Revelation, and more especially those leading and prominent truths which reveal to them their condition as sinners, and direct their view to an ALMIGHTY DELIVERER. This heavenly light once introduced into the mind, will be found more efficacious than all the arguments which can be urged against idolatry, and will, by its own mighty energy, chase the powers of darkness from their minds.

Source: LMS Directors' Report, 1806.

SOUTH INDIA.

1900

FIELDS.	When Begun.	MISSION-ARIES.		NATIVE AGENTS.					Church Members.	Native Adherents.	Sunday Schools.		SCHOOLS.						Local Contributions.			
		Men.	Women.	Ordained.	Preachers.	Christian Teachers (Men).	Bible Women.	Christian Teachers (Women).			No.	Scholars.	Boys.			Girls.						
													Schools.	Scholars.	Fees.	Schools.	Scholars.	Fees.				
BELGAUM .. 6 Out-stations ..	1820	3	..	..	8	3	2	..	63	169	7	171	4	632	167	12	5	4	155	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
BELLARY .. 10 Out-stations ..	1810	3	2	..	12	9	9	11	166	453	11	438	7	629	651	18	5	5	339	11	9	5
ANANTAPUR .. 12 Out-stations ..	1830	1	1	1	11	6	4	1	39	224	9	85	7	96	5	8	0	3	31	..	..	4
GOOTY .. 49 Out-stations ..	1855	4	..	..	13	44	3	2	153	4747	46	752	44	709	100	15	0	1	236	0	13	4
JAMMULAMADUGU ..	1891	3	2	..	19	140	3	9	1140	14748	11	236	*112	1753	37	7	1	1	470	13	10	8
CUDDAPAH .. 172 Out-stations ..	1824	3	..	2	19	140	3	9	1140	14748	11	236	*112	1753	37	7	1	1	470	13	10	8
KADIRI .. 6 Out-stations ..	1890	1	..	..	9	2	1	1	19	186	8	148	8	311	47	7	11	1	45	..	..	3
CHIK BALLAPUR .. 6 Out-stations ..	1890	2	..	1	8	4	..	4	30	85	..	..	4	93	..	..	3	73	..	..	..	1
BANGALORE .. 5 Out-stations ..	1820	4	1	3	6	2	4	12	113	185	4	127	5	645	231	8	0	8	697	45	4	0
TRIPATOOR .. 10 Out-stations ..	1861	1	..	1	9	11	3	6	102	168	5	111	8	355	39	1	4	2	131	10	2	8
SALEM .. 8 Out-stations ..	1824	3	2	2	19	23	4	25	239	607	10	425	10	635	224	7	4	8	839	13	18	8
COIMBATORE .. 24 Out-stations ..	1830	4	2	..	22	22	12	16	167	296	15	420	22	1586	147	16	10	6	397	9	9	8
MADRAS .. 6 Out-stations ..	1805	1	3	1	10	12	8	28	201	722	11	750	8	341	5	4	8	6	832	263	13	4
VIZAGAPATAM ..	1806	2	2	..	12	13	5	5	112	110	6	702	4	703	473	8	0	5	410	1	12	0
TOTALS ..	..	35	15	11	158	297	58	120	2544	22400	143	4495	243	8368	2491	15	0	53	4545	369	13	9

* Mixed Schools.

SOUTH INDIA.

1900

FIELDS.	When Begun.	MISSION-ARIES.		NATIVE AGENTS.					Church Members.	Native Adherents.	Sunday Schools.		SCHOOLS.						Local Contributions.			
		Men.	Women.	Ordained.	Preachers.	Christian Teachers (Men).	Bible-women.	Christian Teachers (Women).			No.	Scholars.	Boys.			Girls.						
													Schools.	Scholars.	Fees.	Schools.	Scholars.	Fees.				
BELLARY .. 9 Out-stations ..	1810	3	1	..	12	8	12	17	169	528	10	689	6	383	449	10	8	6	422	15	10	6
ANANTAPUR .. 18 Out-stations ..	1890	1	1	1	5	14	6	5	65	291	16	249	12	193	7	5	4	3	101	..	..	10
GOOTY .. 67 Out-stations ..	1855	4	..	..	13	57	3	8	170	5792	59	861	60	951	231	1	6	1	292	..	..	69
CUDDAPAH .. 214 Out-stations ..	1824	5	3	2	16	148	7	21	1017	17433	104	1858	160	1669	100	6	11	2	691	38	13	4
KADIRI .. 19 Out-stations ..	1890	..	..	..	9	14	1	1	92	519	19	410	16	354	39	4	2	1	42	..	..	5
*CHIK BALLAPUR .. 6 Out-stations ..	1892	1	..	..	7	9	..	2	46	234	3	165	8	223	..	..	..	2	175	..	..	..
*BANGALORE .. 11 Out-stations ..	1820	6	2	1	12	11	7	19	152	532	..	90	5	902	..	..	..	3	750	..	..	..
TRIPATOOR .. 15 Out-stations ..	1861	1	..	1	11	..	1	..	146	225	..	..	8	695	85	4	3	2	..	..	..	30
SALEM .. 77 Out-stations ..	1827	3	2	2	13	25	8	28	821	274	9	159	12	868	520	8	4	8	989	86	11	7
COIMBATORE .. 63 Out-stations ..	1830	1	2	1	6	26	8	13	181	421	16	552	3	892	589	18	5	7	421	..	..	..
ERODE .. 11 Out-stations ..	1839	2	1	..	17	64	8	10	143	2320	49	734	57	1664	244	10	7	6	810	10	12	8
MADRAS .. 11 Out-stations ..	1805	2	3	2	8	18	20	46	210	647	28	1003	18	897	13	9	4	9	918	438	4	9
VIZAGAPATAM .. 7 Out-stations ..	1806	1	1	..	14	9	6	9	139	398	7	720	6	994	783	8	0	1	147	2	6	8
TOTALS ..	..	30	16	10	142	403	87	179	3281	29614	315	6990	366	10190	8114	7	6	51	5258	541	19	6

* Previous year's returns.

† Of this sum £93 was contributed by foreigners.

Source: Annual Report of the Directors of the LMS: years ending 1900 and 1908.

TABLE SHOWING NUMBER OF STATIONS, WORKERS, AND CHRISTIANS CONNECTED WITH THE LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY IN TRAVANCORE

Fields	When Begun	Missionaries		Native Agents						Church Members	Native Adherents
		Men	Women	Ordained	Preachers	Christian Teachers, Men	Bible Women	Christian Teachers, Women			
Nagercoil	1829	2	2	5	42	130	16	30	2215	12,613	
82 Out-stations											
Tittuvilai	1866	0	0	1	10	14	5	3	240	2,015	
15 Out-stations											
Neyoor	1828	3	2	3	90	83	49	18	1842	14,372	
75 Out-stations											
Pareychaley	1845	1	0	4	60	101	9	9	2358	23,032	
85 Out-stations											
Trevandrum	1838	1	0	5	42	61	8	2	2348	14,513	
50 Out-stations											
Trevandrum City Mission	1894	1	0	0	7	2	6	1	59	630	
3 Out-stations											
Attingal	1895	1	0	1	8	23	6	1	137	1,109	
13 Out-stations											
Quilon	1821	1	0	1	30	39	5	6	505	3,306	
22 Out-stations											
Nedungolam	1904	1	0	0	4	14	3	0	60	490	
6 Out-stations											
Total		11	4	20	293	467	107	70	9764	72,080	

Appendix XVI

NAMES OF MISSIONARIES WHO HAVE LABOURED IN TRAVANCORE SINCE COMMENCEMENT OF THE MISSION

No.	Names	Arrival in the country	Stations where they worked	Leaving the country or Mission Service	Remarks
1	Rev. W.T. Ringelhaube	1816	Travancore	1818	
2	Rev. C. Mead	1818	Nagercoil, Neyoor	1822	Died at Trevandrum, 1873
3	Rev. R. Knill	1818	Nagercoil	1819	
4	Mr. C.H. Ashton	1819	Nagercoil, Quilon	1850	
5	Rev. C. Mauls	1819	Nagercoil, Quilon	1855	
6	Rev. J. Smith	1820	Nagercoil, Quilon	1824	
7	Rev. M. Cowes	1824	Quilon	1826	
8	Rev. W.B. Addis	1827	Seminary, Nagercoil	1830	
9	Rev. L.C. Thompson	1827	Quilon	1850	Died at Quilon, 1850
10	Rev. W. Miller	1828	Quilon and Neyoor	1838	Died at Nagercoil, 1838
11	M.J. Roberts	1830	Seminary	1834	Entered the Government
12	Rev. W. Harris	1832	Quilon	1833	
13	Rev. C. Miller	1834	Neyoor, Nagercoil	1841	
14	Rev. J.S. Pattison	1838	Quilon	1844	
15	Rev. J. Cox	1838	Trevandrum, Quilon	1862	
16	Rev. J. Abbs	1838	Neyoor, Puzhichal	1859	
17	Rev. J. Russell	1838	Nagercoil, Jamestown	1860	
18	Dr. A. Ramsay	1838	Medical Mission, Neyoor	1840	Entered the Government
19	Rev. D. Whitehouse	1842	Seminary	1857	
20	Rev. E. Lewis	1846	Santhaparam	1862	
21	Rev. C.C. Letich	1852	Neyoor	1854	Died at Mattam, 1854
22	Rev. F. Baylis	1854	Neyoor	1877	Died at Neyoor, 1877
23	Rev. J.J. Dennis	1856	Nagercoil Printing Office	1864	Died at Nagercoil, 1864
24	Rev. S. Maber	1859	Puzhichal, Trevandrum	1861	
25	Rev. J. Durbis	1859	Printing Office, Seminary	-	(1856-1859) at Madras
26	Rev. J. Wilkinson	1860	Neyoor, Quilon	1863	
27	Rev. Lowe	1861	Medical Mission, Neyoor	1868	
28	Rev. F. Canaway	1861	Jamestown	1864	
29	Rev. G.O. Newport	1863	Puzhichal, Nagercoil	1877	
30	Rev. W. Lee	1865	Neyoor, Trevandrum	1864	
31	Rev. G. Mabbis	1865	Nagercoil	1867	
32	Rev. E. Evelyn	1868	Puzhichal	1890	
33	Rev. S. Jones	1870	Nagercoil	1877	
34	Dr. Thomson, L.N.C.P. & S.E.	1873	Medical Mission, Neyoor	1894	Died at Neyoor, 1884
35	Rev. J.H. Hecker	1878	Neyoor	1894	
36	Rev. J. Knowles	1880	Quilon and Puzhichal	1899	
37	Rev. A.L. Allan	1884	Nagercoil	1885	
38	Mrs. Baylis Thomson	-	Zenana Work, Neyoor	-	Began work in 1885, after the death of Dr. Thomson
39	Dr. Sargood Fry, M.B., C.M.	1886	Medical Mission, Neyoor	1892	
40	Rev. A. Thomson	1888	Seminary and Quilon	1891	
41	H.T. Wells, Esq. M.A., B.Sc.	1892	Trevandrum City Mission	-	
42	Rev. J.W. Gillies	1892	Quilon	1896	
43	Miss Dery	1892	Zenana Work, Nagercoil	1899	
44	Miss Macdonnell	1892	Medical Mission, Neyoor	1903	
45	J.E. Dennison Esq.	1892	College, Nagercoil	1899	
46	Dr. A. Ellis, M.B., C.M.	1893	Medical Mission, Neyoor	1895	
47	Rev. W.D. Osborne	1893	Attingsal	-	
48	Rev. H. Hewitt	1893	Nedungalam	-	
49	Rev. T.W. Bach	1894	Trevandrum	1900	
50	Rev. A.T. Baxter	1896	Puzhichal	-	
51	Rev. W.J. Edmonds	1899	Quilon	-	
52	Rev. A. Barker	1900	Trevandrum	-	
53	Rev. G. Parker, B.A.	1901	College, Nagercoil	-	
54	Miss Blanchard	1901	Zenana Work, Nagercoil	-	
55	Dr. S.H. Davies, L.R.C.P.S.	1901	Medical Mission, Neyoor	-	
56	Miss E.J. Duffin	1901	Zenana Work, Nagercoil	-	
57	Dr. W.C. Bentall, L.R.C.P.	1902	Medical Mission, Neyoor	-	
58	Miss Wilson Greene	1903	Medical Mission, Neyoor	1906	
59	Dr. J. Davidson, M.D.	1908	Medical Mission, Neyoor	-	
60	Miss Macdonnell	1907	Medical Mission, Neyoor	-	

Source: I. H. Hacker, *A Hundred Years in Travancore*, London, 1908.

IV.—TRAVANCORE.

STATIONS.	<i>Missionaries.</i>
<i>Nagercoil</i> .. (p. 172) ..	JAMES DUTHIE (<i>m</i>), 1856. A. L. ALLAN (<i>m</i>), 1883.* <i>Native Pastors</i> —J. JOSHUA, Nagercoil. V. SOLOMON, 1879, Agasteespuram. J. NATHANIEL, 1879, Santhapuram. C. SAMUEL, Jamestown. J. MOSES, Tamareigulam. S. PARABARATADIMEI, Zionpuram. <i>Assistant Missionary</i> —C. SATTIANATHAN, 1879.
<i>Tittuvilei</i> .. (p. 176) ..	<i>Assistant Missionary</i> —M. NALLATHAMBY.
<i>Neyoor</i> .. (p. 176) ..	I. H. HACKER (<i>m</i>), 1877. ARTHUR FELLS, M.B., C.M. (<i>m</i>), 1892. Mrs. BAYLIS THOMSON, 1884. Miss MACDONNELL, 1892.* <i>Native Pastors</i> —S. ZECHARIAH, Neyoor. P. YACOB, 1879, Devikodu. B. MANASSEH, 1879, Kadamaleikunnoo.
<i>Pareychaley</i> (p. 179) ..	A. T. FOSTER (<i>m</i>), 1899. <i>Native Pastors</i> —S. DAVID SYLUM, 1893, Pareychaley. S. MATTHIAS, 1893, Martandam. A. SAMUEL, 1893, Kristucovil. N. JOSEPH, 1893, Irenepuram. <i>Assistant Missionary</i> —JOSEPH KAMALAM, 1867.
<i>Trevandrum</i> (p. 180) ..	Rev. A. PARKER (<i>m</i>), 1887. H. T. WILLS, M.A., B.Sc., F.G.S. (<i>m</i>), 1892.* T. W. BACH (<i>m</i>), 1894.* <i>Native Pastors</i> —V. MOSES, Trevandrum. W. G. RASALAM, 1885, Nellikaikuli. S. SUMANAM, 1892, Neyattankara. M. KESARY, 1894, Trevandrum. <i>Assistant Missionary</i> —ANBUDIAN DEVALAM, 1872
<i>Attingal</i> .. (<i>Vakkam</i>) (p. 185) ..	W. D. OSBORNE (<i>m</i>), 1893. H. HEWETT, 1893.
<i>Quilon</i> .. (p. 187) ..	W. J. EDMONDS (<i>m</i>), 1892.

TOTAL.—Eleven English Missionaries; Two Female Missionaries;
Twenty-one Ordained Native Pastors.

* Absent on furlough.

III.—TRAVANCORE.

STATIONS.	<i>Missionaries.</i>
Nagercoil ... (p. 99) ...	{ JAMES DUTHIE, D.D. (<i>m</i>), 1856.† GEORGE PARKER, B.A. (<i>m</i>), 1900. Miss B. BLANCHARD, 1900. Miss B. J. DUTHIE, 1901. <i>Native Pastors</i> —V. SOLOMON, 1879, Agastees- puram. J. NATHANIEL, 1879, Santhapuram. C. SAMUEL, Jamestown. J. MOSES, Tamareigulam. S. YESUDIAN, Zionpuram. S. VETHAMANY, Puttalam. <i>Assist. Missionaries</i> —C. SATTIANATHAN, 1879. (<i>Tituvilei</i>) M. NALLATHAMBY.
Neyoor... ... (p. 105) ...	{ I. H. HACKER (<i>m</i>), 1877. J. DAVIDSON, M.D., Ch.B. (<i>m</i>), 1905. Mrs. BAYLIS THOMSON, 1884. Miss MACDONNELL, 1907. <i>Native Pastors</i> —C. ISAAC, 1907. T. JOEL, 1903. <i>Assistant Missionary</i> —B. MANASSEH, 1879.
Pareychaley ... (p. 110) ...	{ A. T. FOSTER (<i>m</i>), 1899. <i>Native Pastors</i> —S. DAVID SYLUM, 1893, Parey- chaley. A. SAMUEL, 1893, Kristucovil. N. JOSEPH, 1893, Irenepuram. <i>Assistant Missionary</i> —S. MATTHIAS, 1893.
Trivandrum ... (p. 112) ...	{ A. PARKER (<i>m</i>), 1887.* H. T. WILLS, M.A., B.Sc. (<i>m</i>), 1892. <i>Native Pastors</i> —W. G. RASALAM, 1885, Nelli- kaikuli. S. SUMANAM, 1892, Neyattankara. M. KESARI, B.A, 1834, Trivandrum. <i>Assistant Missionary</i> —K. P. THOMAS, 1903.
Attingal ... (p. 117) ...	{ W. D. OSBORNE (<i>m</i>), 1893. One <i>Native Pastor</i> .
Quilon... ... (p. 119) ...	{ W. J. EDMONDS (<i>m</i>), 1892. H. HEWETT (<i>m</i>), 1893. <i>Assistant Missionary</i> —REV. ISAAC DAVID.

TOTAL.—Ten English Missionaries; Four Female Missionaries;
 Twenty-one Ordained Native Pastors.

* Absent on furlough. † Since deceased.

10*

Source: Annual Report of the Directors of the LMS: years ending 1900 and 1908; I. H. Hacker, *A Hundred Years in Travancore*, London, 1908.

Extract of a Letter from the Missionary, Rev.
 Mr. Bunker, to Dr. C. Beardsley.
 Dated Palomota Sept
 11th 1816.

My dear Sir, I have to acknowledge a favour of
 yours, as also several letters from Mr. Hancock, &
 Mr. Bunker. A few weeks ago I wrote to the former
 in Copenhagen. Excuse my being concise and waving
 all that sense of gratitude might suggest.

I have taken the entire charge of the mission in Palomota
 called upon, I have laboured there last six months
 travelling from congregation to congregation, and preach-
 ing, with some in imperfect Spanish. Many adults
 besides children, have been baptized since my arrival. They
 travelled in that time upwards of 1000 miles, mostly
 on horseback, suffered a little by heat & mud & flying
 sand, more, however, from various trials in my own
 mind. However, the Lord supports his growing crea-
 ture, & has preserved me from giving meat, any open occasion
 of injury to his glorious cause, & from bodily dangers. I
 expect, that I shall soon be able to preach the gospel with
 greater propriety & energy. I have made a journey through
 Truxacore & Cobin, and with much difficulty, by the
 intercession of — obtained leave from the king,
 to introduce our religion in that country. Had I the
 means, you would by this time, have had a church and
 magdalen in Truxacore: but circumstanced as I am,
 I must wait the hand of Providence. Represent, if you
 please, our case to the directors, and, if possible, obtain the
 sum of £100 for me, towards building a church in Truxa-
 core, and erecting small buildings for a dormitory. I
 have now two christian boys training up for preach-
 ing the gospel, and they give me much satisfaction, in
 a short time they will be useful: an hundred more might
 be all they the directors had provided for, but their letters had
 not then reached them.

may might easily be got, if I had the means of educating them. All this will be fully stated in my diary. I have forborne to send it off till I might be enabled, by experience, to write of it in a certain and decisive way regarding this mission.

Long experience has taught me, that in large towns, especially where many Europeans live, the gospel makes but little progress. Superstition is there too powerfully established, and the example of the Europeans too corrupt. Permit me to lay the following plan before you, which, if you think fit, you may communicate to the society.

1. A church to be built in Travancore, with dwellinghouse belonging to it, £100.

2. A seminary of twelve youths to be erected, and maintained. The annual expense of a boy, 18 star pagodas; sum 210 star pagodas per annum, equal to £82.

3. These youths, when fit, to be employed as itinerants, and every one so employed to receive two star pagodas per month.

I hope, my dear Sir, you continue to pray for me. I surely want the prayers of my friends and brethren. I am often brought very low indeed scarcely anything of grace remains, except the resolution to persevere in our Saviour's service, humbly trusting on the Lord. My diocese is as large as Yorkshire, and I serve 5000 souls. You may conceive, that I cannot spare time for much writing at present.

Extracts from the Journal of the
Missionary Ringeltaube

Palomcotta, June
8c. 8c

Source: I C 47; Archives, Francke Foundation, Germany. For details: M. Christhu Doss, *Protestant Missionaries and Depressed Classes in Southern Tamil Nadu, 1813-1947* (Unpublished Ph. D., Thesis), Submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, 2009.

Extract of a letter from the Missionary Ringeltaube to R. C. London. (London Missionary Society.)

PALAMCOTTA, September 11, 1806.

"I have taken, *ad interim*, charge of the Mission in Palamcotta, where I have laboured these last six months, travelling from congregation to congregation, and preaching extempore in imperfect Tamil. Many adults, besides children have been baptised since my arrival. I have travelled in that time upwards of 1,000 miles, mostly on horseback; suffered a little by heat, wind, and flying sand; more however from various trials in my own mind; however the Lord supports his feeble creature, and has preserved me from giving any open occasion of injury to his glorious cause, and from bodily dangers. I expect that I shall soon be able to preach the

Summary of his work.

Gospel with greater propriety and energy. I have made a journey through Travancore and Cochin, and with much difficulty, by the interposition of Colonel Macaulay, obtained leave from the king to introduce our religion in that country. Had I the means, you would, by this time, have had a church at Mayiladi in Travancore, but circumstanced as I am, I must wait the hand of Providence. Represent, if you please, our case to the directors, and, if possible, obtain the sum of 100£ for me, towards building a Church in Travancore, and erecting small buildings for a Seminary.* I have now two Christian boys training up for preaching the Gospel, and they give me much satisfaction: in a short time they will be useful. A hundred more might easily be got, if I had the means of educating them. All this will be fully stated in my diary. I have foreborne to send it off, till I might be enabled, by experience, to write you in a certain and decisive way regarding this Mission.

Long experience has taught me, that in large towns, especially where many Europeans are, the Gospel makes but little impression. Superstition is there too powerfully established, and the example of Europeans too baneful. Permit me to lay the following plan before you, which, if you think fit, you may communicate to the Society.

Plan of operations. 1. A Church to be built in Travancore with dwelling-house belonging to it; 100£.

2. A Seminary of twelve youths to be erected and maintained. The annual expense of a boy, 18 star pagodas; total 216 star pagodas per annum, equal to 82£.

3. These youths, when fit, to be employed as itinerants; and every one so employed to receive two star pagodas per month.

I hope, my dear Sir, you continue to pray for me: I urgently want the prayers of my friends and brethren. I am often brought very low indeed. Scarcely anything of grace remains, except the resolution to persevere in our Saviour's service, humbly waiting on the Lord. My diocese is as large as Yorkshire, and I serve 5,000 souls. You may conceive that I cannot spare time for much writing at present."

Source: Robert Caldwell, *Records of the Early History of the Tinnevelly Missions*, Madras, 1881.

**CURRICULA OF STUDY IN THE DIFFERENT CLASSES OF GOVERNMENT
EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS.**

(1) **COLLEGES.**—TEST PRESCRIBED FOR THE B.A. EXAMINATION OF THE UNIVERSITY, TO WHICH CORRESPONDS THE COURSE IN THE TENTH AND NINTH CLASSES OF THE COLLEGES.

- (1) English Language, in which each candidate must undergo examination.
- (2) Optional Language. One of the following languages at the option of the candidate:—Sanskrit (in the Devanagari character only), Greek, Latin, Arabic, Persian, Oordoo, Tamul, Telooogo, Canarese, Malayalam, Oriyah.
- (3) Optional Branches. One of the following branches of knowledge at the option of the candidate:—*Branch I—Mathematics and Natural Philosophy*—(a) Pure Mathematics consisting of Algebra, Geometry, including Euclid and Conic Sections, Plane Trigonometry, Spherical Trigonometry, Theory of Equations, Analytical Geometry of two Dimensions, and the Differential Calculus. (b) Natural Philosophy—Dynamics, including Kinematics, Kinetics, and Statics; Hydrostatics and Pneumatics; Geometrical Optics; and Astronomy. *Branch II—Physical Science*—(i), (a) Experimental Physics; (b) Inorganic Chemistry, Theoretical; (c) Inorganic Chemistry, Practical. (ii) One of the following at the option of the candidate:—(a) Mixed Mathematics and Advanced Physics; (b) Chemistry, Theoretical and Practical. *Branch III—Natural Science*—(i) General Biology. (ii) One of the following sciences at the option of the candidate:—(a) Botany, (b) Animal Physiology, (c) Zoology, (d) Geology. *Branch IV—Mental and Moral Science*—(i) Physiology, (ii) Psychology and General Philosophy, (iii) Logic, (iv) Ethics. *Branch V—History and Political Economy.*

(2) **COLLEGES.**—TEST PRESCRIBED FOR THE FIRST EXAMINATION IN ARTS OF THE UNIVERSITY, TO WHICH CORRESPONDS THE COURSE IN THE EIGHTH AND SEVENTH CLASSES OF THE COLLEGES.

- (1) English Language, in which each candidate must undergo examination.
- (2) Optional Language. One of the following languages at the option of the candidate:—Sanskrit (in the Devanagari character only), Greek, Latin, Arabic, Persian, Oordoo, Tamul, Telooogo, Canarese, Malayalam, Oriyah, French, German.
- (3) Logic.
- (4) Mathematics—Algebra, Geometry, and Plane Trigonometry.
- (5) Elements of Human Physiology.
- (6) History and Geography—(a) the History of England from A.D. 1485; (b) the History of Greece to its conquest by Rome; (c) the History of Rome to the fall of the Western Empire.

(3) **HIGH SCHOOLS.**—TEST PRESCRIBED FOR THE MATRICULATION EXAMINATION OF THE UNIVERSITY, TO WHICH CORRESPONDS THE COURSE IN THE SIXTH OR MATRICULATION CLASS OF THE SCHOOLS.

- (1) English Language, in which each candidate must undergo examination.
- (2) Optional Language. One of the following languages at the option of the candidate:—Sanskrit (in the Devanagari character only), Greek, Latin, Arabic, Persian, Tamul, Telooogo, Canarese, Malayalam, Oordoo, Oriyah, French, German.
- (3) Mathematics—(a) Arithmetic.—The first four rules, reduction, vulgar and decimal fractions, proportion, practice, extraction of the square root, interest, discount, present worth, and stocks. (b) Algebra—Addition, subtraction, multiplication, division, involution and evolution of algebraical quantities, and simple equations with easy problems. (c) Geometry—The first three books of Euclid with easy deductions.
- (4) General Knowledge—(a) Elements of Physics; (b) Elements of Chemistry; (c) History—(1) the History of India (the whole), (2) the Outlines of the History of England; (d) Geography—General geography, and the geography of India in particular.

(4) HIGH SCHOOLS.—CURRICULUM OF THE FIFTH CLASS.

Subject.	Text-book.	Portion.	Remarks as to Inspector's examination, &c.
English Reading ...	Fowler's Sixth Reader, English Series.	The whole	The pupil's ability to construe and converse will be tested not only in the text-book, but also in new sentences not confined to any particular words and constructions. Suitable matter for holiday tasks will be found in the book. The dialogues and poetry must be learnt by heart. Books of school exercises to be exhibited. Each page to be dated and signed by the pupil.
English Writing ...	.....	.....	Marks will be given both for writing and spelling.
English Dictation ...	The reading book in use or any other of equal difficulty.	Passages from portion not read.	
Do. ...	Difficult words of less frequent occurrence selected by the teacher.	The words may be taken from Laurie's New Manual of English spelling, Webster's Guide to English spelling, or any similar book. Pages 1—40.	
English Grammar ...	Dr. Morris' (Macmillan's Primer Series).	The subjects to be named by the teacher.	The pupil must be taught how to address as well as to write a letter.
English Composition.	Letters on simple subject.	The whole	The pupil will be tested in translating passages which he has not previously seen, from and into the vernacular, without the aid of a grammar and dictionary.
Translation from English into the vernacular.	The exercises in Fowler's Sixth Reader, English Series.		
Translation from the vernacular into English.			
Vernacular Reading.	Text-books prescribed for the Matriculation examination.	About half	The pupil must be able to answer questions on the meaning and subject-matter of the text-books, to recite 250 lines of the poetry and to read a few lines of poetry not previously studied, equal in difficulty to the text-book.
Vernacular Composition.	Short essays	The subjects to be named by the teacher.	Marks will be given for writing and spelling, as well as for matter and style.
Vernacular Grammar.	Tamil, Nunnool Teloooc, Chinniah Scory Baula Vyauccaranam. Malayalam, Gundert's Bhasha Vyauccaranam. Canarese, Shaulah Vyauccarana. Ooriyah, Sadhananda Doss' Persian, Manzaser-ul-Qwaid.	Letters and Sandhy. Pages 1—31. Pages 59—101. Pages 73—131. Pages 63—119. Pages 1—50.	
Arithmetic	Barnard Smith's and Bradshaw's.	Compound interest, extraction of square root, square and cubic measure, revision of the previous rules and miscellaneous questions in them.	
Algebra	Todhunter's Algebra for Beginners.	To the end of simple equations, and problems involving them.	
Geometry	Euclid	Books I and II with easy deductions.	
Geography	Clyde's Elementary Geography.	Africa, America and Oceania.	
Do.	Duncan's Geography of India.	Page 106 to the end (para. 204 to the end).	Maps drawn during the year to be exhibited.
History of India	Dr. W. W. Hunter's	The remaining portion.	
History of England	Miss Edith Thompson's	To the accession of George I.	
Chemistry	Roscoe's Primer	Pages 1—28 (articles 1—19).	
Physics	Balfour Stewart's Primer.	Pages 1—34 (articles 1—28).	
(5) MIDDLE SCHOOLS.—CURRICULUM OF THE UPPER FOURTH CLASS.			
English Reading ...	Bradshaw's Fifth Reader, English Series.	The whole	The pupil's ability to construe and converse will be tested not only in the text-book, but also in new sentences containing only such words and constructions as the pupil has learned. Suitable matter for holiday tasks will be found in the book. The dialogues and poetry must be learnt by heart.
English Writing ...	.....	.....	Books of school exercises to be exhibited, each page to be dated and signed by the pupil.
English Dictation ...	The reading book in use or any other of equal difficulty.	Passages from portions not read.	Marks will be given both for writing and spelling.

(B) MIDDLE SCHOOLS.—CURRICULUM OF THE UPPER FOURTH CLASS—(Continued).

Subject.	Text-book.	Portion.	Remarks as to Inspector's examination, &c.
English Dictation ...	Difficult words in common use selected by the teacher.	The words may be taken from Laurie's New Manual of English spelling, Webster's Guide to English spelling, or any similar book.	
English Grammar ...	Manual of English Grammar, C.V.E.S.	Pages 69—176.	
Translation from English into the vernacular. Translation from the vernacular into English.	The exercises in Bradshaw's Fifth Reader, English Series.	The whole	The pupil will be tested in translating passages which he has not previously seen, but of the same degree of difficulty as those in the text-book from and into the vernacular with the aid of a grammar and dictionary. He will also be tested in translating somewhat easier passages without such aid.
Vernacular Reading and Text-book.	Tamil, Anthology, No. II. Telooogo, Nalacheritram. Malayalam, Chanakya Sootram. Canarese, Poetical Anthology, published by the Basel Mission Press. Ooriyah, Ramayana, Soondra Kanda. Persian, Gulistan, Expurgated edition.	Stanzas 139—220. Pages 31—52. The whole. Stanzas 351—630, omitting prose passages. The remaining portion ...	The pupil must be able to recite the portion prescribed and to answer questions on the meaning and subject-matter. The pupil will be required to read a few lines of poetry not previously studied equal in difficulty to the text-book.
Vernacular Composition.	A description of a place, an account of some useful, natural, or artificial product, or the like.	Chapter II and III ...	Marks will be given for writing and spelling, as well as for matter and style.
Vernacular Grammar.	Tamil, Mahalingayya's ...	Pages 71—79 and general revision.	
	Telooogo, Vencayya's ...	Pages 37—47 and general revision.	
	Malayalam, Gundert's Bhasha Vyacaranam. Canarese, Shanlah Vyau-carana.	Pages 1—59. Pages 41—72.	
	Ooriyah, Sadhananda Doss' Persian, Sell's Zubdut-ul-Quawaneen.	Pages 15—63. The whole.	
Arithmetic	Bernard Smith's and Bradshaw's.	Compound proportion and simple interest. Revision of the previous rules and miscellaneous questions in them.	
Algebra	Todhunter's Algebra for Beginners.	To the end of fractions.	
Geometry	Euclid	Book I.	
Geography	Clyde's Elementary Geography.	Europe	} Maps drawn during the year to be exhibited.
Do.	Duncan's Geography of India.	Pages 51—100, paras. 85—203.	
History of India ...	Dr. W. W. Hunter's ...	The next 80 pages.	
History of England ...	Miss Edith Thompson's ...	To the accession of Henry VIII.	

(C) MIDDLE SCHOOLS.—CURRICULUM OF THE LOWER FOURTH CLASS.

English Reading ...	Barrow's Fourth Reader, English Series.	The whole	The pupil's ability to construe and converse will be tested, not only in the text-book, but also in new sentences containing only such words and constructions as the pupil has learned. The book contains a tale to be read during the holidays. The dialogues must be learnt by heart. Ability to read will be tested in some book of equal difficulty, not previously studied.
English Writing ...	.....	.....	Books of school exercises to be exhibited, each page to be dated and signed by the pupil.
English Dictation ...	The reading book in use, or any other of equal difficulty.	Passages from portion not read.	
Do.	Difficult words in common use selected by the teacher.	The words may be taken from Laurie's New Manual of English spelling, Webster's Guide to English spelling, or any similar books.	Lists of these words should be written out by the pupils, pending their insertion in a new edition of the Fourth Reader.
English Grammar ...	Manual of English Grammar, C.V.E.S.	Pages 1—63.	

(6) MIDDLE SCHOOLS.—CURRICULUM OF THE LOWER FORMS CLASS.—(Continued).

Subject.	Text-book.	Portion.	Remarks.
Translation from English into the vernacular. Translation from the Vernacular into English.	The exercises in Appendix B of Barrow's Fourth Reader.	The whole	The pupil will be tested in translating passages, which he has not previously seen, but of the same degree of difficulty as those in App. B from and into the vernacular with the aid of a grammar and dictionary. He will also be tested in translating somewhat easier passages without such aid.
Vernacular Reading and Text-book.	Tamil, Anthology No. II. Teloggo, Nalocharithram. Malayalam, Panchasantam (Garthwaite's edition). Canarese, Poetical Anthology, published by the Basel Mission Press. Oriyah, Ramayana, Soondra Kanda. Persian, Gulistan, expurgated edition.	Stanzas 60—139 Pages 18—30. The remaining portion Stanzas 151—350. Pages 20—49 Chapter I	The pupil must be able to recite the portion prescribed and to answer questions on the meaning and subject-matter. The pupil will be required to read a few lines of poetry, not previously studied, equal in difficulty to the text-book.
Vernacular Composition.	A letter or petition ...	Any subject named by the teacher.	Marks will be given for writing and spelling as well as for matter and style.
Vernacular Grammar.	Tamil, Mahalingayya's ... Teloggo, Vencayya's ... Malayalam, Gundert's and Garthwaite's Catechism of Malayalam Grammar, Diglott edition. Canarese, Sala, Vyakaranam. Oriyah, Sadhanandha Doss'. Persian, Sell's Zubd-ut-Quawaneen.	Pages 41—70. Pages 19—36. The portion learned in Malayalam to be revised in the English on the opposite page. Pages 1—41. Pages 1—15. Page 26 to the end.	
Arithmetic	Barnard Smith's and Bradshaw's.	Practice and simple proportion, revision of previous rules and miscellaneous questions in the compound rules, and vulgar and decimal fractions.	
Geometry	Euclid	Book I to the end of 16th proposition both in the vernacular and in English.	
Geography	Clyde's Elementary Geography.	Asia	Maps drawn during the year to be exhibited.
Do.	Duncan's Geography of India.	Pages 1—51, paras. 1—84.	
History of India	Dr. W. W. Hunter's ...	About 60 pages.	
History of England ...	Miss Edith Thompson's ...	To the accession of Henry II.	

(7) MIDDLE SCHOOLS.—CURRICULUM OF THE THIRD CLASS.

English Reading ...	Marden's Third Reader, English Series.	The whole	The pupil's ability to construe and converse will be tested not only in the text-book, but also in new sentences, containing only such words and constructions as the pupil has learned. Appendix A will afford matter for holiday tasks. The dialogues must be learnt by heart. Ability to read will be tested in some book of equal difficulty, not previously studied, due allowances being made for words with the pronunciation of which the pupil cannot be expected to be acquainted.
English Writing ...	Vere Foster's, Morgan's, or any series of copy-books or copy-slips sold at the Central Book Depôt.	Small hand	One hundred pages to be exhibited, each page to be signed and dated by the pupil.
English Dictation ...	The reading book in use...	Short passages from the portion read.	Marks will be given both for writing and reading.
Do. ...	Do. App. C. ...	The whole of the words given, especially those which are alike in sound, but which differ in spelling and meaning.	
English Grammar ...	Grammatical Primer, C. V. E. S., or Morgan's Elementary Grammar.	The whole.	

(7) MIDDLE SCHOOLS.—CURRICULUM OF THE THIRD CLASS—(Continued).

Subject.	Text-book.	Portion.	Remarks.
Translation from English into the vernacular. Translation from the vernacular into English.	The exercises in Appendix E of Marden's Third Reader.	The whole.	The pupil will be tested in translating easy sentences or passages, which he has not previously seen, but of the same degree of difficulty as those in Appendix E; from and into the vernacular, with the aid of a grammar and dictionary.
Vernacular Reading.	Tamil, Telooگو, Malayalam and Canarese Krishnamachariar's Fourth Reader, Madras School Series.	The whole	The pupil must be able to answer questions on the meaning and subject-matter. The entertaining portions of the book will afford suitable matter for holiday tasks. The examination will bear chiefly on the more instructive portions. The pupil will be required to read a few lines of poetry, not previously studied, equal in difficulty to the Anthology, No. I. Do. as far as applicable. Do. do.
	Ooriyah, Hitopodesh ... Persian, M a j m u a h - i Salees, Harris' School edition.	Parts III and IV The whole	
Vernacular Writing...	.....	.....	Books of school exercises to be exhibited, each page to be dated and signed by the pupil.
Vernacular Dictation.	Tamil, Telooگو, Malayalam, Canarese and Ooriyah. Any book, not read in the class, equal in difficulty to the reading book in use. Persian, M a j m u a h - i Salees, Harris' School edition.	Passages from any portion... Any passage from part read.	Marks will be given both for writing and spelling.
Vernacular Poetry ...	Tamil, Anthology No. II. Telooگو, Nalacharithram. Malayalam, Panchatantram. Garthwaite's edition. Canarese, Poetical Anthology, published by the Basel Mission Press.	Stanzas 1—59 Pages 1—12 Part I Stanzas 1—150	The pupil must be able to recite the portion prescribed and to answer questions on the meaning and subject-matter.
	Ooriyah, Ramayana Soondra Kanda.	Pages 1—20	
Vernacular Grammar.	Tamil, Mahalingayya's ... Telooگو, Vencayya's ... Malayalam, Garthwaite's and Gundert's Catechism. Canarese, Catechism of, Mangalore edition. Ooriyah, Lacey's ... Persian, Sell's Zubdat-ul-Quawaneen.	Pages 1—40. Pages 1—18. To the end. Revision of the whole. 64—100, with revision of the whole. Page 26 to the end.	
Arithmetic	Vernacular translation of Colenso.	Miscellaneous questions in the compound rules and vulgar fractions, decimal fractions, and easy questions involving the application of them.	
Geography	Vernacular translation of Duncan's Introduction to the Geography of the World.	Part II, Europe.	Maps drawn during the year to be exhibited.
History	Vernacular translation of the World's History, Madras School Book Society.	Chapter XXVI—XLV.	
Agriculture	Robertson's Agricultural Class Book.	Parts IV, V and VI	This subject may be read instead of history in rural schools.

(8) UPPER PRIMARY SCHOOLS.—CURRICULUM OF THE SECOND CLASS.

English Reading ...	Garthwaite's Second English Book, English Series.	The whole	The pupil's ability to construe and converse will be tested not only in the text-book but also in new sentences, containing only such words and constructions as occur in the text-book. Ability to read will be tested in some book of equal difficulty, not previously studied, due allowances being made for words with the pronunciation of which the pupil cannot be expected to be acquainted.
---------------------	---	------------------	--

(3) UPPER PRIMARY SCHOOLS.—CURRICULUM OF THE SECOND CLASS—(Continued).

Subject.	Text-book.	Portion.	Remarks.
English Writing ...	Vere Foster's, Morgan's, or any series of copy-books or copy-slips, sold at the Central Book Depot.	Round hand	One hundred pages to be exhibited, each page to be signed and dated by the pupil.
English Dictation ..	The reading book in use ...	Sentences from the portion read.	Marks will be given both for writing and spelling.
	Oral lessons	The remaining parts of speech.	
English Grammar...	The grammatical portion of Garthwaite's Second English Reader.	The whole	The pupil must be able to make easy applications of what he has learnt to the reading book.
Translation from English into the vernacular.	As contained in Garthwaite's Second English Book.	The whole	The pupil will be tested in translating very easy sentences, which he has not previously studied, from and into the vernacular with the aid of a grammar and dictionary.
Translation from the vernacular into English.	Tamil, Telogoo, Malayalam, and Canarese—Vizianagram Third Reader, Madras School Series.	The whole	The pupil must be able to answer questions on the meaning and subject-matter. The entertaining portions of the book will afford suitable matter for holiday tasks. The examinations will bear chiefly on the more instructive portions. Reading will be tested in some book of equal difficulty not previously studied.
Vernacular Reading.	Ooriyah—Hitopodesh	Parts I and II	Do. as far as applicable.
	Hindustany—Majmuah-i-Sakhun, Part I.	Prose bearing on the first 200 lines of the poetry.	Do. do.
Vernacular Writing...	Any ordinary manuscript. Copy-books or copy-slips ...	Running hand	One hundred pages to be exhibited, each page to be dated and signed by the pupil.
Vernacular Dictation.	Any book not read in the class, equal in difficulty to the reading book in use.	Passages from any portion.	
Vernacular Poetry.	Tamil, Telogoo, Malayalam, or Canarese—Anthology No. I.	The next 200 lines	The pupil must be able to recite the portion prescribed and to answer questions on the meaning and subject-matter.
	Ooriyah—Saro Sangraho ...	Do.	
	Hindustany—Majmuah-i-Sakhun, Part I.	The first 200 lines	
Vernacular Grammar.	Tamil—Pope's No. I	Pages 1—15 and 43—53 ...	With parsing and applications of the rules to the reading book.
	Telogoo—Sesiah's	Pages 15—56	
	Malayalam—Gundert's and Garthwaite's Catechism.	Etymology	
	Canarese—Catechism of—Mangalore Edition.	The remaining half	
	Ooriyah—Lacey's	Pages 1—64	
Arithmetic ...	Hindustany—Sell's Khulasatul-Quawaneen.	The whole	
	Vernacular translation of Colenso.	Miscellaneous questions in reduction and the compound rules, greatest common measure, least common multiple, vulgar fractions and easy questions involving the application of them.	
Geography ...	Mental	Bazaar transactions.	Maps drawn during the year to be exhibited.
	Vernacular translation of Duncan's Introduction to the Geography of the World.	Part I.—Introduction and Asia.	
History ...	Vernacular translation of the World's History, Madras School Book Society.	Chapters X—XXV.	
Agriculture ...	Vernacular translation of Robertson's Agricultural Class Book.	Parts II and III	This subject may be studied instead of history in rural schools. It is compulsory in addition to history in elementary normal schools and practising schools.
Hygiene ...	Cunningham's Sanitary Primer.	The whole.	
<i>In Girls' Schools.</i>			
Needlework ...	Oral and practical from the teacher.	Cutting out and working on fine cloth a native man's jacket, or a native woman's jacket and a petticoat finely made.	Work to be exhibited.
Singing ...	Do. do. ...	Left to the discretion of the teacher.	The teaching of this subject is optional.

(3) LOWER PRIMARY SCHOOLS.—CONTINUATION OF THE FIRST CLASS.

Subject.	Text-book.	Portion.	Remarks.
English Reading ...	Garthwaite's First English Book, Madras School Series.	The whole	The pupil's ability to construe and converse will be tested not only in the text-book, but also in new sentences containing only such words and constructions as occur in the text-book. Ability to read will be tested in some book of equal difficulty not previously studied, due allowances being made for words with the pronunciation of which the pupil cannot be expected to be acquainted.
English Writing ...	Vero Foster's, Morgan's, or any series of copy-books or copy-slips sold at the Central Book Depot.	Large hand	One hundred pages to be exhibited, each page to be dated.
English Dictation ...	The reading book in use ...	Words from the portion read.	Marks will be given both for writing and spelling.
English Grammar ...	Oral lessons The grammatical portion of Garthwaite's First English Book, Madras School Series.	Nouns, adjectives, and verbs. The whole	To be taught in connection with the reading lesson.
Translation from English into the vernacular. Translation from the vernacular into English.	As contained in Garthwaite's First English Book. Vide "Directions to the Teacher."	The whole.	
Vernacular Reading.	Tamil, Telooqoo, Malayalam, or Canarese—Joyes' Second Reader, Madras School Series.	The whole	The pupil must be able to answer questions on the meaning and subject-matter. The stories and fables will afford suitable matter for home lessons and holiday tasks. The annual examinations will bear chiefly on the other portions of the book. Reading will be tested in some book of equal difficulty not previously studied.
	Ooriyah—Niti Kotho, Parts II and III.	Do.	Do. as far as applicable.
	Hindustany—Second Book of Colonel Holroyd's Series, Talim-ul-Mabadi. Any plainly written manuscript.	Do.	
Vernacular Writing ...	Copy books or slips	Small hand	One hundred pages to be exhibited, each page to be dated and signed.
Vernacular Dictation.	Any book not read in the class, equal in difficulty to the reading book in use.	Short passages	Marks will be given both for writing and spelling.
Vernacular Poetry.	Tamil, Telooqoo, Malayalam, or Canarese—Anthology No. I. Ooriyah—Sara Sangrano. Hindustany—Risala-i-Manzumah.	The next 100 lines	The pupil must be able to recite the portion prescribed and to answer questions on the meaning and subject-matter.
	Tamil—Pope's No. I Telooqoo—Seshiah's Malayalam—Garthwaite's Essentials of— Canarese—Catechism of— Mangalore Edition. Ooriyah—Byakorono Munjery. Hindustany—Sell's Khulasat-ul-Quawaneen.	Pages 16—43 (Etymology)... Pages 1—14 The whole First half The whole Pages 1—20	The pupil must be able to make easy applications of the rules to the reading book.
Arithmetic ...	Vernacular Translation of Colenso, Part I.	Reduction and the compound rules restricted to the Indian weight, measure, and money tables published by the Director of Public Instruction.	The pupil's ability to answer easy miscellaneous questions will be tested, but the examination will consist chiefly in working sums in the rules named.
	Mental	The simple rules.	
Geography ...	Orelly from the map of the Madras Presidency.	Districts, chief towns, principal rivers and mountains.	
	Vernacular translation of a Short Account of the Madras Presidency, Madras School Book Society.	Introduction, and district in which the school is situated.	

(9) LOWER PRIMARY SCHOOLS.—CURRICULUM OF THE FIRST CLASS—(Continued).

Subject.	Text-book.	Portion.	Remarks.
History	Vernacular translation of the World's History, Madras School Book Society.	Chapters I—IX.	
Agriculture	Vernacular translation of Robertson's Agricultural Class Book.	Part I, Soils	This subject may be studied instead of history in rural schools. It is compulsory in addition to history in elementary normal schools and practising schools.

In Girls' Schools.

Needlework	Oral and practical from the teacher.	Gathering, back-stitching, working button holes, and darning on calico; generally such work as is on the sleeve of a somewhat coarse shirt or a native man's jacket.	Work to be exhibited.
Singing	Do. do.	Left to the discretion of the teacher.	The teaching of this subject is optional.

(10) LOWER PRIMARY SCHOOLS.—CURRICULUM OF THE PREPARATORY CLASS B.

Vernacular Reading.	Tamil, Telooqoo, Malayalam, or Canarese—Garthwaite's First Book of Lessons, Madras School Series, Part II. Ooriyah—Niti Kotha, Part I. Hindostany—First Book of Colonel Holroyd's Series, Talim-ul-Mubtadi.	The whole	The pupil must be able to answer simple questions on the meaning and subject-matter. Reading will be tested in some book of equal difficulty not previously studied.
Vernacular Writing	Copy books or slips	Round hand	Seventy-five pages to be exhibited. Each page to be dated and signed.
Vernacular Dictation.	Any book not used in the class equal in difficulty to the reading book in use.	Short sentences.	
Vernacular Poetry.	Tamil, Telooqoo, Malayalam, or Canarese—Anthology, No. 1. Ooriyah—Saro Sungraho. Hindostany—Risala-i-Manzumah.	Fifty lines	The pupil must be able to recite the portion prescribed and to answer simple questions on the meaning and subject-matter.
Vernacular Grammar.	Oral lessons	Nouns, adjectives, and verbs.	To be taught in connection with the reading lesson.
Arithmetic	Vernacular translation of Colenso, Part I.	Notation and numeration to seven places of figures. Multiplication table to 12 times 16. Four simple rules.	
Geography	Orally from the map	The chief divisions, towns, rivers, and mountains of the district in which the school is situated.	

In Girls' Schools.

Needle-work	Oral and practical instruction from the teacher.	Hemming, top-sewing, and felling on fine cloth.	Work to be exhibited.
Singing	Do. do.	Left to the discretion of the teacher.	The teaching of this subject is optional.

(11) LOWER PRIMARY SCHOOLS.—CURRICULUM OF THE PREPARATORY CLASS A.

Vernacular Reading.	Tamil, Telooqoo, Malayalam, or Canarese—Garthwaite's First Book of Lessons, Madras School Series, Part I. Ooriyah Primer (Borno Bodho). Hindostany Primer of Colonel Holroyd's Series, Talim-ul-Mubtadi.	The whole	The pupil must be able to answer very simple questions on the meaning and subject-matter. Reading will be tested in some book of equal difficulty not previously studied.
Vernacular Writing	Copy books or slips	Large hand	Fifty pages to be exhibited, each page to be dated.
Vernacular Dictation.	The reading book in use	Words from the portion read.	
Arithmetic	Tamil, Telooqoo, Malayalam, Canarese, or Hindostany—Translation of Colenso, Part I. Ooriyah—Patiganita.	Notation and numeration to four places of figures. Multiplication table to 4 times 16. Simple addition of numbers of four figures, in five lines.	English figures must be used in this as well as in the higher classes.

In Girls' Schools.

Needlework	Oral and practical instruction from the teacher.	Hemming on calico or coarse cloth.	Work to be exhibited.
Singing	Do. do.	Left to the discretion of the teacher.	The teaching of this subject is optional.

(12) PRIMARY SCHOOLS.—SPECIAL VERNACULAR CURRICULUM.

(This is prescribed for European, East Indian, and Mahomedan boys, who are required to study the vernacular of the district in which they are living.)

Subject.	Text-book.	Portion.	Remarks.
<i>Upper Primary Schools—Second Class.</i>			
Reading	Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, or Canarese. Garthwait's School Series. Oriyala Primer, Borno Bodho.	Part II ... Remaining half.	The pupil must be able to construe any passage in the part read. His reading will be tested in some book of equal difficulty not previously studied. Seventy-five pages to be exhibited, each page to be dated and signed.
Writing	Copy-books or copy-slips	Round hand	
Dictation	The reading book in use	Words from the portion read.	
<i>Lower Primary Schools—First Class.</i>			
Reading	Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, or Canarese. Garthwait's First Book of Lessons, Madras School Series. Oriyala Primer, Borno Bodho. Copy-books or copy-slips	Part I ... Half. Large hand	The pupil must be able to construe any passage in the part read. His reading will be tested in some book of equal difficulty not previously studied. Fifty pages to be exhibited. Each page to be dated.
Writing	Copy-books or copy-slips	Large hand	
Dictation	The reading book in use	Words from the portion read.	

(13) CURRICULUM IN ELEMENTARY NORMAL SCHOOLS.

The following standing order summarizes the course of study pursued by students in normal schools and the general management of these schools, but Inspectors can modify the scheme to suit local requirements.

Students in elementary normal schools have to be taught as well as trained. During the year that they remain under instruction they must go through all the vernacular subjects prescribed for the Special Upper Primary Examination, as given in Schedule C of the Grant-in-Aid Code, although they cannot bring up more than two of the alternative subjects. They must also go through the first, second, and third readers, although these are not prescribed for the examinations, and must be instructed in hand-writing on some approved system, in mental arithmetic, and in map-drawing, including the ability to fill up the outlines of the world on an earth-ware globe. The best of these maps and this globe will be eventually handed over to them to take with them to their schools. Instruction in all these subjects will be given by the second master, who will also be required to teach the normal students how to keep school registers and to prepare the prescribed returns from them. The main duty of the headmaster will be to train the normal students. The general principles of school management should be inculcated, and detailed instruction of an elementary kind should be given on the teaching of such subjects as are taught in village schools. The practising classes will be taught entirely by the normal students under the direct supervision of the headmaster, and no student should be allowed to teach any lesson which he has not prepared. This preparation should be evidenced by written notes bearing the headmaster's remarks, and filed for inspection by the Inspector or Deputy Inspector. There should be a daily review and criticism of the work done by the students in the practising branch. For this purpose every student should have a supervision book, and in it the headmaster should enter at the time any defects which he may have to notice in his teaching. After the practising branch is dismissed, the student teachers should form a class, and the headmaster should read out his remarks from the supervision book, and call on the class to say how the errors might have been avoided and how the defects should be remedied. The instruction given during this time should be summarized on the blackboard and copied by the students into note-books kept by them for the purpose. On Saturday afternoon the headmaster should give a model lesson, and this should be followed by a criticism lesson, during which only those classes of the practising school which are required for the model or criticism lesson should attend. An hour twice a week

will suffice for instruction in method, and during this time the second master must supervise the practising branch. Every student should be required to keep a method book, in which he will be required to enter the principles taught at criticism and model lessons, at the weekly lectures and at the daily reviews. The practising branch will be organized so as to be as far as possible a model of the village school, to which the normal student will have ultimately to proceed. There will be four classes corresponding with the four lowest results standards and constituting a complete lower and upper primary vernacular school, with as many parallel divisions of each class as may be necessary. At Palghat the practising school is located in a cheap shed, consisting of one central hall to accommodate four classes, one in each angle, and eight small wings, two from each side, each wing to accommodate one class on a pyal. This arrangement provides for twelve classes under the headmaster's eye. No furniture is allowed in this building except a blackboard, costing Rupees 2-8-0 in each class, a bamboo easel costing eight annas, and a stool for the teacher. The children sit or stand on the pyal, which acts in some sort as a gallery. The character of the building may vary in different localities, but benches and expensive apparatus should be avoided as far as possible, as the pupils of village schools are not usually provided with such appliances. In some large towns a difficulty has been found in getting together a sufficient number of boys to constitute a practising school, and permission has been asked to have a little English taught in the third and fourth results standard classes. This has been allowed as a temporary arrangement in two or three schools. English is no doubt taught in some village schools, and this teaching is recognized by the Grant-in-Aid Code, but masters who are capable of teaching English must be persons who have already received some general education in English schools and who have gone through a course beyond that prescribed for the Special Upper Primary Examination. The elementary normal schools are intended to train men of an entirely different class, viz., the teachers in indigenous schools, or young men who look forward to gain their livelihood as teachers of vernacular schools. The introduction of English into the curriculum of the practising school can be of no benefit to men entirely ignorant of English, and if the effect is to compel the second master to devote a part of his time to teaching this subject, the result must be that he will have less time for his legitimate work. The working of this exceptional arrangement should, therefore, be very closely watched, and it should be discontinued as soon as it can be.

Source: C.D. Mac Lean, *Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency: In Illustration of the Government*, Government of Madras, Government Press, Madras, 1885.