MINISTRY OF CULTURE · GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
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ON THE

"ABOLITION" OR "TRANSFERENCE"

OF

GOVERNMENT COLLEGES AND HIGH SCHOOLS IN INDIA,

AS REQUIRED BY THE DESPATCH OF 1854.

ILLUSTRATED BY THE STATE OF EDUCATION IN MADRAS.

BY THE

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PREFACE.

We do not now need to show that the object of the Despatch of 1854 was, amongst other things, to encourage the spirit of independence, and to foster aided institutions, supported by native and Missionary associations, and that it was therein expressly declared that Government colleges and the higher schools were to be gradually abolished, or transferred, as soon as education was so far advanced as to render such changes practicable. This must now be admitted by all who stand by the Education Despatch—the sole legislative measure on which education in India is based. The only question which we require to consider is: Has the time arrived when it will be practicable and safe to apply that important rule? I propose to answer that question in the affirmative, not by arguments or assertions as to the state of the country generally; but,—as I have always maintained that the principle must be applied cautiously, and that each case must be judged on its own merits,—by fixing on one town as an example, and the town chosen is Madras.

REASONS FOR CHOOSING MADRAS.

There are three reasons for choosing Madras as an illustration of the practicability of carrying out the principle of the Despatch of 1854.

1st. Because we consider it a fair example. It is neither the oldest nor the newest of the great seats of education. It is neither the richest nor the poorest, and it has no special advantages which would make it exceptional. There are many parts of India not yet ripe for the application of the rule. There are some as ready as Madras.

2nd. It is there that of late a special desire has been shown to foster and extend Government institutions, and to discredit and discourage aided ones.

3rd. It is in Madras that the demand is boldly made for a new interpretation of the Despatch of 1854.

In a recent official document the Director of Public Instruction says :—

> "This controversy about the construction of the Despatch of 1854 has been going on for a quarter of a century, and it seems very desirable that it should be closed by some authoritative decision which will leave no further room for doubt in the minds, on the one hand of Christian Missionaries, and on the other of the Hindu and Muhammedan subjects of her Majesty."

This controversy we regard as now settled by the authoritative interpretation of the Despatch by its author, Lord Halifax, and collateral evidence brought out in our former pamphlet, in which his Lordship's testimony is given. In a more recent document which the Madras Government have just transmitted to the Secretary of State for India, he makes the assertion, as unqualified as it is groundless, that "if the Government colleges and schools which exist in this Presidency were made over to the management of local Committees of native gentlemen, the inevitable effect would be a general lowering of the standard of education." "Such a measure," he adds, "would be disastrous to

the cause of sound learning." In accordance with these views, which are in direct contradiction of the fundamental principle of the Despatch, he is now setting himself to extend Government colleges and high schools, and is apparently doing what he can to discourage, if not to destroy, independent effort by either natives or Missionaries.

We shall show in the following pages that there would be no difficulty in carrying on education in its highest form, if Government institutions did not stand in the way, and private enterprise were aided and encouraged. The question having been thus raised in Madras, we are willing to have it settled there.

REASONS FOR WITHDRAWING GOVERNMENT COLLEGES AND HIGH SCHOOLS.

But why so urgent to get Government colleges and high schools abolished or transferred ?

1st. Because it is the only honest course in the light of the authority by which education was set up, and is now carried on in India—the Despatch of 1854, ratified as it was after the Mutiny by that of 1859, and invariably declared to be the policy of every Government up to this time.

2nd. Because Government direct teaching was never designed for, nor is it fitted to be a permanent and complete system of education. The leaving out of religious teaching was only excusable as a temporary expedient in a transitory system.

3rd. This Government system discourages the spirit of self-reliance and independent effort among the richer classes. The natives of India cannot be expected to

burden themselves with the labour and expense of raising and supporting colleges and schools, so long as Government provides education for them, especially when the impression is left on their minds that to set up institutions of their own would be offensive to officials, if not disloyalty to State institutions.

4th. The prestige and influence of a school or college, under the direct management of the Government, makes competition by private enterprise almost impossible on the part of natives, and extremely difficult for any Society, especially in a country like India, under a system of paternal despotism.

5th. The high pay of Professors and teachers in Government colleges and schools intensifies the difficulty of maintaining private institutions.

6th. So long as Government maintains its own colleges in competition with private ones, it is next to an impossibility for Directors of Public Instruction, as Government servants, to overcome a feeling of partiality for institutions with which they naturally feel themselves identified, more especially when, as is now the growing custom, Government Professors are elevated to this responsible position. They would be more than human if they did not favour institutions from which they had risen, and old associates with whom they had wrought, rather than institutions and men whom they had formerly regarded as rivals, if not as antagonists. We charge none with conscious partiality; but facts prove that, in such a case, impartiality is in most cases impracticable.

7th. We advocate the withdrawal of Government colleges, because, by example and influence, they are leading the natives of India to imitate them in the systematic exclusion of religion from their colleges and

schools. This was neither expected nor desired by those who framed the Despatch of 1854. While they saw reasons for that course, in setting up a system which was professedly incomplete and temporary, they would have deplored its propagation and permanence. The effect of this system is becoming every year more manifest and disastrous. Whatever view we may take of mere secular teaching in this country, where secular teaching is merely negative in its form, and may prove negative in its results, in India it is altogether different; there secular teaching is not the mere negation of religion, bad as that would be, with a people like the Hindus: it is not negative, but positive, and destructive of all the old religions, which they have been brought up to believe in and reverence. To unhinge these old beliefs, and offer no substitute, is enough to unsettle the mind of youth at the most critical period of life, to introduce a moral chaos, and set up by Government authority and influence a reign of scepticism in India, which can end in nothing short of anarchy and confusion. To educate a nation on such a system, and that nation naturally ardent, imaginative, religious, tropical, is the sure way to "sow the wind and reap the whirlwind."

It may, at first sight, seem hard and unreasonable to ask Government to give up the institutions it has founded and nourished at such a cost, and for such a length of time. If they were private establishments, and set up for private ends or personal profit, it would be both hard and unreasonable. But since they were established for the education of an Empire, and one of the grand lessons was, to teach the people how to educate themselves, it is no hardship. It is the glory

and triumph of the system to have reached such a happy consummation. It was never the design of Government that they should become permanent institutions with vested interests, as seems to be the idea of Professors and Directors of Public Instruction of the present day. The vested interests of individuals we can understand and respect; but to turn our educational system in India into a bureaucracy would be to defeat the great end of its institution.

ABOUT THE DANGER OF A RELIGIOUS PROPAGANDISM.

There is one reason for maintaining our Government colleges which calls for consideration, or we should rather say, an unreasoning dread of withdrawing them, viz., lest it might lead to the cry of propagandism, and stir up the fears and fanaticism of the natives. This old ghost still stalks the earth, and haunts high places. It is full time it were laid.

Many true friends of India have an honest dread of taking any step which might by any possibility be interpreted as an act of proselytizing on the part of the Government; and in the document presented by the Director of Public Instruction to the Madras Council, the grand plea urged is, that if the Government colleges were given up, it would be "playing into the hands of the Missionaries;" and he warns us of the danger of riots and rebellions, and all kinds of horrors.

We sympathize with this feeling in men who left India twenty or thirty years ago, and those who judge from old reports of the state of feeling in that country. But in any man living there it is utterly inexcusable,

and is only another proof that our high officials, now-a-days, know very little of the real feelings of the natives, and that they live in a state of isolation much to be deplored.

In that document, consisting of 40 pages of special pleading, there is not *one modern example given of fanaticism on the part of the natives of India, nor one instance of their antipathy to Missionaries or Missionary institutions* within the last twenty years. I do not say that some trifling outburst of momentary ill-feeling may not have occurred in some isolated cases, but the Director does not find one to his purpose, and only raises a small ghost supposed to have been seen in 1859.

We do find in his lengthy declamation a vague rumour that Government encouragement of Missionaries had been one cause of the Mutiny of 1857—a baseless fabrication of that excited time which it is most unfair even to allude to now; and what he calls "a monster meeting" at Madras, in 1859, when resolutions were passed in favour of withdrawing grants from the Missionary institutions. There is no evidence given that this meeting had any significance at the time, and to refer to it now is a glaring anachronism, and shows a strange disregard of the great change that has come over public feeling during the last quarter of a century. To charge the inhabitants of Madras, or those of any seat of modern culture in India, with the fanaticism and intolerance of even the preceding generation, is almost as bad as to attribute to this tolerant age the witch and heretic-burning spirit of our ancestors. Natives and Missionaries who spend their lives in the country know and mark the rapid change. Government officials of the present day, whose term of service

is comparatively short, and who have none of the family traditions of the olden times of the Company, when Indian appointments were hereditary, cannot thus compare the past with the present. Hence the absurd reference to past antipathies and suspicions, and quotations from witnesses of a former age.

Let me give two illustrations of this change of feeling towards Christian institutions and Christian converts, within the present generation. When I visited Madras in the end of 1853, Mr. Anderson, then at the head of the Free Church Institution, told me of the number of times that their schools had been emptied for months, after the baptism of a single convert, even of comparatively low caste.

But how is it now? Only little more than a year ago two high-caste Brahmin youths attending the Christian College were publicly baptized together, and yet *not one student left the institution for a single day.* Such was the change in that brief interval.

The second illustration is equally significant. At a meeting of the Free Church in Madras in 1853, my friend, the Rev. Mr. Anderson, pointing to an interesting young female convert, told me of the desperate efforts made by her parents to prevent her from entering the Christian Church—how, when arguments, entreaties, and tears failed to move her from her purpose, they applied to the courts of law, and perjured themselves by swearing that she was under age, and thus incapable legally of acting for herself. When this was proved false, and the judge decided in her favour, her brother sprang like a tiger over the bar, and with his hands clasped round her throat, strove with such desperate energy to strangle her as they rolled on the floor of the court of justice, that the utmost efforts of the

police all but failed to frustrate his deadly attempt to murder his sister.

Now, what do we find? There is still keen opposition to apostasy, and bitter grief over those whom they regard as lost. But the intensity and fanaticism of the old times are neither displayed nor felt. So great is the change, that the converts can now visit on friendly terms the homes they have left; and in that same town of Madras, we know of one or two instances, in which Christian converts have been able to remain in their homes, at the request of their heathen relatives, who only required them to prepare and eat their food apart, lest they should destroy the caste of the other members of the family. Such an arrangement twenty years ago would have been simply an impossibility. The whole family would have been thrown out of caste, and out of society: even life would have been insecure.

The painful fact is, that the opposition to Missionaries and their work can generally be traced, not to natives, but to degenerate foreigners. Godless or timid Englishmen often raise a false report of opposition to mission-work, or excite the natives to oppose it, when otherwise they would never think of doing so. As the late Lord Lawrence said, "Christian truth, spoken in a Christian spirit, will never give offence to the people of India."

The Director himself gives a most telling contradiction of his own assertion, that the natives are hostile to Missionary institutions. When quoting from a high authority for another purpose, in connexion with the needed quotation, the following sentence occurs:— "With regard to the Despatch of 7th April, 1859, Mr. Arbuthnot," then Director of Public Instruction

in Madras, "reported that *no objection existed to Mission schools, except in a few localities, in which suspicions as to the views and policy of the Government on matters of religion* HAD BEEN SUGGESTED BY EUROPEANS."

STATE OF THE HIGHER EDUCATION.

BEFORE drawing any inferences, or in any way prejudging the question, let us first glance at the positions occupied by the different Educational Institutions of the higher class in Madras.

Here, as in Calcutta and Bombay, there is an University, which takes no part in direct teaching, but has an important place as the great regulating and controlling power in the higher education, and confers degrees and other rewards on successful students from the different colleges. It is formed on the model of the London University, with its affiliated colleges. As we have no intention to interfere with this valuable institution, we shall not waste time in describing its constitution or working. University.

First in order of rank we must place the Presidency College, established in 1853, attended, according to the last official Report, by 154 undergraduates. It is entirely in the hands of the Government. With the exception of a trifling endowment, and the small amount got in "fees and fines" from the students, it is supported out of the Imperial Treasury. Its Professors are appointed, paid, and after a certain term of service, pensioned, by the Government. It has not only the large revenue, but all the dignity and prestige of a State institution, and, basking in the smile of Presidential favour, it occupies a vantage-ground which renders competition hazardous and arduous. While it is fostered by Government, one of the great objects contemplated in the Despatch of 1854—the encouragement of native enterprise and self-reliance in the higher culture—is practically impossible. Presidency College.

In addition to the college department there is a school,

with a higher and middle class, recently started as feeders to the college, the former attended by 121, and the latter by 64 pupils. We shall have something to say about this latter feature before we have done.

Christian College.

Next in order of rank, though prior in time,[1] and higher in numbers, comes the Christian College, with 245 undergraduates. Its present constitution is thus described by the "Director of Education" in his Report for 1875,—

"Some important changes have been made in the constitution of the central institution of the Free Church of Scotland. The college, which is 'to be regarded as now representing more or less directly all the Churches of the Reformation, will be henceforth known as the Free Church Institution and Madras Christian College.' 'The Church Missionary Society and the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society have agreed to give pecuniary help to the institution,' and 'the funds available are expected to secure as a minimum staff for the Collegiate Department, five Professors, with two Assistant Professors, and such Pundits as may be from time to time required.' 'The ideal aimed at' is 'that of a college separate from any school department, and not dependent on any one church or missionary society'" (p. 21).

The Free Church Educational Institution, from which the Christian College sprung into a more systematic form in 1865, and assumed its present Catholic character in 1876, still keeps up its reputation, having in its higher department 195 students training for the matriculation standard; in the middle department, 398; and in the lower, 255; giving an aggregate of 1089 under instruction, against 327 in the Government Institution.

Other Institutions.

We shall not occupy our time in describing the only other institutions which keep up a collegiate department. The Doveton Protestant College, with its 20 students, and the Sulivan's Gardens Seminary, with 12, occupy a useful walk of their own. Neither shall we do more than refer to the valuable institutions supported by the different religious societies of England and Scotland, engaged in the same good work, and, according to the testimony of the Madras Govern-

[1] This college is set down in the Report as having been established in 1865. This is only a date which marked a change in the arrangement of an institution which had existed from 1837, and had a collegiate character and did collegiate work before Government came to compete with it.

ment, "rendering noble service" in the education of the natives. Six of these societies, with 1548 of the youth of India under instruction, have laid aside all rivalry, save that of striving which shall best serve their God and the country of their adoption; and believing that one strong Christian College is better than a number of weak ones, they limit their course of study to preparing their pupils for matriculation, and trust their future training to the Christian College, to which some of the societies at home now contribute liberally, although the larger share of the burden still falls on the Free Church. This one college costs the churches of this country more than £2000 a year—a noble contribution towards the highest form of Christian culture.

Pacheapah's Institution.

The only other educational institution to which I need call attention is the interesting and important one which bears the name of its founder, Pacheapah, a native of Madras, who left a very large sum to build and endow an institution in which the language, literature, and sciences of Europe were to be taught, as he vainly hoped, in harmony with the religions and the caste systems of the Hindus. It was founded in 1842, and has been kept up with ability and success. Its managers have hitherto been content to educate up to the matriculation standard, but while we write, we have just heard that a college department has been established, of which we shall speak again. By last Report they had as many as 177 students in the higher department, and 369 in the middle. It is an interesting fact that, although the money was left by a bigoted Brahmin, in order to crush the mission school of that day, the large proportion of the students who graduate now, go direct from the heathen school to the Christian College. This purely native institution, supported by native contributions and guided by native talent, though they wisely employ accomplished English teachers in the highest departments, has done good service in the past, and is destined to do important work in the future. By assuming a collegiate character at this time, in the face of the strong Christian and Government colleges, with their established reputations, it has shown a courage and enterprise which speak well for the spirit of the

managers. We shall show, before we close, the important place which this institution is fitted to occupy. In the meantime we must confine our attention to the two colleges which have for many years occupied the field.

Christian College preferred.

In comparing these two institutions we are at once struck with the fact that, in the midst of a community of Hindus and Muhammadans, the Christian College in which the Bible is taught daily, is, notwithstanding, more popular than the Government College, from which religion is strictly excluded. This fact is brought out by the tables in the Government Report, Nos. I. and IX. In these the attendance at the Christian College is given at 245, while at the Presidency College it is only 154. With this superiority in numbers the true elements of native society are faithfully represented. In the Presidency College there were 142 Hindus, 4 Muhammadans, 1 European, 6 East Indians, and 1 Native Christian. In the Christian College there were 202 Hindus, 6 Muhammadans, 1 European, 1 East Indian, and 35 Christians.

That this marked preference for the Christian over the Government College is not to be accounted for, as is sometimes said, by the difference in the fees, is obvious to every unprejudiced mind. The difference in Madras is so small, it cannot materially influence the attendance. In Calcutta it may be more felt. There the monthly fee in the Presidency College is 12 rupees, while in aided colleges it is only 5 rupees. But in Madras, instead of being less than half, or a difference of 7 rupees a month, the difference is only $1\frac{1}{2}$ rupees. In the Presidency College the charges are from 5 to 4 rupees. In the Christian College they are from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to $2\frac{3}{4}$ rupees. While we may admit that the difference in charge does to a certain extent weigh in the choice, it is a grand mistake to suppose they are so hostile to the teachings of Bible truths and Bible morality, as is often alleged. Many of the best natives prefer the teaching of Christianity by a missionary to the absence of all religion in a Government College.

Difference in cost.

The next thing with which we are struck in these tables is the vast difference in the cost of education in these institutions. We quote from the Official Report for 1877. "The

154 students of the Presidency College were educated at the total cost of 71,890 rupees. The 245 pupils of the Christian College were taught for 49,000 rupees. The items are equally instructive. The Presidency College received from Government the large grant of 62,252 rupees. The Christian College got only the small sum of 5096 rupees. The former had an endowment yielding 1843 rupees. The latter has none. But on the other hand, while the former did nothing to call forth the liberality of the natives or Europeans, the latter received in subscriptions and donations the sum of 12,360 rupees. The Government College, attended almost exclusively by the rich, raised 7795 rupees in "fees and fines," the Christian College 5964 rupees.

But the most noteworthy columns in the elaborate tables are those which give the cost of each pupil in the different institutions. They bring out in bold relief the vast difference between the extravagance of Imperial management and the economy of private enterprise. The total cost of each student in the Presidency College was that year 485 rupees. The total cost of each pupil in the Christian College is set down at 141 rupees. But as I think there is an omission of the cost to the Churches in this country, I give the benefit of the doubt, and set down the total cost of each at 204 rupees, a great deal less than half. Still more striking is the contrast when we compare the cost of each pupil to the Imperial Treasury. In the Presidency College it was no less than 412 rupees a head per annum, and as it takes four years to cram these heads with the amount of learning required to take a degree, we can easily calculate the cost of each graduate to the Government. In the Christian College, the cost to the Imperial Treasury of each student was only 30 rupees per annum; so that they educate thirteen students for one year for the sum paid for one in the Presidency College for the same time.

Results compared.

But we may be told this is not a question of expense. This is not the only, nor even the most important, in a matter so grave as the education of the youth of India. The question, it is alleged, must be viewed in the light of the results of education, rather than of the numbers who pass

through the course of study, and the cost of that course.

Moral results.

What, we may be asked, is the quality of the education given at these two colleges? What can be said of the moral stamina and character of the youths who graduate at each? Which produces the best men and the most loyal citizens?

I must leave these two last queries, the most important of all, unanswered. I have not sufficient data for a conclusive reply, and I dislike doubtful decisions. It is true I feel morally certain that, if this matter were investigated, it would lead to a verdict in favour of the Christian College. The eternal laws which regulate mind and morals constrain us to believe that the men of known Christian character and beneficence, who daily hold up before their pupils an example of devout faith and purity, along with a standard of Divine authority for faith and morals, must exert an influence for good far greater than others, however respectable, who do not, and dare not, teach any creed as a substitute for that which they are undermining in the minds of their pupils by every lesson they give, and who are not allowed, even if they inculcate morality or loyalty, to base their teaching on any standard which would command the respect or reverence of a thoughtful mind at the age of inquiry and doubt.

Intellectual results.

But I will not take advantage of such a line of reasoning. I am content to rest the issue on facts which can be tabulated and reckoned with arithmetical accuracy; and shall again take the tables and statements in the last published Report issued by the Madras Government, regretting only that there is none later than that for 1876-7. I shall give the results of the University Examinations for the different degrees, including that for Matriculation.

1st.

In the Matriculation Examination there passed,—

	1875-6.			1876-7.		
	First Class.	Second Class.	Total.	First Class.	Second Class.	Total.
Presidency College . .	4	25	29	7	39	46
Christian College . .	2	20	22	8	42	50

In the first Arts Examination there passed,— 2nd. F.A.

	1875-6.			1876-7.		
	First Class.	Second Class.	Total.	First Class.	Second Class.	Total.
Presidency College . .	7	14	21	7	13	20
Christian College . .	4	24	28	6	21	27

In the University Examination for B.A. there passed,— 3rd. B.A.

	1875-6.				1876-7.			
	First Class.	Second Class.	Third Class.	Total.	First Class.	Second Class.	Third Class.	Total.
Presidency College .	1	13	5	19	. .	15	15	30
Christian College .	. .	3	4	7	1	8	4	13

In the examination for the highest degree conferred, that of M.A., the Report merely states (p. 14) that five candidates presented themselves for examination, and three passed, but no indication is given, as in all other cases, from what college they came. It was only in looking over a table in the Appendix, p. 174, Table 25A, that I found that *not one of the three* came from a Government college; only two were from Madras, and of these *one was "from the Christian College* and private study," and one "from private study." The third was also from an *aided* college in the country and private study. 4th. M.A.

We have now given the leading facts in regard to the higher education in the Government, and in the only aided college in Madras, which can properly be compared with it, and we have seen that, while the results are favourable to the former numerically, the superiority is so slight as to make it obvious that there is no reason for keeping up an institution which costs so much, and which, as we shall show, stands in the way of so much good.

If we look a little more closely into this apparent superiority of the Presidency College, we shall find that it is not based on any real superiority in the teachers or the teaching, Apparent, not real superiority.

but is altogether owing to adventitious circumstances, which give it an unfair advantage, and which are strong arguments for its abolition or transference to other hands.

Before accounting for the apparent superiority in results, let us see wherein it consisted.

Results compared.

According to their own official returns of the entire number passed at all the University Examinations for 1876-7,

96 were from the Presidency, and
91 were from the Christian Institution.

Only a majority of 5. In the Matriculation and the F.A. Examinations the Christian Institution had the majority. In the M.A. it had one, the Presidency College had none. The only instance of a majority in favour of the Presidency College was in the B.A. degree, when they had 30 against 13 in the other college. But even here the Christian College had one in the first class where the other had none; and in the second class they were only beaten by 7. The numbers being 15 and 8 respectively. It was in the third or lowest class that the Presidency College had the largest majority—15 against 4.

Is this an advantage of such vast importance as to justify the keeping up of a college in opposition to both the letter and spirit of the Government Despatch to which it owes its origin? Is it worth the price paid for it? Look at what it costs to gain this absolute majority of 5 in all the examinations, or even the majority of 15 in the B.A. Take it in the most favourable light, leaving out of account the matriculation pass, the number passed in the college department proper was in the three degrees conferred as follows:—

	F.A.	B.A.	M.A.	Total.
Presidency College . . .	20	30	. .	50
Christian College . . .	27	13	1	41

Cost compared.

And to maintain this college, which had a majority of 9 who took degrees at the University Examinations,—all of whom were in the lower class of the B.A., and only passed

by the "skin of their teeth,"—the Government paid 62,890 rupees, while the other college only cost the paltry grant of 5096 rupees.

How accounted for.

But how is this small superiority in the number obtaining degrees accounted for? Not by any superiority in the teaching, but principally by two well-known causes, which are neither a credit to the college nor an argument for its continuance.

Imperial prestige.

1st. The first is one well known to every man acquainted with India—*the great desire of the natives to be connected with any institution or service under the Government.* The feeling is a natural one and not unknown in other countries, but it is peculiarly strong in the Asiatic mind and under Paternal Governments. It is thought there must be better chances of getting into Government employment when brought up in a Government College. Besides, the dignity of being a graduate of the Presidency College is of itself of much value, even if it gives no better chance of a degree or reward.

The consequence is what might be expected. The ablest students in the preparatory classes, when they pass the Matriculation Examination, are powerfully drawn to the Government College; and if the private college be not specially attractive, all the best scholars pass it by, and it is a striking proof of the merit of the Christian College, and the powerful hold the professors have of the minds and hearts of the youth of Madras, that with such a disadvantage, and only a trifling difference in the fees, they not only have a large majority of graduates, but that they tread so close on the heels of their august rival in the number of those who take degrees. The professors often speak of their surprise at the fidelity and affection of the students who stick so closely to them under such powerful influences to draw them away.

The English language.

2nd. The second cause of the apparent superiority in the Presidency over the aided college is the employment of the English language in teaching and examinations. We shall be asked, since this is the same in both, how can it give an advantage to the one over the other? The answer is simple.

If it is found that in the one the students have been born and brought up in families in which English is taught and spoken, so as to make it much more of a "mother tongue" than is the case of those attending the other, it will at once be seen, that in both study and examinations this gives a great advantage, and the college gets all the credit of it. That the Presidency College has this great but adventitious advantage is well known; it appears on the face of Government Reports. In the Return laid before Parliament in 1870, it is stated, that "while the students attending Government and aided colleges are of the same class, *it is the richer portion who attend the Government College.*" Now it is well known, that in the Presidential cities the richer classes very generally know and speak English, and all of them who wish their children to study European literature and science, take pains to teach them the English language from their earliest years. The poorer classes, who are sent to the aided colleges, seldom know anything of English until they go to school, and do not hear it spoken in their homes.

In the same Return it is shown that a large proportion of the children of "Government servants and pensioners" attend, as might be expected, the Government colleges, and most of these children are familiar with English from their infancy. We do not say that all who attend the Presidency College have this familiar knowledge of English, or that all who attend the aided College are destitute of it; but we do say that the Government colleges are attended by a very much larger proportion of those who have this great advantage, and that this is sufficient to account for the difference in results, so far as regards the taking of degrees.

Mistakes in English.

An amusing, but most instructive illustration is given in one of the Reports of an Inspector of Schools in the Madras Presidency, showing the difficulty under which the student labours in an examination, when he is not familiar with idiomatic English. The question was—"State how the two points first marked on the thermometer are obtained?" We cannot give the entire quotation, but when we repeat the examiner's statement, that out of more than 700 candidates only 128 answered it correctly, we think we may

attribute not a "small," but a large "part" of the failure to "ignorance of English." He says,—

"Some small part of the failure is probably due to ignorance of English. Even separate words are often misunderstood. The article I have quoted speaks of pounded ice. This is often changed into 'a pound of ice.' Again, a great number show plainly enough that they take 'pounded' to mean the same thing as 'melted.' In the same article of the primer, the author says, 'Get a glass blower to blow a hollow bulb at the end of a tube of glass, &c.' This is very frequently changed as follows :—'Take a glass tube, then take a glass blower, &c.' And when they have taken him they treat him in a way that shows clearly enough they do not regard him as belonging to the animal kingdom. They pour mercury into him, heat him over a flame, fill him with mercury vapours, and finally hermetically seal his open end! Others cover him with wax, prick him with pins, and plunge him in various acids. One youth dips him in sulphuric acid, and then (as he very justly remarks) 'it will have clear marks upon it, the acid having such a tendency.'"

If we take the element of prestige as well as of language into account, the wonder is, not that the Presidency College has a trifling superiority in the number of successful candidates for degrees, but that it has not far more. It is a matter of surprise that the aided college can stand alongside it at all.

About neutrality.

But at this stage the question may be put, Is Government at liberty to give up its secular college in favour of a Christian one? Granting that the Christian College is all you represent it to be, and that it is quite capable of providing the higher education for all the youths of Madras who desire it, would it not be unfair to a heathen people to employ their money to support an institution professedly set up for the purposes of proselytism?

To such questions I might give many answers, and it would be easy to show that the charge of proselytizing might be brought against the secular colleges of the Government in a worse form than against those of the Church. To convert the youth of India from their ancestral faith to the blank condition of a negation of all religious belief, which mere secular instruction inevitably tends to do, is more dangerous than to convert them to the Christian faith, and the best of the Hindus are now convinced of this. I might show that to leave a Christian college in undisputed possession of the field it had been the first to enter, and which it has

occupied for more than forty years, is no injustice when it had done its work to the entire satisfaction of the natives—so much so, that with the exception of a few rich men, who from fashion and interest, rather than conviction, go to the State institution, the larger portion of the population prefer the Christian College. But I set aside these and other considerations, and call attention to another fact of great interest and importance.

Native institutions.

I take other and impregnable ground. I call attention to the fact, that there is in Madras an institution which is quite capable of providing the higher education for such of the heathen—and they few—who might be unwilling to send their children to the Christian College. That institution, Pacheapah's High School, has been in existence since 1842, and has been kept up with vigour and good results. In the examination for Matriculation, the highest standard they had aimed at up to the date of the last Report, they passed only four fewer than the Presidency preparation department of the same order, and seven fewer than that of the Free Church, while it stood higher than either in the first class. The numbers were as follows :—

	Examined.	Passed.		
		First Class	Second Class.	Total.
Free Church High School . .	68	7	43	50
Presidency do. . .	58	7	40	47
Pacheapah's do. . .	53	10	33	43

A native college set up.

Even if we had no other evidence than this of the efficiency of this institution and its fitness to provide a good education for any who might regret the withdrawal of the Presidency College, it would be enough to justify the step. But we have better evidence to give. We have just learned from a correspondent in Madras that the managers of Pacheapah's institution *have added a collegiate department*, and are now prepared to prove their ability to educate to the highest standard. Hitherto they had stopped short of this bold step, first of all from the feeling that the work was not absolutely necessary, and would be extremely difficult, in face of

such powerful opposition as that offered by the Government on the one hand, and the Christian College on the other. And another feeling, we have good reason to believe, kept them back,—*a feeling of loyalty*. They, like many of the natives of India, had, I am informed, the impression, *that Government wished to keep up its own colleges*, and that it would be interpreted as a disloyal thing to set a college of their own up in opposition to them. That such an impression should prevail is not to be wondered at, when we consider the lavish way in which Government colleges are kept up and favoured, while aided colleges are stinted and frowned on in many instances by the Directors of Education.

But recent discussions on the right interpretation of the Despatch of 1854 have opened their eyes, and emboldened them to take the decisive step. It is a most instructive fact that they have done this within a few months of the time when the Director of Education, in an elaborate document, attempted to prove that, if the Government College were withdrawn, there was nothing for the people of Madras but to depend wholly on the Christian College for the higher education, and when the Government had expressed their opinion that the natives were incapable of educating themselves, and that they dare not leave them to the proselytizing Christian College.

A false issue raised.

When the Director of Education maintains, that if the Government College were to be discontinued, the natives would have no alternative but to attend the Christian College, or give up all hope of the higher education, he raises a false issue, and misleads the Madras Government, which echoes his gratuitous assertion. There was no ground for it in the facts of the case, and there was not a shadow of foundation for it in the memorial presented to Government by the missionaries. They asked for the proper treatment of "aided institutions" of all kinds, and never sought any special advantages for themselves. In their second communication they most expressly disclaim any desire to deprive the natives of a secular education, if they wish it. The prayer of the first memorial to "His Grace the Governor in Council," is stated in the first sentence to be "with

reference to the working of the grant-in-aid system," and at the close they ask his Grace "to give free operation to the grant-in-aid scheme, framed in accordance with the policy declared in the Despatch of 1854," and all the other matters referred to are in harmony with this. In the second, which is a reply to the answer of the "Director," as indorsed by the Council, they say, "The Director appears to ascribe to the memorialists a feeling of hostility to the Presidency College. We entirely disclaim any such hostility, and we are clearly of opinion that it should not be withdrawn without a secular aided college to take its place." They add, "Cases might arise in which it might be inexpedient to leave a town or district dependent for education on a mission school alone. Each case would have to be wisely dealt with on its own merits. We repudiate the charge which the Director makes against the missionaries of Southern India, of seeking to drive Government to commit a breach of its avowed policy of religious neutrality. We are as anxious for real neutrality on the part of the Government as any one can be. We should strongly deprecate anything that would practically *drive* the children of unwilling parents, *few as we believe they are*, into mission schools, though the Director represents this as the one aim of the memorial."

The Council accepts the false assumption.

We regret much that the Council in Madras has accepted this false and misleading view of the aim of the memorial of the missionaries. They say that the "speedy suppression of Government schools of the higher class . . . could not but have the effect of making the population for the present, and probably for a long time to come, mainly, if not solely dependent upon missionary institutions, for what may be call upper and middle education. They further think it beyond question that the alternative, as regards superior education above the merest primary instruction, is between Government schools and missionary schools."

Value of this judgment.

Evidence of facts.

With all deference to Government authorities, we cannot shut our eyes either to the evidence of facts or the testimony of competent witnesses. As to facts, it is notorious that aided native schools of the higher class are now able not only to exist

alongside of, but to compete with Government colleges, and in some cases to beat them, as we have seen in Madras itself, in the case of Pacheapah's school, when in 1877 they passed 10 in the first class of the Matriculation, in a year in which the Director admits the examination was exceptionally severe, against 7 who passed from the Presidency School; and the same school now replies to these injurious judgments by beginning a competition with the Government in the college, as they have long done in the school department.

A native college begun.

In the second memorial to the Governor in Madras, signed by nine missionaries *as representatives of all the Protestant missions in Southern India*, we find the following confirmation of these views. "Schools and colleges," they say, "under local, yet not missionary, management, already exist and prosper in many parts of Southern India. We need not refer to the colleges at Trevandrum and Ernacolum, both under native management, yet both holding a most distinguished place among the institutions affiliated to the University of Madras. Nor need we refer to the long-continued and uninterrupted prosperity and usefulness of Pacheapah's High School. . . . In nearly all the districts of the Presidency it is abundantly shown how much interested and how successful native gentlemen and native committees may become in the management of colleges and schools. The Hindu College at Tinnevelly, the College at Coimbatore, Vizagapatam, and Vizianagram, the Hindu Proprietary School, the Anglo-Vernacular School in Triplicane, the Hindu High Schools at Masulipatam, Nellore, Bezwada, Narsapur, the Town School in Coimbaconum, Pacheapah's branch schools at Chedumbaram and Conjeveram, are examples of what the native community are well able to effect in this line, when encouragement is given them" (p. 6).

I make no comment on these facts, accompanied as they are by the calm judgment of men of practical knowledge, whose life-work in India is disinterested beneficence. They are worth a bushelful of assertions.

Presidency College needs "feeders."

There is another significant fact which the Government seem to have overlooked. In 1875-6 the Director of Education added a "middle-class" department to their institution,

which formerly consisted of a college and higher class only. And the reason assigned for this addition was, as admitted by the educational authorities, that "*it was needed as a feeder to the College.*" The Director was forced to acknowledge that the College was losing ground, and that the only way to keep their position was to enter into competition with the aided schools, in order to draw students by personal influence away from them into the Government College.

Violation of Despatch of 1854.

This was a flagrant violation of both the letter and spirit of the Education Act. The obvious duty of Government was to hail this tendency on the part of the natives to educate themselves. But instead of encouraging the spirit of independence, the Director of Education does his best to crush it out, in order that he may foster the Presidency College. That this is his aim and spirit is manifested not only in the Reports which he draws up, but by his appearing on the platform at public meetings to advocate the claims and defend the pet institution against all opponents.

That the Director and, under his influence, the Education Department in Madras, do not hold the balance even, as regards Government and missionary institutions, is shown by the following sentence from the Memorial, openly and officially published in Madras, where contradiction would have brought confusion upon their profession, and ruin to their plea. After giving sixteen instances in which colleges and high schools had been carried on with success by the natives, they say :—

"These colleges and schools were encouraged and, in some cases, diligently fostered by the Educational Department. They therefore came into existence and are now maintained with ease, though some of them have to stand a pretty severe competition with the Mission Institutions by their side. *We are not aware of an instance in which such aided schools have been encouraged in the same way, either in the room or by the side of a Government school, except in the single one of the town school at Coimbaconum*, when the Government school had become overcrowded, and when it was well known that the new institution would act as a feeder to it."

Private correspondents tell me of stronger evidences of partiality, and of the positive discouragement of private

enterprise, when it comes into competition with Government institutions; but being private I cannot produce it in evidence.

That this is done from a sense of duty I do not doubt. But that one who is placed in such a position should feel himself at liberty to assume such an attitude is much to be regretted. As "Director," by the rules of the Despatch of 1854, he is bound to do all he can to foster *aided* schools and colleges, and to teach the natives of India to educate themselves in the higher departments, and set free the funds devoted to education for the elementary instruction of the poor.

Evidence of witnesses.

If we turn to the evidence of competent witnesses, it will be no disrespect to either the Government or the Director if I quote, in direct contradiction of these *assertions*, the calmly expressed opinions of the large number of missionaries who signed the Memorial to the Governor of Madras. It bears the names of 15 or 18 missionaries. Most of these have been longer in the country than the Director or members of the Council. They are men who have devoted their lives to the welfare of India. They know the language of the natives. They mix with them to an extent and with a freedom unknown in official circles, especially in the present day. They are far more competent to judge of what the Hindus can and would do than any body of Government officials possibly can know, however anxious to get information.

These men are unanimous in the opinion, that the natives *are capable of managing the higher education*, if only they were encouraged to do it and were freed from the unfair competition of Government institutions. They say in their second Memorial, "It is by institutions managed by local committees, which would consist in most cases of Hindu gentlemen, that we think Government institutions ought generally to be replaced. It is for the good of the country at large, not for the special benefit of mission schools, that we desire the policy of the Despatch acted on. . . . We believe that if encouragement were given, many existing Government schools might be at once transferred to the management of

Memorial from Missionaries.

local non-missionary bodies. We believe that if this process were once begun, it might go on steadily, if not very rapidly, until the need for any institutions being maintained by Government had manifestly ceased. We believe that such a process, with such a result, would be useful in many ways, and was unmistakably desired by those who framed the Despatch of 1854. It was for the setting on foot of such a process that the Memorial pleaded. Thus if the real aim of the missionaries be kept in view, the twenty-four pages in which the Director revives the groundless charges that have been often brought at various times against missionary education and the aims of missionaries, will be seen to have no bearing on the matter in hand" (p. 5).

So valuable is this evidence of these most competent of all witnesses, that I must quote another sentence to the same effect. They add :—

"The Director of Education simply takes for granted, that the only alternative is between a Government and a Mission Institution ; but we submit that such a view is out of harmony with the facts of the case. Hindu gentlemen are too sensible of the advantages that India derives from the British Government, and too loyal, to open schools in direct opposition to the desires of a Government department; but if that department encouraged them, they would, in many cases, undertake the duty cheerfully, and we are sure that when once undertaken they would feel an interest in it, and discharge it with constantly-increasing vigour and success. We are sure, also, that the management of such schools and colleges would have the happiest effect on the community in many ways."

Government pre-occupied.

The fact is, the Council of Madras is so occupied with urgent matters which it must attend to, and others which it deems of greater importance, that it does not find time to attend personally to this Education Department ; or, perhaps, thinking that it is better left in the hands of professional teachers —a natural but most mistaken notion—leaves the whole matter in the hands of the Director of Public Instruction and his friends.

That this is the case comes home to me most painfully in

my efforts to get the most recent information. The latest "Report on Public Instruction," in the Presidency of Madras, is as far back as 1876 and the beginning of 1877. I applied to the "India Office," where every facility for information is obligingly and promptly given, but was told that "no later Report had been sent home." I wrote to a friend in Madras, to get and send me a copy. He informs me that "the Madras Council had not yet considered and recorded a minute on the Report for 1877-8, and it could not be issued to any one until that was done." That Report—a most valuable and important public document—got up with great labour and expense, has been lying on the Council table for a year and a half unnoticed. The Report for 1878-9 must have been in the hands of Government for many months; of course it cannot be considered before that of the previous year, and as these Reports are made up to the end of March in each year, that for 1879-80 must now be in preparation.

Do not blame the Council.

I do not blame the Madras Council, nor would my readers, if they saw these Reports—large octavo volumes of about 400 pages, crammed full of details alike intricate and important, bristling with figures which require much time to compare, and technical knowledge to appreciate; and supplemented with an array of "tables," enough to satisfy the voracious appetite of a statistician, more than enough to appal the heart of an ordinary man, much more of a man engrossed with other important affairs. I do not wonder that honest men should scruple at giving a hasty deliverance, and delay in giving any deliverance at all.

While I do not blame, I do regret that a matter so important as the education of a great country should be left in such an unsatisfactory condition, without a special department, where men of statesmanlike views, and independent and disinterested character, could control and direct education and educators alike.

But I cannot enlarge on this important subject. I trust I have said enough to account for the Madras Government seeming to approve of the policy and statements of the Director, in a case in which they are under a necessity of giving a hasty decision on an urgent appeal.

As to the statements of the Director, they are more than met by the facts adduced, and by the testimony of competent witnesses; and when I call attention to the further consideration that those who signed the Memorial were the chosen representatives of nearly all the missionaries of Southern India, most of them not personally engaged in education, the evidence should satisfy all reasonable men who know their character; and as for their work, the Madras Government, in that same document, speaks of "the magnificent efforts made by missionaries for the education of the people of India."

The stability of aided institutions.

There is only one question which remains for consideration. Is there sufficient security for the permanence of the aided institutions? If the Presidency College were to be withdrawn, will the Christian College and the Native Institution be kept up with such efficiency as to meet the wants of the people and the demands of Government?

The following considerations seem sufficient on this point:—

1st. Both of these institutions were in existence, and were giving a good and high class education, long before the Government College was established. The Christian College, which is very unfairly set down as having only originated in 1865, is in reality the development of that institution which was established in 1837—eighteen years before the Presidency College was set up; and many noble youths had received a high education for services in ecclesiastical, professional, and even Government employment from the first. If they existed before that of Government was established, when education was in its infancy, why should they not survive its removal when education has reached maturity?

2nd. The Christian College, which has stood for forty years, has not only kept its ground, but has gone on improving, until it has become the largest, and, in the opinion of competent judges, the best college in Southern India, and the Native Institution was never so efficient and life-like as it is now.

3rd. The strongest proof of the excellence and stability

of these aided institutions is, that the Presidency College has been driven to assume the agressive attitude, in order to stand its ground in their presence. It has been lately driven to the necessity of establishing preparatory classes as feeders to the college, and the Director of Education admits that this was done to keep up the numbers of pupils in classes of the Government College.

4th. But the best of all guarantees for keeping up the standard of educational efficiency in these aided colleges is the felt need for the higher education. It is an essential passport to success in life. It must be had, and the natives will have it, whether we provide it or not. It is no longer a nauseous drug to be forced down the throats of reluctant patients; a keen appetite has been created, which will find its proper nutriment. It is not now a mere luxury, to be enjoyed by a few, it is a necessity in the commercial and political life of the people, and it must be had.

Government only requires to keep up the high standard of examination for degrees in the university, and give the rewards of official employment only to competent scholars, and there is no fear but that the natives of India will find the means of getting the education required.

It is high time for Government to free its hands from an expensive, unprofitable, and needless task, for which, from its professed principles of neutrality in religion, it is utterly disqualified. The higher education would be safer in the hands of the natives than in the hands of a Government professing neutrality. But for the pernicious example of Government colleges, they would never have attempted to exclude religion from their schools and colleges. To them, religion is a pervading element which must permeate every part of daily life and work.

I may be asked, would you wish the heathen to teach their own dark systems in the halls of modern learning? Most assuredly not. They are too conscious of the incompatibility of Hinduism with the teachings of modern science to make the attempt. But those most competent to judge of the working of the native mind are of opinion, that there is such a felt want of a religious basis for morality in the

education of their children that, if left to themselves, they would introduce at once the teachings of natural religion, and that in a little while they would admit the Bible as their moral standard; some, even now, advocate its introduction, and many prefer to send their children to the Christian, in preference to the secular school or college. They fear Christianity less than they dread Atheism.

NOTE.—I do not enter on the important discussion as to the time when the Presidency College in Madras should be "abolished" or "transferred," nor on the way in which it could be done with the greatest advantage to education and the public good. There are questions regarding property, the interests of individuals, securities for the future, &c., &c., which can only be settled on the spot.

Two things we are fully authorized to call for.

1st. That every reasonable effort be made by Government to foster and develope the two aided colleges in Madras.

2nd. That Government declare its determination to carry out the provisions of the Despatch of 1854 in regard to the temporary character of the Presidency College, and that steps be now taken to "abolish" or "transfer" it at the earliest date compatible with just claims and the best interests of the community.

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OUR EDUCATIONAL POLICY IN INDIA.

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THE VISCOUNT HALIFAX, P.C., G.C.B.,

Author of the "Despatch on General Education in India" of 1854.

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